The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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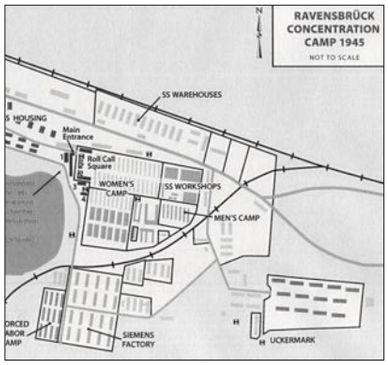

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THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME II

Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe

Part B

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Contributing Editor Mel Hecker

Advisory Committee

Doris L. Bergen
Christopher R. Browning
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SECTION V

REICH COMMISSARIAT OSTLAND (REICHSKOMMISSARIAT OSTLAND)

In July 1941, less than a month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler ordered the establishment of a civil administration to administer much of the occupied western regions of the Soviet Union. These territories, subordinated to Alfred Rosenberg as head of the Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, RMO), were divided between two Reichskommissariate, Ostland and Ukraine.

Reichskommissariat Ostland, ruled by Reichskommissar Hinrich Lohse, was set up in August 1941 when much of its constituent territory was handed over from military to civil administration. The territory of Reichskommissariat Ostland consisted of four Generalkommissariate: Weissruthenien, Litauen, Lettland, and Estland, each governed by a Generalkommissar.

Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien was made up mainly of the former Polish Nowogródek and parts of the Wilno and Poleskie województwa, together with part of the pre-1939 Soviet Minsk oblast'. Generalkommissariat Litauen consisted of the Lithuanian SSR, which included the city of Vilnius (Wilno) as the capital after occupation of the region by Soviet forces in 1939–1940. In April 1942, a strip of territory east of Vilnius was added from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen. Pre-war Latvia made up Generalkommissariat Lettland, whereas Generalkommissariat Estland consisted of the territory of the Estonian SSR as of 1940–1941, just prior to the German invasion. These last two Generalkommissariate have been combined for convenience in this volume, as Generalkommissariat Estland contained only one ghetto site.

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ESTONIA AND LATVIA REGIONS

Latvian civilians drag a Jew through a street in Riga, July 1941, as a member of the German police looks on.
USHMM WS #69737, COURTESY OF BERNHARD PRESS

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ESTONIA AND LATVIA REGIONS (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT ESTLAND UND GENERALKOMMISSARIAT LETTLAND)

Pre-1940: Latvia and Estonia and parts of RSFSR; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR, Estonian SSR, and parts of RSFSR; 1941–1944: Generalkommissariate Lettland und Estland, Reichskommissariat Ostland; post-1991: Republic of Latvia, Republic of Estonia, and parts of Russian Federation

The German authorities established around 29 ghettos in Generalkommissariat Lettland and 1 ghetto in Generalkommissariat Estland. Of these, 6 were established in what became, under the German civil administration, Gebiet Libau (Liepāja); 8 in Gebiet Mitau (Jelgava); 12 in Gebiet Dünaburg (Daugavpils, also known as the Lettgalen region); 2 in Gebiet Riga-Land; and 1 in Riga. Ghettoization began in these regions in July 1941 and was effectively completed in late October 1941, when the Riga ghetto was sealed, although the remnant ghetto in Liepāja was not established until July 1942. From the end of 1941 until late 1943, most of the remaining Jews in Latvia were located in Riga, Daugavpils, and Liepāja, where the three largest ghettos existed. The more than 20 ghettos and temporary holding camps established for Jews in a number of smaller Latvian towns in the summer of 1941 were almost all liquidated by December 1941, with the exception of the Lūdza ghetto, where the last inmates were killed in the spring of 1942. Effectively, these sites were destruction ghettos, serving mainly to concentrate the Jewish population in preparation for a killing Aktion. In Estonia, only Tartu has been included here as a "ghetto," but one of the camps for Jews in Tallinn is also referred to as a ghetto in one source.

According to the 1935 census, there were 93,479 Jews living in Latvia, comprising 4.79 percent of the population. Almost two thirds of the Jews lived in the three largest cities of Riga (43,762), Daugavpils (11,106), and Liepāja (7,379). The 1934 census in Estonia recorded 4,434 Jews, only 0.4 percent of the country's total population. Almost half of the Estonian Jews, 2,203, lived in Tallinn and another 920 in Tartu, while only 1.7 percent of all Jews in Estonia lived in the countryside.

A group of Jewish women wearing yellow stars walk on a street in Riga, September 1941.
USHMM WS #73962, COURTESY OF APMO AND LVVA

Latvia and Estonia were occupied by the Soviet Union in the summer of 1940. Under Soviet rule, thousands of people were deported to the Soviet interior, most of them in June 1941, just before the German invasion. Files exist on at least 1,771 Jews (and there were many others without files), who were among more than 9,900 people deported from Latvia in 1940–1941, demonstrating that there was a disproportionately high number of Jews among the Soviet deportees. At least 400 Jews (10 percent of the entire Jewish population) were among those deported by the Soviets from Estonia.

Following the German invasion on June 22, 1941, a large proportion of the Estonian Jews and a smaller fraction of Latvian Jews were evacuated, fled in time, or were recruited into the Red Army. For Latvia, it is estimated that approximately 15,000 Jews (about 18 percent) reached the unoccupied areas of the Soviet Union, but hundreds more lost their lives due to bombing or military operations.[1] Detailed demographic records on Liepāja indicate that of around 7,140 Jews in the city on June 22, 1941, some 6,500 remained at the start of the German occupation one week later. From Estonia, which was occupied a few weeks after Latvia, roughly two thirds of the remaining Jewish population managed to flee, leaving only around 1,000 Jews behind.

In Latvia, the arrival of German forces in late June and early July 1941 was accompanied by the rapid establishment of a local Latvian administration and Latvian Self-Defense forces, recruited from former Latvian reservists (Aizsārgi) and other volunteers. These interim organizations played an important role in the implementation of a wide range of anti-Jewish regulations and measures, including the ghettoization and mass murder of the Jews in a number of Latvian towns.

Initially, Latvia came under German military administration, run mainly by the offices of the military commandants (Ortskommandanturen) based in the towns. However, from the start, units of Einsatzgruppe A played a major role in security matters, especially the arrest and shooting of Jews. Latvia was transferred to a German civil administration in two stages. On July 16, 1941, the provinces of Kurzeme and Zemgale in the west came under civil administration, followed by the remainder of Gk Lettland on September 1. Since the murder of the Jews in the provinces was already completed in some regions in the months of July and August, all that remained for

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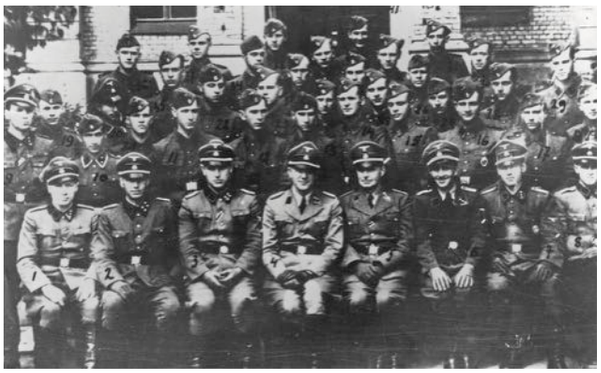
the German civil administrators there was to register and confiscate Jewish property.

In the first weeks of occupation, Einsatzgruppe A, supported by SS, Order Police, and Wehrmacht units, conducted a number of killing Aktions in Latvia directed against suspected Communists and the Jewish leadership or "intellectuals." For example, in the first half of July 1941, Sonderkommando 1b shot 1,150 male Jews in Daugavpils before handing over responsibility to Einsatzkommando 3.[2] In Riga, hundreds of Jewish men and suspected Communists were arrested and shot by the German Security Police together with the Latvian Auxiliary Security Police (Arājs Kommando, named after its leader Viktors Arājs) during the summer of 1941, reaching a total of at least 4,000 Jews and 1,000 Communists by September.[3] However, outside the main cities, the shooting of Jewish women and children, as well as men, had commenced in Latvia already in July.

In these initial weeks, the German military administration issued orders for Jews to wear yellow stars.[4] Jews were strictly forbidden to leave their places of residence without an official permit, to engage in any form of trade, to attend the market, or to use the sidewalk. Local authorities imposed further restrictions. For example, in Jelgava, regulations were issued in early July dismissing all Jews from their employment; forbidding them to attend cinemas, public parks, or museums; and requiring Jews to vacate certain designated streets.[5] In Varakļāni, large posters announced that Jews were forbidden to associate with non-Jews, could not be treated by non-Jewish doctors, and were forbidden to employ non-Jewish servants.[6] Jewish stores were closed down; Jewish men were beaten, humiliated, and arrested; and Jewish homes were looted. Some synagogues in Riga and elsewhere were burned shortly after the start of the German occupation.

Forced labor for Jews was also imposed quickly in most towns, often organized with the assistance of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Jews were employed mainly in rubble clearance, construction work, street cleaning and other public projects in the towns, or sometimes agricultural work. In Krustpils, local farmers could rent Jews as day laborers. In Preiļi and Valdemarpils, groups of Jews were put to work digging peat outside the town.



Group portrait of German and Latvian SS taken at the Latvian military school in Riga, ca. 1942. The officers numbered 3 and 4 are Victors Arājs, commander of Sonderkommando Arājs, and Dr. Rudolf Lange, his superior, who implemented the "Final Solution" in Latvia.
USHMM WS #95452, COURTESY OF STA. HAMBURG

The burning of the Great Synagogue of Riga, July 1941.
USHMM WS #69738, COURTESY OF BERNHARD PRESS

Most of the smaller ghettos and holding camps in Latvia were established in July and August of 1941. A variety of different sites were used as "ghettos" in Latvia. Many were established in synagogues, in schools, in fire stations, or in the poorer sections of town. The ghetto in Daugavpils was established in an old military fortress; a barracks constructed during the Napoleonic period. The lower of its two floors had served as a stable previously, and living conditions there were abysmal.[7] In some cases, prisons were used to confine the male Jews before they were shot, while the women and children were held in a designated part of town. In Jaunjelgava, the Jews were held in a ghetto composed of one or two synagogue buildings, with the men held separately from the women.

Only in a few places is the process of ghettoization in Latvia well documented. In Lūdza, the German military administration ordered the establishment of a ghetto in mid-July in connection with the registration of Jews for work. Several streets were designated as the ghetto, and the head of the Latvian auxiliary police, Riekstiņš, ordered the Jews to move in by 10:00 P.M. on July 20. The Jews were allowed to take with them some clothing, bedding materials, cutlery, crockery, and other household items.[8] The apartments abandoned by the Jews were confiscated by the German authorities, but after their resettlement, some Jews were allowed to return home to collect remaining items. The ghetto in Lūdza was not surrounded by a fence, but around its perimeter signs were posted bearing a six-pointed star and the inscription "Jews, [entrance] forbidden!"[9] The ghetto in Varakļāni was also unfenced, but Jews were prohibited from leaving; the ghetto in Viļāni was surrounded with barbed wire. In many places, Latvian Self-Defense units guarded the ghettos.

The Jews confined within the small, improvised regional ghettos suffered from severe overcrowding. This was especially the case where additional Jews were brought in from neighboring villages, such as in Kārsava, where 18 to 20 people had to

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share a single room. In Lūdza the Jews received a ration of 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, but in most ghettos they suffered from hunger, having little or nothing to eat. In the Ventspils, Viļāni, and other regional ghettos (as later in the Riga ghetto), Jewish women were sexually assaulted by the Latvian guards.

The elimination of entire Jewish communities began in Latvia very soon after the start of the German occupation. The Jews of Dobele were all murdered by July 13, 1941. In Silene, on July 22, the Latvian Self-Defense force rounded up all the Jews and put them in a large synagogue. After about one week, all the Jews were taken out on the pretext of being resettled to the Brasław ghetto and were shot in pits nearby. Many of the short-lived ghettos were liquidated in August 1941.

The German Security Police (Einsatzgruppe A) played a key role in organizing many of the Aktions, sometimes assisted by men of the Arājs Kommando based in Riga, who traveled to the mass shootings in distinctive blue buses. However, eyewitness descriptions from survivors and other local inhabitants also stress the key role played by local Latvian officials and the Self-Defense forces, which sometimes acted with little assistance from outside. In Kārsava, for example, the local Latvian auxiliary police actively participated in shooting the Jews without the presence of the Arājs Kommando. In some places, the Jews were killed in a series of Aktions over several days or weeks. Around Daugavpils, the Jews from surrounding towns were concentrated in the Daugavpils ghetto, rather than being shot on the spot. Ghettos were not always set up. In Cesis, many of the Jews were arrested and held in the prison before being transported out to Lake Ninieris, where they were murdered. Investigative sources indicate that men of the Arājs Kommando arrived to carry out the shooting, but local auxiliary policemen conducted the arrests and some actively participated in the massacre.[10]

In Riga, 29,602 Latvian Jews were enclosed in a ghetto on orders of Gebietskommissar Wittrock by October 25, 1941.[11] The large ghetto existed for only just over one month, as Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Jeckeln, who arrived from Ukraine in November, had instructions to "make room" for Jewish deportees from the Reich in the ghetto. In two large-scale Aktions on November 30 and December 8, 1941, more than 24,000 Latvian Jews from the Riga ghetto were murdered by German and Latvian police. In the first Aktion, Jeckeln relied mainly on the forces of the Order Police and Latvian auxiliaries. The civil administration also complained about the lack of prior consultation, which had, for example, wrecked their plans for an orderly collection of Jewish property.[12] Between December 1941 and November 1942, more than 22,000 German, Austrian, and Czech Jews were deported to Riga. Some were killed on arrival at the end of November 1941, but at this time their immediate murder had not been intended by the Nazi leadership in Berlin. Most of the Central European Jews were put into the Riga ghetto, where they soon outnumbered the few Latvian Jewish survivors.

The Central European Jews initially established their own groups, reflecting their cities of origin, but soon a centralized Jewish Council was organized with social and labor departments, a prison, and a police unit. About 2,000 elderly and sick Jews from the ghetto were killed in a further Aktion in March 1942, but thereafter conditions stabilized, primarily due to the Germans' need for labor in Riga. Additional Jews were even brought in from Lithuania. Some Jews were transferred to the Salaspils camp where conditions were horrendous, but many worked at labor sites in Riga outside the ghetto, even staying there overnight, under somewhat better conditions. There were also very few deaths in the Liepāja ghetto between July 1942 and March 1943, after the Jewish population there had been reduced to 1,050 after another Aktion in December 1941.[13] In 1943, responsibility for the Riga ghetto was transferred to the SS, and the remaining labor outposts of the Riga ghetto were converted into subcamps of the Kaiserwald concentration camp. However, this transition still took some time to realize in practice. After the Jews were removed from the Riga ghetto, some being transferred ultimately to concentration camps in the Reich where a number survived, the ghetto area was used to accommodate Russian refugees who had fled from the combat zone to the east.

The Higher SS and Police Leader Ostland, Friedrich Jeckeln, responsible for numerous Aktions against Jews in the Riga ghetto and surrounding territories, stands in the dock during his Soviet trial, which convened in Riga. The original caption reads, "View of the bench of the accused at a trial connected with the crimes of the fascist invaders on the territory of the Baltic republic, 1946."
USHMM WS #79152, COURTESY OF RGAKFD

Jewish resistance in the smaller ghettos consisted mainly of individual acts of defiance. In Jelgava, the Jewish pharmacist took poison; and in Viļāni, two Jews armed with shovels killed a Latvian guard, as he participated in the killing of Jews inside the ghetto. Some of the Lūdza Jews managed to flee while on work details outside the ghetto. A number of Jews managed to survive on the "Aryan side," usually with the help of Latvian acquaintances. The Jewish Police in Riga, composed of Latvian Jews, was very active in organizing armed resistance inside the ghetto, which resulted in the arrest and murder of the entire force in late October 1942, when the Germans uncovered details of their activities. In Višķi, at the time of the roundup to transfer them to the Daugavpils ghetto, some Jews hid in cellars, attics, and barns; most were soon

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Jews walk along a street in the Riga ghetto parallel to the barbed-wire fence, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #61533, COURTESY OF STA. HAMBURG

discovered and shot on the spot. Subsequently a number of Jews attempted to escape from the Daugavpils ghetto to join the Soviet partisans in the nearby Belorussian forests in the latter stages of the occupation.

In Aglona, the clergyman Dr. Aloizij Brok saved a Jewish woman who had converted to Catholicism and delivered a sermon titled "Thou Shalt Not Kill" on Christmas Eve in 1941. For his pains, he was arrested twice and ultimately perished in the Neuengamme concentration camp in 1943.

In Estonia the Holocaust was implemented somewhat differently than in Latvia. Due to the small number of Jews, formal ghettos were not created. Only in Tartu were the Jews concentrated separately from other arrested suspects in two houses, creating a form of ghetto for a short time before they were transferred to the Tartu concentration camp prior to their murder.

In Pärnu, Jewish women and children were placed first in the concentration camp at the "Betty Barn" until the end of October 1941, when they were transferred briefly to the town's synagogue before being murdered there by members of the Omakaitse (Estonian Self-Defense force). According to one source, the children were killed by giving them hot chocolate laced with poison. Between July 12 and December 12, 1941, the Estonian Self-Defense troops killed a total of 494 people in Pärnu, of whom 140 were Jews.[14]

In the capital, Tallinn, Jews were concentrated in the former sanatorium known as Harku. Files in the Estonian State Archives describe this facility as a camp in September 1941 and as a ghetto in October, but most historians refer to it as part of the Estonian system of prisons and improvised concentration camps.[15]

In Estonia, during the first weeks and months of the occupation, most of the Jews were soon arrested, mainly by the Estonian Self-Defense force or by the Estonian Security Police, acting under the direction of Einsatzgruppe A, and were shot by those units shortly afterwards. Male Jews were generally killed first. In Tallinn and Pärnu, female Jews, children, and elderly men were kept alive a little longer, with the women being exploited for forced labor. A unique feature of the genocide here is that arrest reports and even some interrogation records were prepared by the Estonian security forces for more than 400 of the victims, which provide a very detailed picture of who they were and the circumstances of their arrest and murder. By February 1942, the German and Estonian security forces had arrested and shot 963 Jews in Estonia.[16]

SOURCES Among the secondary works dealing with the fate of the Jews in the ghettos of Latvia, the following are to be recommended: Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die Endlösung im Ghetto Riga. Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–44* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006); Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), now also available in English as *Extermination of the Jews in Latvia, 1941–1945* (Riga: Society "Shamir," 2008); Boris Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii* (Daugavpils, 2003); Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006); Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996); Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982); and Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1999).

For Estonia, the following publications are of particular use: Anton Weiss-Wendt, *Murder without Hatred: Estonians and the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009); T. Hijo, M. Maripuu, and I. Paalve, eds., *Estonia 1940–1945: Reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity* (Tallinn: Estonian Foundation for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity, 2006); and Ruth Bettina Birn, *Sicherheitspolizei in Estland 1941–1944: Eine Studie zur Kollaboration im Osten* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006).

Useful reference works include: Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–1979); Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988); Wolfgang Scheffler and Diana Schulle, eds., *Buch der Erinnerung: Die ins Baltikum deportierten deutschen, österreichischen und tschechoslowakischen Juden* (Munich: Saur, 2003); and 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).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources can be found in the following publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps*

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(Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003); and Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997).

Significant published survivor memoirs include Frida Michelson, *I Survived Rumbuli* (New York: Holocaust Publications, 1979); Sydney Iwens, *How Dark the Heavens. 1400 Days in the Grip of Nazi Terror* (New York: Shengold, 1990); and Gertrude Schneider, *Journey into Terror: Story of the Riga Ghetto* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-DH; BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; GARF; IfZ; LG-Hamb; LVVA; NARA; RGVA; USHMM; VHF; WL; YIVO; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Barkagan, *Extermination of the Jews in Latvia*, pp. 38–39.
2. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2721528–2721530, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 24, July 16, 1941.
3. N-Doc., 180-L, report by Stahlecker on activities of EGA up to October 15, 1941 (original in GARF).
4. LVVA, P1026-1-3, p. 141, Befehlshaber des Rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Nord, order of July 24, 1941, on the marking of the Jewish population.
5. *Nacionālā Zemgale*, issues of July 2 and 8, 1941, as cited by Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*, pp. 158–159.
6. Michelson, *I Survived Rumbuli*, pp. 34–36.
7. Iwens, *How Dark the Heavens*, p. 46.
8. Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, p. 40; LVVA, P132-30-23, pp. 15–16.
9. Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, p. 34.
10. Barkagan, *Extermination of the Jews in Latvia*, pp. 136–138.
11. LVVA, P69-1a-19, p. 8.
12. NARA, T-459, reel 21, fr. 145–146, Gebietskommissar an HSSPF, December 13, 1941; fr. 147, Gebietskommissar an HSSPF, December 11, 1941; fr. 149–150, Vermerk Riga, December 11, 1941; fr. 163, an den Reichskommissar, December 4, 1941. See also Angrick and Klein, *Die Endlösung im Ghetto Riga*, pp. 138–184.
13. BA-BL, R 92/1157, folder 1, report of March 10, 1943.
14. According to the report of the Commander of the Security Police and the SD, July 1, 1942, in the Pernau area 177 Jews were killed. See GARF, 7021-97-881.
15. Birn, *Sicherheitspolizei in Estland*, pp. 159–160, Weiss-Wendt, *Murder without Hatred*, p. 132, uses only the term "concentration camp."
16. Weiss-Wendt, *Murder without Hatred*, pp. 131, 152–187.

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ESTONIA REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT ESTLAND)

TARTU

Pre-1940: Tartu, city and district center, Estonia; 1940–1941: Estonian SSR; 1941–1944: Dorpat, center, Kreis and Gebiet Dorpat, Generalkommissariat Estland; post-1991: Tartu, city and district center, Republic of Estonia

Tartu, Estonia's second-largest city, is located 185 kilometers (115 miles) south of Tallinn. According to the 1934 population census, 920 Jews were living in the city. German armed forces captured the city on July 11–12, 1941, three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, the vast majority of the Jewish population was able to evacuate; it was mainly the sick and elderly and some of their relatives (about 50 people) who remained in Tartu at the start of the German occupation.

At first, German Feldkommandantur 817 controlled the city, which was headed by Oberst Hans Gosebruch. In December 1941, authority in Estonia was transferred to a German civilian administration, and from mid-December 1941 onward, Tartu was governed by Kreisleiter Menen.

On July 12, 1941, Major Friedrich Kurg, the head of the Estonian nationalist "Forest Brothers" movement in southern Estonia, ordered the arrest of all the Jews in the city. Initially the Jews were herded into the synagogue on Turu Street. Soon, however, the military authorities decided to start using the synagogue as a makeshift prisoner-of-war (POW) camp, and the Jews were moved to two other houses. According to postwar testimony of the former Estonian officer Ants (Hans) Laats, who in the summer and fall of 1941 was the duty officer at the concentration camp in Tartu: "They brought the Jews into a small house on Aleksandra Street. The prisoners remained under guard for some time. Some Jewish families also were kept in a separate house on Parga Street."[1] In effect, these two houses formed a temporary or destruction ghetto for a few weeks.[2] Periodically Jews from the houses were taken out in groups and transferred to the Tartu concentration camp, which was located on Vystavochnaia Ploshchad', where they were held from the end of August 1941 in the so-called Kuperjanov Barracks. From this location, the Jews were then taken out and shot in an antitank ditch, usually only a few days after their arrival. Jewish men were shot first, followed by the women and children. In total, more than 50 Jews were killed in this manner in the summer of 1941.[3] In addition to the Jews, Gypsies, Communists, and Soviet POWs were also murdered in a similar manner in Tartu. Some of the victims were buried alive.

Isidor Lewin, a Jew from Tartu, found refuge in a monastery, thanks to the help of the university professor Dr. Otto Messing, and managed to survive the German occupation. Dr. Messing has been recognized as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.

Members of Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg cart away confiscated books in Tartu, Estonia, 1941–1943. The Offenbach Archival Depot annotated this photograph as part of its effort to document Jewish cultural property looted by the Nazis.
USHMM WS #30522, COURTESY OF YVA

SOURCES Publications concerning the murder of the Jews of Tartu under German occupation include Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 341–359; M. Maripuu, "Execution of Estonian Jews in Local Detention Institutions in 1941–1942," in T. Hijo, M. Maripuu, and I. Paalve, eds., *Estonia 1940–1945: Reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity* (Tallinn: Estonian Foundation for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity, 2006), p. 652. Anton Weiss-Wendt, *Murder without Hatred: Estonians and the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009), pp. 190–208, includes details about the arrest of individual Jews in Tartu and a description of the Tartu concentration camp, mainly from the trial of Iukhan Iuriste, Karl Linnas, and Ervin Viks in 1962.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217 and 218); ERA (R-60/2/139 and 200); GARF (7021-97-881); USHMM (RG-06.026); and YVA (M.31 [Otto Messing]).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Trial of Iukhan Iuriste, Karl Linnas, and Ervin Viks in Tartu, January 16–20, 1962, in the city of Tallinn, p. 25 (see USHMM, RG-06.026). The house on Aleksandra Street was a school building; see Jakob Kaplan, *Report: Some Days in the Life of a Tartu Jew* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2002), p. 13.
2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 111, October 12, 1941.
3. Ibid., R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 88, September 19, 1941. According to the report for the period July 1941–June 30, 1942, by the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Estonia, 53 Jews were killed in Tartu in July 1941; see GARF, 7021-97-881.

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LATVIA REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT LETTLAND)

AGLONA

Pre-1940: Aglona, village, Daugavpils aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis and Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Aglona is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) northeast of the city of Daugavpils. The 1935 census recorded 57 Jewish inhabitants, 20 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 28, 1941, one week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22.

A few days after the occupation, all the Jews were herded into a school, which became a temporary ghetto for them. Sometime later, the Jews were driven towards a lake, where they were shot in a forest. Latvian policemen carried out the shooting, while a German officer, according to the recollections of witnesses, recorded it on film; 56 people were shot.[1]

In the village of Somerseta (now part of Aglona), the synagogue was burned, the Jews were herded into a large building, and gold was demanded of them. Before the shooting, a small group of Jews was forced to go to the small river, and they were made to carry stones from one place to another for no purpose. A policeman tore one old man's beard, demanding that he perform the task more quickly. A few days later, local residents who came to the building into which the Jews had been moved saw that the walls were splashed with blood.

One Jewish woman, who had converted to Catholicism, was saved owing to the intervention of the dean of the Aglona Basilica, a doctor of theology and holder of the Order of Three Stars, Aloizij Brok. On Christmas Eve 1941, Dr. Brok delivered a sermon titled "Thou Shalt Not Kill." And though the priest named no names, everyone understood quite well that the sermon was directed against the murder of the innocent Jews of Aglona, against the extermination of the Jews. On December 30, 1941, Dr. Brok was arrested and placed in the Central Prison in Riga for three months. Hundreds of inhabitants of Latgalia placed their signatures on a letter to the German commandant in Daugavpils requesting the dean's release. Friends advised him not to return to Aglona, but the priest argued that he could not abandon the school or the monastery and church in Aglona. In January 1942, there was a fire in the high school, and on his return, Dr. Brok organized the restoration efforts. Not everyone in Aglona was pleased by his actions. In May 1942 he was arrested again, and in 1943 he perished in the Neuengamme concentration camp.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Aglona during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Iosif Rochko, "Kholokost v Latgalii," in B. Vol'kovich et al., eds., *Kholokost v Latgalii. Sbornik statei* (Daugavpils: Daugavpilsskaia evreiskaia obshchina, 2003), pp. 420–421; and Iosif Rochko, "Aglona," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 279–283.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Aglona can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-94); LVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-93-94, p. 11.

AIZPUTE

Pre-1940: Aizpute (Yiddish: Haznpot), town and capital, Aizpute aprinka, Kurzeme reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1945: Hasenpoth, Kreis center, Gebiet Libau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Aizpute, Kurzeme reģions, Republic of Latvia

Aizpute is located 150 kilometers (93 miles) west-southwest of Riga. According to the 1935 census, a total of 534 Jews resided in Aizpute.

Units of the German Army Group North captured the town on June 28, 1941, just six days after the invasion of the Soviet Union. In this short period, only a part of the Jewish population managed to escape into the interior of the Soviet Union. At the start of the German occupation, more than 400 Jews were still in the town.

On July 24, 1941, the Germans carried out the first anti-Jewish Aktion in Aizpute, in which 39 Jews and two Latvian women were taken to the woods near the local Jewish cemetery and shot.[1] This killing Aktion was in all likelihood carried out by members of the Libau SD detachment under the supervision of Erhard Grauel.

Very little information is available on the living conditions of the Jews in Aizpute during the summer and early fall of 1941. According to historian Ilya Altman, at some time after the first Aktion, the remaining Jews may have been isolated in a ghetto, located in the poorest area of the town. The Jews faced various forms of physical abuse, looting, and humiliations at the hands of the Latvian guards. In addition, all the property of the Jews was confiscated, and they were forced to perform physically demanding work.

Forces of the German Security Police outpost (Sicherheitspolizei-Aussenstelle) in Libau under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Wolfgang Kügler arrived in Aizpute on October 27, 1941, to shoot the remaining Jews there in collaboration with Latvian auxiliary police forces.[2] Available sources indicate that the Jews of Aizpute had been gathered in the synagogue by the Latvian police on the day prior to the Aktion. To mislead them, the Jews had been informed that they would be transferred to another place and were permitted to take some hand luggage with them. The Latvian police ordered local truck drivers to transport the Jews (men, women,

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and children) and their belongings to the killing site located in a forest approximately 3.5 kilometers (2 miles) outside the town, near the railway station at Kalvene, where the execution squad waited. The Latvian policemen involved in this Aktion wore Aizsārgi uniforms or civilian clothes. The Aktion lasted until late afternoon, and in total more than 330 Jews were shot. After the killing, a sign marked *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews) was posted at the town's limits.[3]

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Aizpute is mentioned in Ilya Altman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 91.

Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Aizpute during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Aizpute," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 54–59; "Aizpute," in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:28–29; Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), pp. 297–298; and "Aizpute," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 106–107.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Aizpute can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-9-2390); LVVA (P83-1-26); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. See the records of the Aizpute Local Commission, July 16, 1945, published in *My obviniaem* (Riga, 1967), p. 135.
2. Ibid.
3. LVVA, P83-1-26, report of the Sicherheitspolizei Aussenstelle Libau, November 3, 1941, to the SS- und Polizeistandortführer, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Dietrich. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 36 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), Lfd. Nr. 760a, pp. 193–194; and *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Lfd. Nr. 1046a, pp. 343–344. According to the files of the Aizpute Local Commission from July 16, 1945, approximately 600 individuals were killed; this number is probably too high.

BALVI

Pre-1940: Balvi (Yiddish: Bulavai), town, Abrene aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Abrene, Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Balvi is located about 146 kilometers (91 miles) north-northeast of Daugavpils. According to the 1935 census, there were 379 Jews living in Balvi (19 percent of the town's total population).

German armed forces occupied the town on July 4, 1941, two weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews succeeded in evacuating to the interior of the USSR, and as a result, around 300 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Several days after the town was occupied, all the Jews remaining under the occupation, as well as several hundred Jewish refugees from Riga and Lithuania, were isolated in an improvised form of ghetto. According to some sources, the "Gypsy quarter" of the town was designated to serve as the ghetto. Iosif Rochko's article, published in *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945*, notes that several places in the town were designated as holding areas for Jews. He adds that the Jewish women were kept in the jail, where the Germans and their accomplices raped the young girls. *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life* also refers to a ghetto in Balvi.

In the ghetto, the Jews were subjected to systematic mockery, beating, and robbery by the Latvian Self-Defense force. The Latvian police also murdered a number of Jews. The Jews spent about one month in the ghetto.

On August 8 or 9, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated; all the Jews were shot in a forest about 6 kilometers (4 miles) from town on the road to Gulbene. The shooting was carried out by a detachment of the Arājs Kommando that had come from Riga and by local police. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) found seven graves at this spot containing 920 corpses. Of these, 252 were the bodies of children. If these figures are accurate, then probably some non-Jews were buried here as well.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Balvi during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Balvi," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 69–71; "Balvi," 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), p. 83; "Balvi," in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia", "Epos," 2000), 4:76; and Iosif Rochko, "Balvy," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 274–276.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Balvi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-93); LVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

BAUSKA

Pre-1940: Bauska (Yiddish: Boisk), town and capital, Bauska aprinka, Zemgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Bausk, Kreis Bausk, Gebiet Mitau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Bauska, Zemgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

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Bauska is located 66 kilometers (41 miles) south of Riga, the Latvian capital, and 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from the Lithuanian border. According to the 1935 census, Bauska had a Jewish population of 778, comprising 16 percent of the total. These figures were approximately the same in the summer of 1941.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 28, 1941, one week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR, and as a result, about 700 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

On July 2, 1941, a squad of Germans shot 10 members of the Red Army, 5 Latvians, and 5 Jews in Bauska, near the bridge across the Memel River.

According to the account compiled by historian Rita Bogdanova, on July 4, 1941, the Jews were ordered to register, and on July 9 they were dismissed from their jobs and were forbidden to live in certain parts of town. They were given 48 hours to leave the neighborhoods that were declared off limits and to move to the edge of town, establishing a form of open ghetto. On July 24, they were prohibited from leaving the ghetto to purchase food at the town market. The area set aside for the Jews contained mainly the elderly, women, and children; the men were used for various kinds of work in the town or on peasants' farms. In mid-July, 56 Jewish males, including nine boys between the ages of 8 and 15, were sterilized in Bauska's outpatient clinic. Then they all were shot with the exception of Izrail' Toik, who managed to escape and hide.

In the ghetto, the Jews were subjected to systematic humiliation, beating, and robbery by the Latvian security force. The Jews spent about one month in the ghetto. In mid- or late August 1941, the ghetto was liquidated: all the remaining Jews were shot in a forest 8 kilometers (5 miles) from town. The shooting was carried out by a detachment of the Arājs Kommando, which had come from Riga, and by local policemen.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Bauska during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Bauska," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 63–69; "Bauska," 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), p. 92; "Bauska," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:88–89; Rita Bogdanova, "Bauska," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 130–133; and Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), p. 212.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Bauska can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-2391); LVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

DAUGAVPILS

Pre-1940: Daugavpils (Yiddish: Dvinsk), city, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941-1944: Dünaburg, Kreis and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Daugavpils, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Daugavpils is located about 230 kilometers (143 miles) southeast of Riga. Following severe damage and evacuations during World War I, in 1935 there were 11,106 Jews living in the city (about 25 percent of the total population).

The Wehrmacht and a detachment of Einsatzgruppe A occupied Daugavpils on June 26, 1941. Much of the local population, including many Jews, fled before the German advance. By July 3, Latvians had organized a city administration and a local police force. By July 7, Latvian Self-Defense units and the German police had arrested 1,125 Jews (mostly male). In the Einsatzgruppen report dated July 16, 1941, the commander of Einsatzgruppe A, Dr. Walther Stahlecker, noted that his units had already killed 1,150 Jews in Daugavpils.[1]

By mid-July 1941, the German authorities had decided to create a ghetto, and on July 31, the Daugavpils ghetto was enclosed.[2] It is not possible to reconstruct exactly who was responsible for this decision. However, the fact that the ghetto was set up in July 1941, before the establishment of a civil administration, indicates that it probably emerged from consultations between the Security Police and the military administration. The ghetto was intended not only for the Jews of Daugavpils; the Germans also brought in an unknown number of Jews from the surrounding area, including the towns of Rēzekne, Subate, and Kraslava. In addition, a number of Lithuanian Jews who had fled before the advancing German troops ended up in the Daugavpils ghetto.[3] The commander of Einsatzkommando 2, Rudolf Batz, based in Riga, had established a branch office of the Security Police in Daugavpils under Günther Tabbert by the end of August 1941. He was also responsible for the ghetto.

As Sidney Iwens described it: "[O]ur ghetto was actually the old fortress, on the 'other' (western) side of the Daugava. It was several kilometers northwest of the city, next to the steel railroad bridge. . . . A massive semicircular structure of concrete and stone, it touched the river at one end, completed a half circle and reached the river again at the other end. The building was very long, more than half a kilometer [a third of a mile], and actually consisted of a series of two-story structures, all connected but with separate entrances. The walls of the buildings were thick and had no windows facing out, except for a few in the hallways."[4] The building had been constructed as a barracks during the Napoleonic period. The downstairs floors had been used as stables for the horses, while the upper floors comprised living space for the soldiers. After the establishment of the ghetto, the Jews rapidly had to move into any available space they could find, as there was terrible overcrowding. As Paula Frankel-Saltzman recalled: "people lay on top of one another and it was choking. We

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barely found a spot to put father down on a bare piece of earth."[5]

The everyday running of the ghetto rested in the hands of the Latvian mayor of Daugavpils, an individual named Saube. With regard to the "Jewish area," Saube cooperated closely with the Latvian police officer Roberts Blūzmanis, who directed the process of ghettoization.[6] On July 27, 1941, Blūzmanis informed his superior, Saube, about the steps he had taken for the establishment of the ghetto, which included the deployment of guards for its isolation and the organization of forced labor for the Jews. On July 30, 1941, Blūzmanis ordered that a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was to take care of daily affairs inside the ghetto and had to carry out the instructions of the city administration and the police. The Jewish Council also established three departments—for political leadership, economic management, and health. The delivery of goods into the ghetto was the responsibility of the Latvian mayor. In addition, the Jewish Council had to register the Jews in the ghetto and organize the so-called cash fund. The implementation of forced labor was also the responsibility of the Jewish Council, closely supervised by the local police authorities. The ghetto administration had to apply for all goods, materials, or equipment necessary for the maintenance of the ghetto or its inmates. An interim ghetto police force was established, commanded by Pasternak, which kept order inside the ghetto.

An unknown number of workshops existed in the Daugavpils ghetto, but no details are available on the amount and type of goods they produced. The mayor of Daugavpils ordered that 80 percent of the profits from these workshops be diverted into the ghetto's "cash fund," and the remaining 20 percent was to be paid to needy families inside the ghetto. The financial resources of the cash fund were used to buy goods for the ghetto, mostly food and clothing. A number of Jews, especially skilled craftsmen, worked outside the ghetto, primarily for the Wehrmacht. A normal working day lasted eight hours plus the time taken commuting.[7] The precise infrastructure of the Daugavpils ghetto has not been clearly documented. Presumably there was no sewage system, which might have offered a possible escape route.

Most of the inhabitants of the Daugavpils ghetto were killed within a short period of time in several smaller Aktions and one main shooting Aktion. When the ghetto was enclosed at the end of July 1941, it held approximately 11,000 people, a mixture of Jews from the city of Daugavpils, Jews from the surrounding towns, and Jewish refugees who had become trapped. A list of the inhabitants of the Daugavpils ghetto, dated December 5, 1941, gives the names and dates of birth of 962 Jews who were then still alive.[8]

The first two shooting Aktions took place in the period from late July to mid-August at Pogulianka, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Daugavpils.[9] Some Jews resisted, but in vain. Latvian auxiliary police guarded the victims on the way to the mass graves. The Security Police, under Tabbert's leadership, did the shooting. The precise number of victims is unknown, but estimates range from 800 to 3,000.

Another, larger massacre took place on two days between August 15 and August 20, 1941. The Security Police, under Tabbert's direction, conducted selections and divided the ghetto inmates into two groups, one of workers for the Wehrmacht and the civilian administration, and the second made up of the unemployed, who were held overnight before being marched to Pogulianka and shot. The number of victims is estimated at 3,000. In addition, 400 children from the ghetto orphanage were killed that August, along with the institution's staff.

Between November 7 and November 9, all of the Jews not needed as laborers for the German administration were shot, on the orders of the Security Police. The Daugavpils police, including the Latvian auxiliary forces, were not sufficient for this task, so a detachment of the Latvian auxiliary police unit (Arājs Kommando) commanded by Viktors Arājs, which conducted a large part of the killing of Jews in Nazi-occupied Latvia, was sent to Daugavpils to assist. The German Security Police and Latvian auxiliaries killed between 3,000 and 6,000 Jews on this occasion, again at Pogulianka.

Following that large massacre, there were just under 1,000 Jews remaining. In late November or early December 1941, a typhus epidemic began, and the Germans quarantined the ghetto, aside from a few hundred Jews whom they allowed to live and work outside. Roughly half the remaining inhabitants died.

The Security Police, assisted by members of the Arājs Kommando, cleared the ghetto of its inhabitants on May 17, 1942. About 500 Jews were brought on trucks to Pogulianka, where they were shot. Another 350 to 400 remained in Daugavpils, mostly those who had previously worked outside the ghetto. After the liquidation, many tried to flee to join the partisans in the Belorussian forests, especially those near Brasław. Many escapees were arrested or had to return to Daugavpils. Some Jews in the ghetto managed to acquire weapons.

The final clearing of the remnant of the ghetto took place in October 1943. A group of Jews put up armed resistance, but to little avail. A few dozen escaped. Most were either killed or sent to Riga. From there they were sent to the Kaiserwald camp and some on to the Stutthof concentration camp. A few artisans were allowed to remain in Daugavpils.[10] It is not possible to say how many Jews survived the Daugavpils ghetto, but it is clear that the death rate was very high, exceeding 90 percent.

In comparison with other ghettos, forced labor did not play a key role in keeping the Jews alive. Within 10 months of its establishment, the Daugavpils ghetto was cleared, whereas other large ghettos in Latvia and Lithuania survived three years.

SOURCES Contemporary documentation about the history of the ghetto is incomplete. Only the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto can be reconstructed from the surviving orders of the Latvian mayor of Daugavpils. There is some material on the main killing Aktions, mainly as a result of postwar West German investigations. The remaining fragmentary picture of life inside the ghetto has to be reconstructed from survivor testimonies.

An important source of original testimonies is the yizkor book *L'zekher Kehilat Dvinsk* (Haifa: Hativat Benayim "Kiah,"

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1974), which can be supplemented by Sidney Iwens's "reconstructed diary," *How Dark the Heavens. 1400 Days in the Grip of Nazi Terror* (New York: Shengold, 1990). In addition, there is a useful article on "Daugavpils" in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 83–106. Another published firsthand account now available in English is Paula Frankel-Zaltzman's memoir, originally published in Yiddish in 1947, *Haftling (Prisoner) No. 94771* (Montreal: Concordia University, 2003). Finally, the recent Russian publication *Daugavpilsskaia evreiskaia obshchina*, *Evrei v Daugavpilse: I storicheskiye ocherki* (Daugavpils: Daugavpilsskaia evreiskaia obshchina, 1993) also contains some information on the ghetto.

Records of the Latvian police in Daugavpils can be found in LVVA. Captured German documentation on the Nazi occupation of Latvia can be found at NARA (RG-242), the originals of which are now located at BA-BL. The most important German postwar investigation with regard to Daugavpils is that against Günther Tabbert conducted by the State Prosecutor in Dortmund (45 Ks 1/68). There are also a number of testimonies from survivors to be found at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem (YVA) and at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (AŻIH, 301/81 and 1408).

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NOTES

1. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2721528–2721530.
2. AŻIH, 301/81, testimony of Ela Wowsi, states that the Jews of Daugavpils were moved into the ghetto on July 26, 1941, and that Jews from the surrounding towns were brought in a while later.
3. Iwens, *How Dark the Heavens*, p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 46.
5. Frankel-Zaltzman, *Haftling (Prisoner) No. 94771*, p. 21.
6. Indictment (Anklage) against Günther Hugo Friedrich Tabbert (born August 21, 1916, in Berlin), LG-Dort 1968–1969, 45 Ks 1/68.
7. LVVA, Police Records Daugavpils, P1398-1-23, pp. 5–6.
8. Ibid., P6962-21-26, pp. 1–18.
9. Iwens, *How Dark the Heavens*, p. 50, dates this Aktion as August 1 and cites 2,000 victims.
10. Ibid.; and Indictment against Günther Hugo Friedrich Tabbert.

DOBELE

Pre-1940: Dobele, town, Jelgava aprinka, Zemgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Dubeln, Kreis and Gebiet Mitau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Dobele, Zemgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Dobele is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) southwest of Riga. According to the 1935 census, 72 Jews resided in Dobele (2.9 percent of the total population).[1] German armed forces entered Dobele at the beginning of July 1941, most likely on July 3. Initially the town was under the jurisdiction of a German military administration, but before long authority was transferred to a civil government, based in Jelgava. The town was probably too small for the establishment of a German local government. As in many other small towns of Nazi-occupied Latvia, the local administration of Dobele was in the hands of Latvian police and civilian authorities, who followed German orders and directives. The first measures against the local Jews came right after the German troops entered the town. Jews were abused on the streets, and the local synagogue was burned.

On July 4, 1941, the head of the Third Dobele District of the Jelgava Police, a man named Markevičs, issued Order No. 9, which required all the Jews of Dobele to gather at the local elementary school on the edge of town by midnight on July 5, 1941.[2] The order, which went to every Jewish household in town, stated that the purpose of the assembly was to identify and send Jews to various work assignments. In addition, it specified that the Jews would be allowed to take with them a total of 1,000 rubles and food for three days for each person. Most of the Dobele Jewish population obeyed this order. Those Jews who did not report to the school building were forced out of their houses by the Latvian auxiliary police. A total of 48 Jews were registered at the gathering point: 18 men, 17 women, and 13 children. After they were collected in the building, they were organized into groups of 10 to 15 people and sent on work assignments. Their tasks included cleaning the local railroad station and working on the farm of Miervaldis Beitlers, a member of the Latvian Self-Defense force. The Dobele Jews were held in the school building for more than one week and were required to perform various kinds of physically demanding work.

After about 10 days, the Jews were taken by truck to the Lielbērzi Forest, about 5.5 kilometers (3.4 miles) from Dobele, and killed there. A witness, Alberts Tamsons, remembered that on July 12 or 13, 1941, at about 10:00 A.M., he saw three trucks loaded with Jews and guarded by German and Latvian police leave the town of Dobele. The convoy went in the direction of Saldus. In each truck, he recalled, were about 24 Jews. The trucks went to the Lielbērzi Forest, where a short time later shots were heard. Most likely, policemen from the Jelgava police district conducted this mass shooting. Most of the Jews who had been detained in the school building were killed in this manner.[3] According to the account compiled by Rita Bogdanova, 10 of the Jews who had been doing farmwork were killed separately. A truck came to the farmstead, and the Latvians and Germans on the truck took the Jews' passports, made them form a column, 2 abreast, and marched them into the "Pakaishskii Forest" 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) away. The Jewish men were forced to dig a pit; then all the Jews were shot. After burying them, the team on the truck returned to Dobele.

SOURCES The fate of the Jews of Dobele during the Holocaust is mentioned in the following publications: Rita Bogdanova, "Dobele," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 120–122; Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the

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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), p. 237; and Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 106–108.

Information on the fate of the Jews of Dobele during the Nazi occupation of the town can be found in the files of the ChGK in LVVA (P132-30-22, p. 11).

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NOTES

1. Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944*, p. 237.
2. LVVA, P132-30-22, p. 11.
3. Ibid.

GOSTINI

Pre-1940: Gostini (Yiddish: Dankere), town, Daugavpils aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Trentelberg, Kreis and Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland, post-1991: Gostini, Zemgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Gostini is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) northwest of Daugavpils. In 1920, the Jewish population was 544 (out of a total population of 878). Until 1933, it was known as Glazmanka. In that year it received its urban status and was renamed Gostini. In 1935, 504 Jews (54 percent of the total) were living in Gostini.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 28, 1941, just under a week after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Some Jews were able to evacuate. Around 250 Jews remained in Gostini at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately after the retreat of the Red Army, Latvian nationalists organized a "Self-Defense" detachment made up of 18 men. It was headed by Peteris Reinfelds, the principal of the local school. He was assisted by Janis Vinters, the chief of police. At the start of July 1941, members of the Self-Defense detachment herded all the Jews into the market square, confiscated all their valuables, and then drove them into two synagogues (with the men separated from the women). After one person from each family was allowed to return home and gather only basic items and goods for his family, the Jews were resettled into a separate quarter of town, which served as a ghetto. The ghetto was guarded by armed members of the Self-Defense detachment.

The ghetto quarter, which included the synagogues, was located on Bol'shaia Street, near the bridge across the Aiviekste River. The head of the ghetto was V. Krastin'sh, who was proclaimed the "Jewish commandant." The Jews lived in the ghetto for just over two weeks. From the ghetto, the Jews were taken out regularly to perform agricultural labor, and some of them were sent to the neighboring town of Pliavinias to clear away ruins.

On July 31, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. All the Jews were taken to the Kakish marshes, about 10 kilometers (6 miles) from the town. There they were shot by a detachment of the Arājs Kommando that had come from Riga and by members of the local Self-Defense detachment. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents, 242 persons were shot, or 60 families. On that same day, Jews from Krustpils and Pliavinias also were murdered.

After the shooting, local residents buried the corpses. Some of the valuables confiscated from the Jews were taken by the head of the Arājs Kommando group, and other items were stolen by members of the local Self-Defense force. The remaining movable property of the Jews collected during the shooting and recovered from the Jews' homes was stored in four or five houses.

Only two of Gostini's Jews are known to have survived the mass shooting: the Lat brothers, both teenagers. One brother, Motke, hid in Gostini in the home of a married couple, A. and B. Purvin'sh, and in the home of L. Ginter. However, in November 1942, he was caught by the Jekabpils police. He subsequently died in the Riga Central Prison on April 26, 1943. The other brother, Menke, managed to survive, despite being beaten and left for dead. He received help from K. Vitolin'sh of Odzene, who took him into his own home and hid him until the end of the German occupation.

In the period 1944–1946, 18 former members of the Self-Defense detachment were sentenced for their role in the murder of the Jews: 4 of them, including Peteris Reinfelds, were sentenced to death; 10 were sentenced to 20 years in prison; and 4 received prison sentences of 15 years.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Gostini in the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Gostini," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 75–76; G. Smirin and M. Meler, eds., "Pamiati evreev Dankere," *Lekhaim* (Moscow), no. 10 (2002): 19–25; and "Gostini," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 269–271.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Gostini can be found in these archives: GARF (7021-93-2401 to 2403); and LVA (1986-1-17630, pp. 22, 58; 1986-1-28840, pp. 13–14; 1986-1-45050, vol. 7, p. 106).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

GULBENE

Pre-1940: Gulbene, town, Madona aprinka, Vidzeme reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Schwanenburg, Kreis Modohn, Gebiet Wolmar, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Gulbene, Vidzeme reģions, Republic of Latvia

According to the 1935 census, there were 84 Jews living in Gulbene (2.2 percent of the total population). Gulbene is approximately 166 kilometers (103 miles) east of Riga.

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German armed forces occupied the town on July 3, 1941, 12 days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, only a few of the town's Jews managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR. The Jews who remained in the town, as well as the Jewish refugees (more than 150 people in all), were rounded up at some time in July and imprisoned on an estate within the town. Subsequently they were transferred into sheds on the grounds of the Gulbene railroad station. This incarceration can be viewed as a temporary ghetto. The Jews remained in the ghetto until August 9, 1941, when they were taken away in two railroad cars to a former Latvian army shooting range in the village of Litene. There they were shot by a detachment of the Arājs Kommando. Several dozen Jews from the Litene civil parish were shot along with them.[1]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Gulbene during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Gulbene," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 74–75; Rita Bogdanova, "Gulbene," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Extermination of the Jews in Latvia, 1941–1945* (Riga: Society "Shamir," 2008), p. 144; "Gulbene," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:360; and A. Urtāns, "Ebreju slepkavošana Madonas apriņķī," in *Latvijas Vēsturnieku komisijas Raksti. 23. sējums* (Riga, 2008), pp. 103–105.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Gulbene can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-2428 to 2430); LVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. A. Urtāns, "Ebreju slepkavošana Madonas apriņķī," pp. 103–105.

JAUNJELGAVA

Pre-1940: Jaunjelgava (Yiddish: Nairi), town, Jēkabpils aprinka, Zemgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Friedrichstadt, Kreis Jakobstadt, Gebiet Mitau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Jaunjelgava, Riga reģions, Republic of Latvia

Jaunjelgava is located 80 kilometers (50 miles) southeast of Riga, on the left bank of the Daugava River. The census of 1930 showed that there were 619 Jews living in Jaunjelgava. By 1935, the Jewish community had declined to 561 people, comprising about one quarter of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town at the end of June 1941, less than one week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, only a small part of the Jewish population succeeded in evacuating to the interior of the USSR. Slightly more than 500 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

According to the account compiled by Rita Bogdanova, in early July, all the Jews were registered, evicted from their homes, and confined within a "ghetto" composed of one or two synagogues, with the men held separately from the women. There they suffered from hunger and were severely abused by the Latvians. Jews were also obliged to display a yellow patch on their clothing. The men were led out under guard to work on reinforcing the banks of the Daugava River, and the women were taken out to clean the apartments of the German officers. On July 11, 10 kilometers (6 miles) from Jaunjelgava, more than 80 Jews and 20 Soviet activists were shot.[1]

The other Jews remained in the synagogue ghetto for almost one month. On August 2, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated.[2] On that day, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from the town, near the Totanskoe cemetery, 350 Jews of Jaunjelgava were shot. Later in August, in a forest in the direction of Bauska, 50 more Jews conveyed there in horse-drawn carts were shot. The mass executions were carried out by a detachment of the Arājs Kommando that had come from Riga and by members of the local Self-Defense detachment and police force. The Self-Defense company in Jaunjelgava was commanded at that time by Andrejs Ikaunieks, and the head of the police precinct was Oskars Balodis. In total, more than 500 Jews were killed in Jaunjelgava in July and August 1941.[3]

After the war, 5 former members of the Self-Defense detachment were sentenced to execution by shooting for participation in the murder of the Jews of Jaunjelgava in the summer of 1941, and 42 other perpetrators received prison terms of various lengths.[4]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Jaunjelgava during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Jaunijelgava," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 140–145; "Jaunijelgava," 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), p. 569; Uldis Lasmanis, "Nairi pilsētas ebreju kopienas gals (holokausts Jaunjelgavā)," in *Latvijas Vēsturnieku komisijas Raksti, 12. sējums* (Riga, 2004), pp. 278–357; and Rita Bogdanova, "Jaunjelgava," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 134–136.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Jaunjelgava can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-2400); LVVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Lasmanis, "Nairi pilsētas," pp. 315–316.
2. Ibid., pp. 319, 321. A different date (August 7, 1941) is given on the memorial at the site of the massacre.

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3. Ibid., pp. 335–338 (list of names of Jewish victims). According to ChGK materials, 565 Jews in total were killed (GARF, 7021-93-2400, pp. 257–258).
4. Lasmanis, "Nairi pilsētas," pp. 331–332.

JĒKABPILS

Pre-1940: Jēkabpils, town and capital, Jēkabpils aprinka, Zemgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Jakobstadt, capital, Kreis Jakobstadt, Gebiet Mitau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Jēkabpils, Zemgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Jēkabpils is located on the Riga-Daugavpils highway, about 120 kilometers (75 miles) southeast of Riga. According to the 1935 census, there were 793 Jews living in Jēkabpils, representing 14 percent of the town's population. By mid-1941, the number of Jews had declined slightly.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 29, 1941, one week after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some of the town's Jews managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR. Around 400 to 500 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Soon after the German troops invaded the town, all the Jews were isolated in the synagogues, which, in the view of some historians, served as a makeshift ghetto. There the Jews were subjected to systematic insults, beatings, and robbery by the Latvian guards. The Latvian police also carried out a number of killings of Jews. All the belongings of the Jews were confiscated, and each day they were assigned to perform various types of hard physical labor.

The Jews remained in the synagogues until September 12, 1941. On that day, all the Jews, about 470 people,[1] were shot in a peat bog near the village of Kūkas, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) east of the town, on the road to Rēzekne. A detachment of the Arājs Kommando, along with local police, carried out the mass killing.

SOURCES The term "ghetto" is used to describe the confinement of the Jews in Jēkabpils by Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR, 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), p. 91. "Ekabpils," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:427, dates the mass shooting of the Jews on September 12, 1941. Rita Bogdanova, "Ekabpils," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 136–137, gives the figure of 418 Jews murdered in Jēkabpils. Additional information on the fate of the Jewish community of Jēkabpils during the Holocaust can be found in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 145–149; and 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), pp. 570–571.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Jēkabpils can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-2400); LVVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-93-2400, p. 28 (reverse side).

JELGAVA

Pre-1940: Jelgava (Yiddish: Mitoi), town and capital, Jelgava aprinka, Zemgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: center, Kreis and Gebiet Mitau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Zemgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Jelgava is a major railway hub located in central Latvia, about 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) southwest of Riga. According to the 1935 census, Jelgava had 2,039 Jewish inhabitants, 6 percent of the town's total population.

Road sign for Mitau (Jelgava), Latvia, proclaiming that the town is "Jew-free, moving in by Jews forbidden," 1941–1944.
USHMM WS #58925, COURTESY OF STADTAN, SIGNATURE E39 NR. 699/1

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German armed forces occupied Jelgava on June 29, 1941, one week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, only a small part of the Jewish community managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR, and more than 1,500 Jews remained in Jelgava at the start of the German occupation.

Under the leadership of Mārtiņš Vagulāns, who organized the local branch of the Latvian SD, which was subordinated to Einsatzgruppe A commanded by Walter Stahlecker, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Jelgava, announced by Vagulāns in the newspaper *Nacionālā Zemgale*. On July 1, 1941, Jews were forbidden to own, manage, or be employed in stores that sold food products, and from July 3, all stores were forbidden to sell anything to Jews. The July 2 issue of *Nacionālā Zemgale* announced that all Jews had to be dismissed from their employment and that Jewish citizens living in certain designated districts and streets had to vacate their residences and places of employment by 6:00 P.M. on July 5. Jews were also forbidden to go to theaters, cinemas, public parks, and museums. Then on July 8, Vagulāns ordered that all Jews were to be assembled, temporarily employed on public works, and registered.[1]

As a result of these orders, between July 6 and July 18, most of the remaining Jews in Jelgava were placed in several vacant houses, which served as a "ghetto" or concentration point. The Jews were left without food and water in this ghetto for at least one week. Jewish men were separated from their families and made to perform forced labor. The Jelgava SD also took measures to try to prevent the widespread looting of properties vacated by the Jews. Under guard, Red Army prisoners of war (POWs) from a POW camp set up nearby were forced to search the Jews' previous residences and confiscate valuables. One night some Jews were moved into the Jelgava synagogue, which then was blown up, killing the people inside.

On August 1, a further article in *Nacionālā Zemgale* announced that all Jews living in Jelgava town and district had to leave by noon on August 2 and that those not complying would be punished in accordance with the laws of war. Since the Jews were already concentrated and were under guard, this announcement reflected their ongoing destruction.[2]

The majority of Jelgava's Jews were shot in a series of Aktions at a former shooting range of the 3rd Jelgava Infantry Regiment of the Latvian army, just outside the town, which in the view of historian Andrew Ezergailis probably took place mostly at the end of July or the beginning of August. The Jews were taken there in open trucks, about 50 people per truck. The shootings were carried out by Latvian policemen, headed by Vagulāns, and a detachment of Einsatzkommando 2 (the detachment was commanded by SS-Sturmscharführer Alfred Becu). The Latvians brought the Jewish victims to the killing site, where German and Latvian police awaited them. A squad of 10 men did the shooting, while the rest guarded the Jews and sealed off the area from curious onlookers. Strong Jewish men were selected to dig the ditches. The victims were ordered to strip off their clothes and hand over any valuables in their possession. Then they were brought in groups of 5 to the ditch and shot. On at least one occasion the Latvians carried out the shooting. During and after the bloody massacres, some of the German murderers and the Latvian police drank alcohol to calm their nerves.[3] To avoid being murdered by the Germans, the pharmacist Gitta Rosenberg and her six-year-old daughter Atidah killed themselves by taking poison.

According to the activity report of Einsatzgruppe A for the first half of August 1941, "pogroms" in Jelgava had resulted in the elimination of all 1,550 Jews in the town.[4] On August 15, Jelgava was declared to have been completely cleansed of Jews.[5] The last 21 Jews reportedly in the town just before this date were sent to Daugavpils by way of Ilūkste on the orders of Gebietskommissar Freiherr von Medem.[6] In early September 1941, in a further Aktion conducted at the

Portrait of Feiga (Fanny) and Herman Hersberg, ca. 1935. Both perished in the Jelgava ghetto.
USHMM WS #19650, COURTESY OF SIA IZRAILEWITSCH HERTSBERG

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psychiatric hospital in Jelgava, 52 mentally ill Jews were selected and shot.[7]

In August 1944, the Red Army recaptured Jelgava from the Germans. After World War II, there was no significant Jewish presence in the town.

SOURCES The existence of a "ghetto" in Jelgava is mentioned by Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 91. The most detailed account of the events in Jelgava is by Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), pp. 156–162, which refers to a concentration camp rather than a ghetto as the assembly point for the Jews but provides no description of its location and the conditions there. The main source used by Ezergailis is the Latvian newspaper *Nacionālā Zemgale* from July and August 1941, of which Mārtiņš Vagulāns was both publisher and editor. Vagulāns was dismissed from his positions as head of the Jelgava SD and with *Nacionālā Zemgale* for reasons unknown on August 16, 1941.

Additional information on the fate of the Jewish community of Jelgava during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Jelgava," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 149–159; 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), pp. 571–572; "Elgava," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:429; and Rita Bogdanova, "Elgava," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 127–130.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Jelgava can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216-17); BA-L (B162/2620-37); GARF (7021-93-2405); LVVA; USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Nacionālā Zemgale*, July 2 and 8, 1941, as cited by Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*, pp. 158–159, also listing those streets from which Jews were forced to move.
2. *Nacionālā Zemgale*, August 1, 1941, as cited in ibid., p. 161.
3. See Verdict of LG-Kö, July 8, 1968 (24 Ks 1/68), against Adelt und Becu, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 30 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 686.
4. Activity and situation report of the Einsatzgruppen no. 2 (reporting period July 29 to August 14, 1941), in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), here p. 145.
5. *Nacionālā Zemgale*, August 15, 1941, as cited in Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*, p. 161.
6. See report of the Gebietskommissar in Jelgava (Mitau), August 12, 1941, in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–44* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), p. 87.
7. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 96, September 27, 1941.

KĀRSAVA

Pre-1940: Kārsava (Yiddish: Korsove), village, Lūdza aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Karsava (Russian: Korsovka), Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreslau, Kreis Ludsen, Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1990: Kārsava, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Kārsava is located 126 kilometers (78 miles) northeast of Daugavpils. In 1935, a total of 785 Jews resided in Kārsava, comprising 42 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied Kārsava on July 3, 1941. A number of local Jews managed to escape the German invaders by fleeing into the Soviet interior. However, some Jewish refugees from Lithuania and other parts of Latvia became trapped in Kārsava owing to the speed of the German advance. Upon arrival, German forces established a military administration (Ortskommandantur) in Kārsava. In August 1941, a civil administration assumed authority in the region. Kārsava became part of Gebietskommissariat Dünaburg. As in many other small towns and villages, the local authorities in Kārsava were recruited from the local population. While they remained under the supervision of the German authorities and the German Security Police, the local authorities and the Latvian auxiliary police (also known as the Latvian Self-Defense force, or the Aizsārgi) conducted most of the anti-Jewish measures on their own initiative. Einsatzkommando 3 of Einsatzgruppe A, which followed the German troops and liquidated Jews and Communists in parts of Latvia, was active in the Daugavpils area between July 13 and August 21, 1941. According to German sources, Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by the "Rollkommando Hamann," was involved in the murder of more than 9,000 Jewish men, women, and children during this period, but it is not clear whether this figure includes the Jews of Kārsava.[1]

On the arrival of German forces in Kārsava, they immediately took measures against the Jewish population. A large number of Jews were arrested and taken to the Kārsava prison, where they were interrogated and accused of supporting the Soviet regime. Most of the incarcerated Jews, about 25 people, were shot shortly afterwards. Around this time, local Latvian auxiliary policemen, operating in conjunction with the German armed forces, entered Jewish houses and looted their property. The Jews were beaten, arrested, or shot on the spot. A witness remembered an incident when three Latvian auxiliary policemen by the names of Veināns, Troics, and Kapca looted the house of the family of Eli Volf. The Latvians shot him and his family, including the children, aged between 6 and 17 years.[2] The Jewish population of Kārsava was forced to endure many restrictions in public life, including a ban on

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using the sidewalk, the compulsory wearing of patches bearing the Star of David on their outer clothes, and limitations on the purchase of groceries in the shops.[3]

At some time in July 1941, the Jews of Kārsava, together with refugees from nearby places, were ordered to settle into a ghetto, which was located in the poorest area of town, the section between Telegrafo, Mayo, Kluchewa, and Sporta Streets. It is not known exactly how many Jews were confined within the ghetto, but it was probably more than 400 people, including some from surrounding areas. The ghetto was very crowded; in many cases, there were 18 to 20 people living in a single room. The ghetto area was guarded by members of the local Latvian auxiliary police. Those ghetto residents able to work were assigned to details that carried out the most physically demanding and dirtiest work in the town. They had to work every day without any payment. While at work, these Jews were subjected to various kinds of abuse and mistreatment.

According to a German military report, part of the Latvian Self-Defense force in Kārsava was arrested by the German military authorities and dismissed for having enriched themselves with the property of Jews who had been shot. In Kārsava, a new Self-Defense force was then recruited by the local commander after consultation with the mayor and the district commander of the Self-Defense.[4]

On August 20 or 21, 1941, more than four weeks after the establishment of the Kārsava ghetto, the Germans organized its liquidation. The remaining Jews were taken to a forest located some 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Kārsava, close to the Naudaskalns Hill, and shot. Local inhabitants state that the preparations for the killing Aktion, such as the digging of the pit by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), started on August 18.[5] On the morning of the Aktion, the ghetto was surrounded by policemen and members of the Latvian Self-Defense detachment. The Jews were chased out of their houses in the ghetto. They were permitted to take with them only a few items needed for their daily care and were escorted in groups of 40 to 60 to the place where they were killed, with those unable to walk being transported in carts. Around 10 Latvian and German policemen conducted the shooting. One of the leaders of the Aktion was the head of the Lūdza auxiliary police, Kārlis Riekstiņš, and another was Stomberg, a German official with the Lūdza military administration. The following members of the Kārsava auxiliary police participated in the killing: Alfrēds Zālītis, Jānis Pukītis, Grāve (a member of the Kārsava Criminal Police), and the head of the Kārsava auxiliary police, Dudārs. There is no evidence that members of the infamous Latvian shooting squad, the Arājs Kommando, took part. At the killing site, the victims were ordered to undress. Next, they were lined up in groups and shot, with the men being shot first.[6] Altogether, at least 350 Jews, men, women, and children, were killed on that day. In May 1944, the German police ordered the opening of the mass graves, and the remains were burned, as the Nazis sought to eradicate all evidence of their massacres.[7] Several Jews managed to escape the Aktion and survived with the aid of local residents.

SOURCES Published sources include the following: Boris Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii* (Daugavpils, 2003); and Iosif Rochko, "Karsava," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 248–250. The ghetto in Kārsava is also mentioned 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), p. 599.

Information about the fate of the Jews of Kārsava can also be found in the following archives: LVVA (P132-30-23); NARA (N-Doc. NOKW-2150); and YVA.

Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 32 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 708, pp. 234–235.
2. LVVA, P132-30-23, p. 20.
3. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
4. N-Doc., NOKW-2150, as cited by Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), pp. 281–282.
5. LVVA, P132-30-23, p. 21.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 22.

KRUSTPILS

Pre-1940: Krustpils (Yiddish: Kreitzberg), town, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreuzburg, Kreis Jakobstadt (Jēkabpils), Gebiet Mitau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Krustpils, Zemgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Krustpils is located roughly 140 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Riga, just across the Daugava River opposite the town of Jēkabpils. In 1935, the number of Jews living in Krustpils stood at 1,043 (28 percent of the total population). In the summer of 1941, the Jewish population declined further, as some Jews were deported by the Soviets just before the German invasion, and several hundred more fled with the Red Army into the Soviet Union before the German advance, so that only about 400 Jews remained at the start of the German occupation.

German troops occupied Krustpils by June 29, 1941, and soon established a local Latvian administration there. Mārtinš Oskars Vētra was appointed mayor, and Chief of Police Kārlis Balodis was placed in charge of the town's security forces, which consisted of local police and civilian volunteers. Balodis appears to have been subordinated to the Jēkabpils police, who in turn coordinated their Aktions with SD officers from Einsatzkommando 2, based in Mitau.[1]

The first arrests of Jews began on July 4 and continued until July 12, when Balodis and Vētra ordered the Jews to assemble in the market square, ostensibly to weed the sugar

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beet fields.[2] There police chief Balodis read a statement condemning the Jews for their alleged role in aiding the Soviet occupation. After this announcement, the Jews were interned in a slaughterhouse adjacent to the Jewish cemetery and guarded by the Latvian police and militia. A week later, nearly 400 Jews were transferred to a closed ghetto located at 182 Riga Street, in the Jewish elementary school. Other Jews were housed at a sugar refinery and a manor house located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town. At both locations, Jews were subjected to beatings and robberies, and Jewish women were sexually harassed by Alberts Gajevskis, the warden of the ghetto.[3] The inmates were also forced to supply daily labor quotas for road construction work. Local farmers also could rent the prisoners for day labor, signing them out by receipt. During this period, two executions that claimed the lives of 25 Jews also were conducted by the local police at a gravel pit in the woods on the edge of town. A Jewish woman and her infant were killed at the Jewish cemetery.

On August 1, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated by a unit of the Arājs Kommando of Latvian police dispatched by bus from Riga. The approximately 400 victims were assembled in the ghetto and led to a prepared execution site in a peat bog 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) outside the town, to which other Jews were also brought from Jēkabpils, Gostini, and nearby villages. Some of the Jews of Krustpils escaped execution because they were working on farms in the region or fled during the chaos of the liquidation. Directed by the Jēkabpils police chief, the Krustpils police scoured the surrounding region in the days after the Aktion in a largely successful attempt to round up these fugitives. Once apprehended, these people were shot on the spot. Among the victims were 4 teenage boys and 1 girl, Beila Bella Veide, found hiding on a farm at the nearby village of Maksini, as well as 4 Jews in the town of Piejuti. The police then demanded that the farmer who had hidden the Jews bring their belongings to the Krustpils police station under threat of reprisal.[4]

After the war, 23 former members of the Krustpils police were prosecuted for their role in the extermination of the town's Jews; 6 of the defendants were executed, while the remaining received sentences ranging from 10 to 25 years in prison. After the war, the Krustpils Jewish community was not reconstituted. The novel *City by the River* by the Latvian émigré writer Gunārs Janovskis', serialized in 1990–1991 in the Latvian newspaper *Laiks*, is a moving testament to the events in Krustpils during the summer of 1941.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Krustpils Jews can be found in the following publications: 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), p. 682; Dzintar Ērglis, "A Few Episodes of the Holocaust in Krustpils: A Microcosm of the Holocaust in Occupied Latvia," in Andris Caune, ed., *The Hidden and Forbidden History of Latvia under Soviet and Nazi Occupations 1940–1991* (Riga: University of Riga, 2005), pp. 175–187; Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Riga, 1996); and Iosif Rochko, "Krustpils," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 261–269.

Documentation concerning the murder of the Jews of Krustpils can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF; LVA (e.g., 1986-1-1666, 3927, 45050, and 45124); LVVA (e.g., 1308-12-13042 and 13044); USHMM (RG-18.002M, reel 25); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Michael McConnell
trans. Steven Seegel and Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 30 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 686, p. 115.
2. LVA, 1986-1-45050, vol. 4. p. 63, as cited by Ērglis, "A Few Episodes," p. 177.
3. Ibid., vol. 11, p. 132, testimony of Oļegs Kalniņš, as cited by Ērglis, "A Few Episodes," p. 178.
4. Ibid., 1986-1-45124, vol. 1, p. 23, and interviews with local inhabitants conducted by Ērglis in 2000, as cited in "A Few Episodes," pp. 178–179.

KULDIGA

Pre-1940: Kuldiga, town and center, Kuldiga aprinka, Kurzeme reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1945: Goldingen, Kreis center, Gebiet Libau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Kuldiga, Kurzeme reģions, Republic of Latvia

Kuldiga is located on the left bank of the Venta River about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northeast of Liepāja. According to the 1930 census, there were 730 Jews living in the town. By 1935, the Jewish population had declined to 646, or 9 percent of the town's total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 1, 1941, nine days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During the interim, some of the Jews managed to evacuate, so that around 600 remained in Kuldiga at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately after the retreat of the Red Army, Latvian activists started to torture Jews and murder them. The surviving Jews were conscripted into hard labor, evicted from their homes, and concentrated in the synagogue, which functioned as a temporary ghetto for them. Latvians stole the Jews' houses and belongings.

The Jews stayed in the synagogue until they were shot by Latvian police. Most of the Jewish men were shot first, then the women and children. According to the account of Rita Bogdanova, the Jews were killed in at least three different locations in the surrounding forests. One such site was near the town, in the direction of Ventspils, in the Padures Forest. Eyewitnesses reported that Jews were brought in trucks from Kuldiga that went back and forth at least four times, and more than 300 people were shot in a day. Before the start of the Aktion, the members of the Kuldiga Self-Defense force and their leaders were issued weapons and ammunition for a "special

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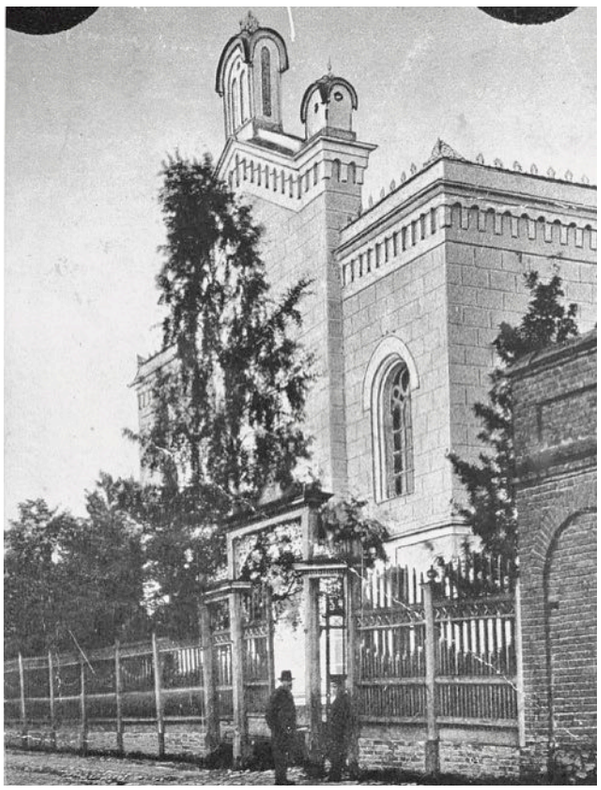

Pre-war view of the front of the Kuldiga (Goldingen) Synagogue.
USHMM WS #72113, COURTESY OF YVA

operation." Along with SD men, the previous evening a large subunit (40 to 50 men) of the Arājs Kommando arrived in Kuldiga in blue buses; their commander was Feliks Dibietis. This subunit was assigned to kill the Jews, while the local members of the Self-Defense force were to act as guards. Viktors Arājs himself also came to the town.

In each of the trucks, which carried mainly Jewish women, children, and the elderly, there were several guards. The Jews were told that they were being transferred, so everything initially went smoothly. But when the trucks drove into the woods and the Jews got out, panic broke out because it became clear what would take place. Several people were shot on the spot, near the trucks. The Jews were forced to undress and, 10 to 15 at a time, they were made to walk to pits prepared in advance. The group of shooters—numbering approximately 10 or 15—was replaced from time to time, and on Arājs's instructions, they also included several members of the local Self-Defense force. They fired rifle volleys. The Aktion was directed by Arājs and Dibietis, who finished off the wounded with their pistols. The local Self-Defense forces covered the pits with earth.

After this Aktion, two young Jewish girls who had been wounded came out of the forest to Kuldiga and went to the Self-Defense headquarters; they said they saw no sense in living, as all their loved ones had been shot. Both were placed under arrest, then taken back to the forest and shot the next morning.

Another place where Jews were shot was the Kalnamuizhas Forest, near the Riezhupe River. More of Kuldiga's Jews were shot here by local members of the Self-Defense force. The exact number is unknown. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report mentions 600 victims, but this figure more likely represents the total number of Kuldiga's Jews who were murdered.

In a forest about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from Kuldiga (about 200 meters [656 feet] from the Kuldiga-Aizpute road), 24 Jewish men from Kuldiga were killed. First, in the morning, 1 of 10 armed members of the Self-Defense force brought 6 Jews there in a truck, made them dig a pit, and then shot and buried them. In the evening of the same day, 18 more Jews were brought by truck and, as before, were made to dig a pit. After about 15 minutes, they were shot and buried. Killed in this Aktion were several Jewish specialists who had been allowed to live after the Aktions in which the Jews of Kuldiga were murdered in the Padures and Kalnamuizhas Forests.

A few escaped Jews found hiding places with local farmers. Jewish property was divided among the Latvians, and the holy scrolls were placed in the town archives.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Kuldiga in the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Rita Bogdanova, "Kuldiga," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 111–113; "Kuldiga," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 217–221; and "Kuldiga," 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), p. 689.

Documentation regarding the murder of Kuldiga's Jews can be found in this archive: GARF (7021-93-2415).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

LIEPĀJA

Pre-1940: Liepāja, city and center, Liepāja aprinka and Kurzeme reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Liepaia, Latvian SSR; 1941–1945: Libau, Kreis and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Liepāja, Kurzeme reģions, Republic of Latvia

Liepāja is located 195 kilometers (121 miles) west-southwest of Riga on the Baltic Sea. In 1935, there were 7,379 Jews living in Liepāja, comprising 13.4 percent of the population. By June 1941, the Jewish population had declined to an estimated 7,140, due to emigration and the birth deficit of an aging population. About 6,500 Jews remained in the city when the Germans took it on June 29, 1941.

The 291st Infantry Division that captured Liepāja was accompanied by part of Einsatzkommando 1a of Walter

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Liepāja native Jacob Gamper was among 2,800 Jews massacred between December 15 and 17, 1941, by Latvian and German gunmen.
USHMM WS #ID5598, COURTESY OF JACOB GAMPER

Stahlecker's Einsatzgruppe A. Sporadic killings of Jews by SS and soldiers began on the first day. The occupiers promptly recruited a Latvian Self-Defense force (later renamed "auxiliary police") to perform police duties and arrest Jews and Communists. The prisoners were placed in the Women's Prison for interrogation and eventual execution. No pogroms occurred, but some isolated looting took place, along with evictions, beatings, and arrests, usually perpetrated by Self-Defense men. Mass executions started on July 4, when Einsatzkommando 1a, assisted by naval personnel, shot 47 Jews and 5 Latvian Communists. These murders continued almost daily after Einsatzkommando 1a had been reinforced by part of Einsatzkommando 2.

On July 14, the Einsatzkommandos departed, leaving behind SS-Untersturmführer Wolfgang Kügler as SD and Security Police Chief, with a staff of more than 20 men. Liepāja had a large naval base, and so the German navy took charge of the city. Now began a period in which the SD, the naval authorities, and the Latvian auxiliaries (including the notorious Latvian SD Kommando under Viktors Arājs) joined forces in an escalating killing campaign. In isolated shootings and in mass executions, they murdered nearly 5,500 Jews by the end of 1941.

For the first year of the German occupation, Jews continued to live in apartments scattered throughout the city, but under increasingly crowded conditions, as they were evicted from the choicer apartments and forced to double up or triple up with other families. Bombs, shells, and fires during the siege of Liepāja had made a disproportionate number of Jews homeless, further adding to the overcrowding. At last Polizeistandortführer Fritz Dietrich ordered the establishment of a ghetto for the remaining 832 Jews on July 1, 1942. It comprised a single block bounded by Darza, Apshu, Kungu, and Barenu Streets and was enclosed with barbed wire.

The commandant of the ghetto was Meister der Schutzpolizei Franz Kerscher, a remarkably humane official who occasionally revealed his feelings by expressions such as "Thank God" and "most unfortunately." There were no selections during the 15-month existence of the ghetto, but the SD executed several dozen Jews for minor infractions. The 13 babies born in the ghetto were left unharmed while the ghetto existed.[1] This pause in killing is confirmed by official figures that reported 809 Jews in Kurzeme on March 10, 1943,[2] only slightly fewer than the initial 832 on July 1, 1942. The Judenrat members—businessman Zalman Israelit and lawyer Menash Kaganski—were on good terms with Kerscher and generally managed to arrange lenient treatment of offenders. They sometimes bribed him with items such as fur coats, jewelry, or gold coins (contributed by residents), but apparently Kerscher often passed part, or all, of the bribe on to his superiors to buy their acquiescence.[3] The Judenrat enjoyed the respect and trust of the ghetto residents.

Food rations for Jews were woefully inadequate: one half of the skimpy daily ration of the non-Jewish civilian population (1,030 calories per day in 1942). But food was available on the black market, as Latvian farmers were productive enough to have some left even after meeting the stiff delivery quotas imposed by the German administration. Nearly all Jews worked outside the ghetto and thus had opportunities to barter any remaining belongings for food, which they were able to smuggle into the ghetto under the lax search practices established by Kerscher. Wages were shamefully low. Though the employers of Jews had to remit Jews' wages at the pay scale of non-Jews to the Gebietskommissar, only a small fraction of this money was paid out to the Jewish workers. For piecework, this fraction was 25 percent.[4]

The ghetto was guarded by 10 rifle-armed Latvian policemen, 4 of whom patrolled the fence during each shift. The residents were required to be in the ghetto 7:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. (all day Sundays and holidays) and in their rooms 10:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M.[5] There was a library, a drama club, and a small synagogue located within the ghetto. A few concerts were held, including recitals of satirical songs mocking the Nazis, and there were occasional volleyball games. Classes were organized for children.[6] A few radios had been smuggled into the ghetto, enabling the residents to listen to foreign broadcasts. There was no armed resistance in the ghetto and no escape attempts until the very end. Consequently there were no crises that might have brought the few ghetto policemen into conflict with the other residents. In 1943, Jews working at Security Police headquarters (HQ) managed to smuggle a number of handguns into the ghetto. They were found by a Latvian

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guard, but the ghetto suffered no reprisals. On one occasion the ghetto police imprisoned two ghetto residents who had stolen groceries from the ghetto store. Subsequently both were seized by the SD and executed.[7]

From October 22, 1942, to March 1943, 160 Jews from the Riga ghetto—originally from Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Germany—were in Liepāja to work in the local sugar factory and were housed in the Liepāja ghetto. From them the Liepāja Jews learned about the Rumbula massacres of November–December 1941.

Three Jews from a work detail in Paplaka managed to escape in April 1944 and found shelter with a brave Latvian couple in Liepāja, Roberts and Anna Sedols, who had already hidden eight other escapees from the Liepāja ghetto and provided them with food and guns. Unfortunately Roberts Sedols was killed during an air raid on March 10, 1945, but all his wards survived until the Soviets reoccupied Liepāja after the armistice of May 9, 1945. One of the Jews in hiding, Kalman Linkimer, left a diary covering the entire German occupation period.

Despite the protests of Kerscher and the Gebietskommissar,[8] the ghetto was closed on October 8, 1943, and the approximately 800 prisoners were taken to the Kaiserwald camp in Riga. Conditions were dismal, causing 1 survivor to say that life in the Liepāja ghetto "was paradise in comparison."[9] Older people and women with children were selected soon after arrival. Most mothers and children under 12 were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp on November 3, 1943, for gassing, whereas older people were killed locally. A number of the younger people were assigned to work in outlying *Kasernierungen* (barracks) such as the Reichsbahn or the German General Electric Company (AEG), where conditions were more tolerable. When the Red Army approached Riga in the summer of 1944, an additional selection was carried out, and these prisoners were sent to the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig in several transports, from August 8 to October 1, 1944.

A number of prisoners were assigned to satellite camps, some of which maintained bearable conditions. However, others stayed in Stutthof or were transferred to other concentration camps (e.g., Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Stolp, and Polte-Magdeburg), and many died due to the increasingly brutal conditions, especially on death marches in early 1945. The Stutthof prisoners were put on barges on April 25, 1945, and towed westward for a week without food. After the tugs abandoned the barges, Norwegian prisoners managed to navigate them to a beach at Neustadt in Holstein, where those Jews who had not perished during the voyage staggered ashore. They were greeted by German navy men who shot or drowned more than 50 of the Jews, including 8 from Liepāja—as it turned out, only a few hours before liberation by British troops.[10] By this cruel quirk of fate, navy sailors had once again become the nemesis of Liepāja Jews, nearly finishing the job their navy comrades had begun in 1941.

Eight other Liepāja Jews died in the Neustadt concentration camp after liberation. Only 175 Liepāja Jews survived the war, including 33 who had been hidden by Latvians.

The names and vital statistics of more than 95 percent of Liepāja Jews have been recovered, permitting some quantitative demographic inferences.[11] The killings of 1941 initially targeted men only, but then extended to elderly people and finally to women with children and other unskilled or nonessential people. But the ratio of men to women dropped steadily: June 14, 1941 (0.81), January 1, 1942 (0.57), August 9, 1944 (0.44), May 9, 1945 (0.38). In contrast to Riga, where this ratio was about 10:1 after the Rumbula massacres, indicating a policy of sparing male workers, the trend in Liepāja was to spare women, and this preferential survival of women continued even after deportation to Riga and Stutthof, when physical endurance became increasingly important, in addition to passing the cruel selection criteria of the SS.

The combined effect of endurance and selection is seen in the following table, which shows the surviving fraction (on December 31, 1945) as a function of age.

Age in 1941	*Women*	*Men*
0–4	0.0%	0.0%
5–9	1.8%	0.0%
10–14	4.7%	2.3%
15–19	11.3%	1.0%
20–24	7.8%	0.8%
25–29	3.4%	0.8%
30–34	1.3%	1.4%
35–39	0.9%	0.5%
40–44	1.7%	0.2%
45–49	1.0%	0.0%
50–54	0.4%	0.0%

Young women who had been 10 to 24 years old in 1941 had the best chance of survival. Among men, the 10- to 14-year cohort did best, but nearly all other age groups had survival fractions of less than 1 percent, reaching zero at 45 years and older.

Some of the murderers got their deserved punishment. The Liepāja SS and Police Chief, Fritz Dietrich, was hanged in Landsberg prison in 1948. Wolfgang Kügler, head of the Liepāja SD, committed suicide in a West German jail on December 2, 1959. Several other members of the Liepāja SD were tried in Hannover in 1969–1971, but got off lightly. Strott—by then a retired hotel director—got only a 7-year prison term; and Grauel, Reiche, Kuketta, Fahrbach, and Rosenstock, 1.5 to 6 years.[12] Erich Handke, who was tried separately by the Hannover court, died after serving 8 months of his 8-year sentence.[13] Hans Baumgartner, who was tried in East Berlin, was sentenced to death.

The arch-murderer Viktors Arājs was apprehended in 1975 and sentenced to life imprisonment but died in 1986. The Soviets tried 356 members of the Arājs Kommando, most of whom got 10 to 25 years in the Gulag or the death penalty. They also tried a number of Latvian auxiliary police, but given the arbitrariness of Soviet justice, some sentences may have been too lenient and others too harsh. About 20 Liepāja auxiliary

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policemen were tried as members of the 20th Latvian Schutzmannschaft Battalion in the 1970s, but although many of the defendants apparently participated in the 1941 Aktions, the indictment focused less on individual guilt than on membership in the battalion.

SOURCES Among works by historians, the most comprehensive account of Nazi actions in Liepāja is Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), pp. 286–298. Another excellent account, primarily from the victims' perspective, is Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 180–186; an English translation by Shalom Bronstein is available on the Web at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_latvia/lat_00170.html. Events in the first months of the occupation, with emphasis on the role of the German navy, are described in greater detail in Margers Vestermanis, "Ortskommandantur Libau. Zwei Monate deutscher Besatzung im Sommer 1941," in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995), pp. 241–261; and Heinz-Ludger Borgert, "Die Kriegsmarine und das Unternehmen 'Barbarossa,'" *Mitteilungen aus dem Bundesarchiv* (1999): 52–66. Eyewitness accounts of executions along with pictures of the Skede executions have been published by Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997), pp. 126–135. Among survivor accounts, the most detailed one is Solomon Feigerson, *Tragediia liepaiskikh evreev* (Riga, 2002); but three additional accounts are found in Gertrude Schneider, *Muted Voices* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987)—chapters by George D. Schwab, Aaron Vesterman, and Shoshana Kahn. Reminiscences of pre-war Liepāja are included in the yizkor book *A Town Named Libau* (Tel Aviv: Libauers' Committee of Israel, 1982) (see www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/libau.html). Names of some 7,000 victims and survivors (along with Ezergailis's Liepāja chapter and an English version of Feigerson's memoir) are contained in Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, *Jews in Liepaja, Latvia 1941–45* (Burlingame: Anders Press, 2001). An up-to-date version of the database, with at least 7,142 names, is available at www.liepajajews.org. The methodology of this project is described in Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, "Who Died in the Holocaust? Recovering Names from Official Records," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17:1 (Spring 2003): 114–138. Also of note is Kalman Linkimer, *Nineteen Months in a Cellar: How 11 Jews Eluded Hitler's Henchmen: The Diary of Kalman Linkimer (1913–1988)* (Riga: Jewish Community of Riga, 2008).

The most important sources are the LVVA, Riga and the Museum and Documentation Center "Jews in Latvia," Riga. The AMS has partial records on Liepāja Jews deported to Stutthof in July–October 1944, as well as transport lists to other camps. USHMM has microfilms of documents from LVVA and AMS. YVA has many survivor memoirs. BA-BL has a number of documents of the German civil administration Ostland that are not available in the LVVA, and BA-L has records of the Grauel investigation as well as documents on several cases that did not come to trial.

Edward Anders

NOTES

1. Rachel Katsev Schneider, communication to Ella Barkan, May 2000.
2. BA-BL, R 92/1157, folio 1, report of March 10, 1943.
3. Fanny Lebovits, personal communication, 2002.
4. LVVA, P83-1-118, p. 1.
5. Ibid., Wachtvorschrift für die Ghetto-Wache, P83-118-1, pp. 3–9.
6. Schwab, "The Destruction of a Family," in Schneider, *Muted Voices.*
7. Ibid.; Solomon Feigerson, "The Tragic Fate of Liepaja Jews," in Anders and Dubrovskis, *Jews in Liepaja, Latvia 1941–45.*
8. BA-BL, R 92/1158, folio 1, p. 132.
9. Schwab, "The Destruction of a Family."
10. AMS, "List of Jews killed at Neustadt by German Army 2.5.45," May 1945 (Z-V-36); Jeffrey Lowenson, personal communication, 2002.
11. Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, "Jews of Liepaja, Latvia 1941–1945" (unpub. database; a Web version is available at www.liepajajews.org).
12. LG-Hann, Verdict in the case against Grauel and others (2 Ks 3/68), October 14, 1971, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 36 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), Lfd. Nr. 760a.
13. Arnold Engel, personal communication, 2002.

LŪDZA

Pre-1940: Lūdza (Yiddish: Lutsin), town, aprinka center, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Ludsen, Kreis center, Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Lūdza, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Lūdza is located 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) northeast of Daugavpils. In 1935, there were 1,518 Jews living in the town (27.4 percent of the total population). In 1938, a large fire destroyed nearly all Jewish stores and many houses.

Units of German Army Group North entered Lūdza on July 3, 1941, after a heavy bombardment. On the first day of occupation, Westerhausen, the commander of the German forces in the town, ordered the establishment of a Latvian auxiliary police (Self-Defense) force. As in many other smaller towns in occupied Latvia, the German army and police in Lūdza had to rely on the assistance of local inhabitants serving in auxiliary formations to carry out many of the anti-Jewish Aktions. These units operated under German orders, but with a considerable degree of independence. The Latvian Pēteris Grīnvalds was the initial commander who organized the local Latvian Self-Defense unit in Lūdza. He held this post for only some 10 days, but during that period he recruited a

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group of volunteers from various occupations and professions. His successor as head of the unit was Kārlis Riekstiņš.

During the first days of German occupation, the authorities rounded up and imprisoned a number of Jews, especially refugees from Lithuania and other parts of Latvia. Most of the prisoners were held in the local jail, which was directed by a Latvian named Kuprovskis, where they were beaten and starved.[1] Survivors testified that on July 10 and 11, 1941, a local commission consisting of members of the Latvian Self-Defense and the German military was established to decide the fate of the prisoners held in the Lūdza jail.[2] Some of the Jews were released, but during the night of July 14–15, about 150 of the prisoners were taken out and shot near the brick factory. Prior to the shooting, the prisoners were interrogated and tortured, as they were accused of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities.[3]

In the middle of July 1941, the head of the Latvian auxiliary police, Riekstiņš, received orders from the German military administration to establish a ghetto in Lūdza and to register all Jews able to work. A part of the city between the Latgales, Kostel'naia, Krišjāņa Barona, and Ventspils Streets was designated as the ghetto area. Riekstiņš ordered the Jewish population of Lūdza to move into the ghetto by 10:00 P.M. on July 20. The Jews were allowed to take with them some clothing, bedding materials, cutlery, crockery, and other household items. The following members of the Latvian auxiliary police assisted the German military administration in establishing the ghetto: P. Kovalevskis, Zavars, Samuševs, Ivan Cheksters, Francs Kreištāns, Aleksandrs Pavlovskis, Michails Sluders, Runcāns, and Aleksandrs Bolševičs. A Latvian by the name of Viktors Ladusāns was appointed to be in charge of the ghetto.[4] The apartments abandoned by the Jews were confiscated by the German authorities. A short time after their resettlement, some Jews were allowed to return to their apartments to collect remaining items, which had not been looted in the interim. The synagogue in Lūdza was also scoured for any valuable religious items, which were either stolen by looters or confiscated by the German authorities.

The ghetto in Lūdza was not surrounded by a fence. Around its perimeter, the local authorities posted signs bearing a six-pointed star and the inscription "Jews, [entrance] forbidden!" The ghetto was very overcrowded, with several families forced to share each apartment. As Jews moved into the ghetto, there was a scramble to obtain a place to stay, as many Jews already living in the ghetto area were reluctant to share their limited space with others.[5] Shortly after the resettlement, the German authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Available documentation unfortunately does not name its members or their responsibilities. A provisional grocery shop was opened in the ghetto, which distributed food only on the basis of ration cards. The average daily ration of bread was 300 grams (10.6 ounces) per person. Some Jews were able to barter remaining valuables for extra food with the local inhabitants when they left the ghetto each day for work. Even before the establishment of the ghetto, Jews were forced to wear patches bearing the Jewish Star on their outer clothing. They were forbidden to walk on the pavement. To avoid using the sidewalks, small temporary wooden bridges were built for the Jews to use when they left the ghetto to go to their workplaces.[6] Altogether approximately 1,000 Jews resided in the Lūdza ghetto.[7] The Jews were forced to conduct various kinds of physically demanding work, such as cleaning the streets and washing cars at the military and town administration. A group of 40 Jewish women worked in the local hospital as cleaning staff. The ghetto residents were terrorized on a daily basis by members of the Latvian police, who beat and robbed them. Sometimes, young girls were taken from the ghetto to participate in drunken orgies. Many of them never returned.[8]

In August, authority over the region was transferred from the German military to a civil administration subordinated to the Gebietskommissar in Daugavpils. The first major shooting Aktion took place on August 17, 1941, approximately three weeks after the establishment of the Lūdza ghetto.[9] German and Latvian police arrived at the ghetto early in the morning. The Jews were gathered into one column, as if they were to be marched to work. Approximately 830 people, men, women, and children, were escorted in the direction of Zvirgzdene to Lake Cirma, some 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) outside the town, where they were shot.[10] One witness stated that one third of the victims of this Aktion were children.[11] At the shooting site, the Jews had to undress and hand over any valuables in their possession. The shootings were conducted by Latvian auxiliary police and members of the Aizsārgi (interwar civil defense units, reconstituted in the summer of 1941). A German by the name of Bruno Sauer is mentioned as having participated actively in the killing Aktion.[12] There is no evidence that personnel from the notorious Arājs Kommando detachment took part in these shootings. The Jews were shot in groups.[13] Witnesses recall three German officers being present at the killing site. They did not participate in the shooting but took photographs of the Aktion. As the first victims were undressing, these officers ordered that three Jewish girls be freed, and they walked them back to the ghetto.[14] The bodies of the victims were buried in a single mass grave, some 5 meters wide, 65 meters long, and 2 meters deep (16 by 213 by 6.6 feet).[15]

Following this Aktion, around 300 Jews remained in the ghetto. They worked in the local hospital, and some performed skilled labor. The German security forces organized another mass shooting on August 27, 1941, again near Lake Cirma. Estimates of the number of victims vary from 40 up to 180 people.[16] Of the approximately 200 Jews that then remained, most were sent in two groups to Daugavpils and Rēzekne.[17] According to Iosif Rochko, there was a further mass shooting on November 13, 1941, near the village of Kotani. The last residents of the Lūdza ghetto were killed in April or May 1942 in the Garbarovski Forest near the town.[18]

When the Red Army reached Lūdza on July 23, 1944, the only Jews still alive were a few who had successfully remained in hiding. Some residents of the ghetto managed to flee from

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work details outside the ghetto. They joined Soviet partisan units active in eastern Latvia or went into hiding. The total number of Jews killed in Lūdza is not known precisely. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated that about 1,726 Jews were killed in Lūdza and its environs altogether. Of these, probably about 1,200 were from the town itself.[19]

SOURCES Published sources include Aaron Shneer, "Gibel' evreev Ludzy: Dokumental'no-pristrastnoe povestvovanie," in Boris Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii* (Daugavpils, 2003), pp. 32–53; 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), pp. 761–762; Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1999), p. 291; and Iosif Rochko, "Ludza," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 218–222.

Information on the fate of the Jews of Lūdza during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-114); LVVA (P132-30-23); USHMM (RG-18.002M, reel 29; and RG-22.002M, reel 21); and YVA (M-33/1036, pp. 5–127; and VD-713 [interview with S. Abramson, 1995]).

Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, p. 32.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 33.
4. Ibid., p. 40; LVVA, P132-30-23, pp. 15–16. This source mentions Pavels Kovalevskis as the deputy commandant in charge of the ghetto.
5. Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, p. 34.
6. LVVA, P132-30-23, p. 15.
7. Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, p. 37.
8. Ibid., pp. 38–39.
9. Ibid., pp. 41 ff.; and LVVA, P132-30-23, pp. 15 ff.
10. Vol'kovich et. al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, pp. 38–39. The files of the ChGK estimate the number of victims at 750–800.
11. Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, p. 43.
12. Ibid., p. 40.
13. LVVA, P132-30-23, p. 15.
14. Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, p. 42.
15. LVVA, P132-30-23, p. 25.
16. Ibid., pp. 16, 24.
17. Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii*, p. 45; Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland*, p. 291, indicates that many of the Jews from Lūdza were murdered on the way during the march to the Daugavpils ghetto.
18. LVVA, P132-30-23, p. 24.
19. Ibid., pp. 14, 24.

MADONA

Pre-1940: Madona, town and center, Madona aprinka, Vidzeme reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Modohn, Kreis center, Gebiet Wolmar (Valmiera), Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Madona, Vidzeme reģions, Republic of Latvia

According to the 1935 census, there were 115 Jews living in Madona (4.9 percent of all the town's inhabitants). Madona is approximately 130 kilometers (81 miles) east of Riga.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 2, 1941, 11 days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, only a few Jews managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR. By July 9, 1941, all the remaining Jews in the town were arrested and placed in several barracks at the edge of town. These barracks served as the ghetto, and the Jews of the neighboring villages were also confined there in mid-July and late July 1941. There were approximately 150 people in the ghetto. It was liquidated on August 8, 1941, when the Jews were transported in groups to the forest near the village of Lazdona and shot there by a detachment of the Arājs Kommando.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Madona during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Madona," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), p. 188; "Madona," 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); A. Urtāns, "Ebreju slepkavošana Madonas apriņķī," in *Latvijas Vēsturnieku komisijas Raksti. 23. sējums* (Riga, 2008), pp. 101–103; and Rita Bogdanova, "Madona," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Extermination of the Jews in Latvia, 1941–1945* (Riga: Society "Shamir," 2008), p. 145.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Madona can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-2428 to 2430); LVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

PREIĻI

Pre-1940: Preiļi (Yiddish: Prial), town, Daugavpils aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Prely, Kreis and Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Preiļi, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Preiļi is located 204 kilometers (127 miles) southeast of Riga and 55 kilometers (34 miles) north of Daugavpils. According to the 1935 census, there were 847 Jews living in Preiļi, constituting 51 percent of the town's population. German armed forces occupied the town on June 28, 1941, approximately one week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. In the interim, part of Preiļi's Jewish community had managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. Approximately 800 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation, including some refugees from other towns in Latvia and Lithuania.

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Immediately following the German invasion, Latvian "activists," who had set up a local administration and police force, began to persecute the Jews. The Preiļi synagogue was damaged, and a curfew for the local Jews was announced. Jews were now forced to perform various kinds of physically demanding labor, such as digging peat and cleaning the streets. On July 19, 1941, Jews were ordered to wear a yellow Star of David, with a diameter of 12 centimeters (about 5 inches) on their outer garments: the male Jews, on the upper back, on the chest, and above the left knee, and the female Jews, on the upper back and on the chest. In addition, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) with three members was established; it was responsible for the implementation of all orders concerning the Jewish population.[1]

On July 27, 1941, the first Aktion took place. On this day, security forces including Latvian policemen rounded up at least 250 Jews, living on certain streets that were believed to be among the wealthiest, and confined them within the synagogue on Brivibas (Sondorskaia) Street, where approximately 60 men guarded them. Some people say that the Jews were told they would be sent to Palestine; others say that they were informed they would be sent away to work. From the synagogue, they were escorted to a place beyond the local Jewish cemetery, where they were killed in two groups: first the men, and later the women and children.[2]

Information regarding the establishment of a ghetto in Preiļi is sparse and somewhat contradictory. According to the diary of Sheina Gram, a 15-year-old Jewish girl from Preiļi, on July 31, 1941, the Jews received information that they would soon be moved into a ghetto. She recorded that Jewish girls were being sent to clean freed-up Jewish apartments for those who had been killing them. Then, on August 3, 1941, she wrote that "people are moving into the ghetto."[3] It seems that the initial aim was to clear certain streets of Jews, while others were permitted to stay put, presumably with the relocated Jews being moved in together with them. Jews appear to have continued to reside on Zalias, Livani, and Brivibas Streets for a few more days.

A group of Jews continued to work digging peat outside the town. On August 5, 1941, a group of men in the "Self-Defense" force gathered in the office of the peat works. Next door, in a small barn, were 22 Jews; 4 Jews were led out to be shot, but they started to run. The perpetrators opened fire, killing 3, but 1 managed to hide. Then the other Jews were led out in pairs and were shot at the edge of the field.

The improvised ghetto in Preiļi existed for only about one week. Some sources state that the liquidation Aktion took place during the night of August 6–7, 1941, when approximately 400 people were killed. A group of eight Latvian auxiliary policemen identified as responsible for the killing were arrested by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) after the arrival of the Soviet army. According to the records of the Soviet trial proceedings, each of those arrested pleaded guilty.[4]

According to another version of events, compiled by Iosif Rochko, on August 9, 1941, a group of armed men came to town from Livani and arrested 50 to 100 Jews. Then they shot them in a meadow behind the Jewish cemetery. Since the last entry in her diary is dated August 8, Gram was probably among these victims. Then on August 10, the perpetrators began driving the Jews living on Zalias, Livani, and Brivibas Streets out of their homes. These Jews, numbering up to 600 people, were placed in the synagogue on Brivibas Street. The next day they were driven on foot to the same meadow and shot. The mass shooting was conducted in several pits at once.

By August 11, 1941, the ghetto had been liquidated, as all the Jews had been rounded up and shot behind the Jewish cemetery. A few Jews managed to evade the roundups, but over the ensuing weeks and months, Latvian policemen continued to hunt them down in hiding in the surrounding forests and villages. One group of Jews hid in a ditch in the forest with the assistance of a local non-Jew, but after a while they were denounced by other Latvians and were also captured and killed.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Preiļi during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Preiļi," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 207–209; "Golos Sheiny Gram. Dnevnik 15-letnei devochki iz mestechka Preili. 22 iiunia–8 avgusta 1941," in I. Al'tman and Sh. Krakovskii, eds., *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o katastrofe sovetskikh evreev (1941–1944)* (Jerusalem and Moscow, 1993), pp. 325–332 (available in English as Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007]); I. Rochko, "Eto bylo v Preili," in *Evrei v Daugavpilse: Istoricheskie ocherki: Kniga chetvertaia* (Daugavpils, 2005), pp. 197–214; Iosif Rochko, "Preili," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 236–248; and Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1999), pp. 293–294.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Preiļi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-94 and 8114-1-966); LVA; LVVA (P132-30-14); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Golos Sheiny Gram," pp. 327–328.
2. Ibid., pp. 328–329 (entry for July 27, 1941); statement of Pēteris Prokulis, in LVVA, P132-30-14, p. 25. The witness counted 450 victims during this Aktion. Another witness, Bronislavs Klaušs, stated that the Aktion was supervised by a police unit from Daugavpils under a man named Juris and his deputy Saulics, the head of the Preiļi county police.
3. "Golos Sheiny Gram," pp. 329, 331 (entries for July 31 and August 3, 1941).
4. LVVA, P132-30-14, p. 25.

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RĒZEKNE

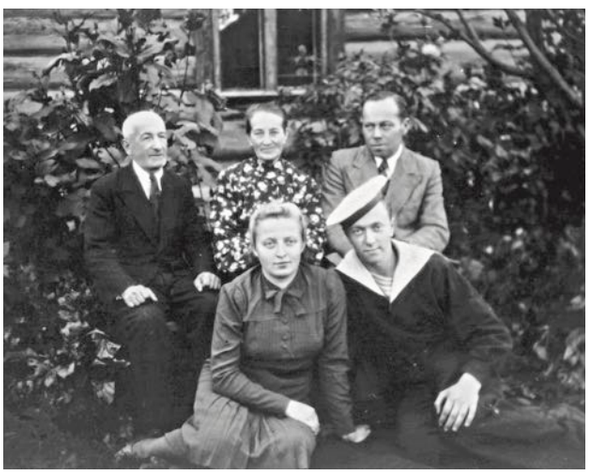
Pre-1940: Rēzekne (Yiddish: Rezhitsa), town and aprinka center, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Rositten, Kreis center, Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Rēzekne, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Rēzekne is located 242 kilometers (150 miles) east-southeast of Riga. In 1935, 3,342 Jews resided in Rēzekne, constituting 25.9 percent of the town's population. In the days just prior to the outbreak of war on June 22, 1941, hundreds of refugees from other parts of Latvia and from Lithuania passed through the town. A large segment of the local Jewish population also fled eastward, attempting to escape the German invaders.

Units of the German armed forces entered Rēzekne on July 3, 1941. During the first weeks of the occupation, a German military administration controlled the town. On August 1, Ortskommandantur II 339 was based there. Later in August 1941, a German civil government was established, and Rēzekne became part of Gebiet Dünaburg, headed by Gebietskommissar Friedrich Schwung.

Units of the German Security Police (Einsatzkommando 1b) also entered Rēzekne in early July and ordered the establishment of a Latvian Self-Defense force. Local volunteers formed an auxiliary police detachment. A local man by the name of Mačs was appointed head of the town's police force. Under his supervision, an auxiliary police force of 120 men, aided by 30 policemen sent from Riga, controlled affairs in Rēzekne.[1]

Anti-Jewish measures were introduced during the first days of the German occupation. Just one day after the arrival of the German military, the Jewish men of Rēzekne were ordered to gather on the market square, and around 1,400 people showed up. More than 10 young men were shot; the victims included Boruch Weksler, Mitya Manteifl, and Morduch Gassel. The other male Jews were arrested and placed in the town prison.[2]



Postwar portrait of Jadwiga Arcichovska (née Matusievich) (seated, foreground), who with her mother Anna (seated, background) and brother Jan protected their Jewish neighbors Haim and Yakov Izraelit from 1941 to 1944 in Rēzekne. Jadwiga, Anna, and Jan were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations in 1989.
USHMM WS #57636, COURTESY OF JFR

The pursuit and murder of Jews continued during the following week. Many of the victims were shot at the Jewish cemetery. Their apartments and valuables were looted. Most of the booty was turned over to the town administration.[3] Erich Ehrlinger, the head of Einsatzkommando 1b, arrived in Rēzekne shortly after July 13, 1941.[4] He and the men of Einsatzkommando 1b initiated the first systematic killing of Jews, namely, the shooting of those Jews under arrest. Following the initial shootings, and the burning of two synagogues, a large-scale Aktion occurred on July 15, 1941, in Leshchinskii Park, in which 120 people were shot.

The killing of the Rēzekne Jews included those Jewish refugees who had remained in the town or were trapped there during the invasion. Police continued to arrest Jews, taking them to the prison and then carrying out regular mass shootings. A witness by the name of Naum Shakayev, a Soviet activist, later testified that he was arrested in early August 1941 and saw several thousand Jews being held in the Rēzekne prison.[5] The victims were marched to the banks of the river on the edge of the town, where they were shot and buried in mass graves. The number of separate killing Aktions in Rēzekne remains unknown.

Several witnesses stated that in the first two weeks of August 1941 shots were heard frequently from the Jewish cemetery of Rēzekne. One witness estimated the number of people killed at the Jewish cemetery at 2,500.[6] Additional evidence of mass shootings comes from the war records of Landesschützen Battalion 868, which was based in Rēzekne in early August. The war records mention the killing of 200 Jews and Communists by the Latvian Self-Defense force on August 1, 1941. It also describes another major Aktion involving the killing of several hundred Jews by the Latvian Self-Defense unit on August 5, 1941.[7]

A further major Aktion took place on August 23, 1941, in the Ančupāni Hills, located 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from Rēzekne. The precise number of victims of this Aktion is not known; Soviet authorities estimated several thousand.[8] The massacres continued almost daily. The mass arrests led to overcrowding in the local jail, and the Germans used another building to hold prisoners: the so-called arrest house on Zamkova Street. There is also some documentation that indicates that members of the infamous Arājs Kommando visited Rēzekne and carried out mass shootings later in 1941.[9]

Some witnesses recall that a Jewish ghetto was also established on Zamkova Street, possibly referring to the prison overflow.[10] Other sources note that all the Jewish women and children were permitted to live temporarily only in certain designated apartments.[11] The witness Jāzeps Pinka, a Latvian prison guard who also worked as a truck driver, provided some information on the Rēzekne ghetto. Pinka recalled that it was located on Pozharnaia Street or on Pleikšņu Street. He also

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stated that the ghetto inmates were taken away in four trucks and brought to the Ančupāni Hills. There they were forced to strip to their underwear and to line up, facing the pits. Moments later they were shot.[12] Pinka recalled, in addition, the involvement of policemen only from Malta in this Aktion. However, the major Aktion to kill the Rēzekne Jews took place in late September 1941, and this event can probably be viewed as the liquidation of the Rēzekne ghetto. The total number of Jews murdered in Rēzekne remains unknown but was probably in excess of 3,000 people. Based on a postwar investigation, Soviet authorities estimated the number of Jews and Communists killed at 11,000, a figure that included 1,000 children.[13] In all likelihood, these figures are too high.

One survivor of the Rēzekne ghetto managed to escape from it on September 24, 1941, and was baptized the following day. Both his parents remained in the ghetto and were shot shortly afterwards at the end of September 1941.[14] In October 1941, Latvian militia men discovered 12 other Jews in Rēzekne who had been baptized by a Russian priest. All 12 Jews were shot, and the priest was dismissed from his position.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Rēzekne during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Boris Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii* (Daugavpils, 2003); Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), pp. 280–285; Iosif Rochko, "Rezekne," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 210–218; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 328–330; and Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 233–242.

Information on the murder of the Jews of Rēzekne during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (e.g., 7021-93-28 to 30; and 8114-1-966); LVVA (e.g., P6676-4-1); NARA (T-175, reel 233; and NOKW-2150); USHMM (RG-18.002M; and RG-22.002M, reels 21 and 22); and YVA.

Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. NARA, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2721557, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 26, July 18, 1941.
2. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 329.
3. LVVA, P6676-4-1, p. 189.
4. NARA, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2721556, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 26, July 18, 1941.
5. Deposition of Naum Shakayev (or Shalayev), October 12, 1976, New York District Court, in the case against Boleslavs Maikovskis, as cited in Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*, p. 283.
6. LVVA, P132-30-25, p. 3.
7. NARA, RG-238, T-1119 (N-Docs.), NOKW-2150.
8. LVVA, P132-30-25.
9. Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*, pp. 191–192.
10. LVVA, P132-30-25, p. 5.
11. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 330.
12. Deposition of Jāzeps Pinka, Riga, May 16, 1981 (and October 4, 1976), New York District Court, in the case against Boleslavs Maikovskis, as cited by Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*, pp. 283–284.
13. LVVA, P132-30-25, p. 5.
14. Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:349, testimony of Mikhail Varushkin.

RIGA

Pre-1940: Riga, city, center of Vidzeme reģions, and capital, Latvian Republic; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Gebiet center and capital, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: capital, Republic of Latvia

Riga is located 476 kilometers (296 miles) north-northwest of Minsk. In 1935, the Jewish population of Riga was 43,672, comprising 11.2 percent of the population.

On July 1, 1941, German troops reached Latvia's capital, accompanied by elements of Einsatzgruppe A. Discussions about the ghettoization of Riga's Jews started in July.

Although the concentration of Jews in ghettos accorded with general guidelines on the treatment of Jews, a shortage of labor was the main reason for the ghetto's creation. The first documented mention of a ghetto in Riga is in an internal letter of the Labor Section of the Army Economic Department, dated July 21, 1941. This noted that discussions between the German army and the Security Police (SD) had already taken place.[1] The decision to establish a ghetto in Riga came quickly, and all involved parties—the Wehrmacht, the Security Police, and the civil administration—agreed on the need to concentrate and isolate the Jewish population.

View of the Riga ghetto fence with a sign posted in German and Latvian, 1941–1943.
USHMM WS #28041, COURTESY OF JOSEPH LEVY

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Detail of the image on page 1019, which reads, "Persons who cross the fence or who make the attempt to contact the inmates of the ghetto through the fence will be shot without warning."
USHMM WS #28041A, COURTESY OF EMMI LOWENSTERN

At the beginning of August the German Security Police designated the residential area of Riga that was to become the ghetto. It consisted of a working-class section on the edge of the city, the so-called Moscow suburb, whose mixed population already included about 1,700 Jews. Soon Riga's other Jews received notices that they had to leave their apartments and resettle inside the ghetto. On August 12, 1941, a "Resettlement Office," with a staff of 10, started to register the newly relocated Jews inside the ghetto. To make room for them, about 10,000 non-Jewish people had to leave the Moscow suburb, while 29,602 Latvian Jews were forcibly moved into the ghetto area. This total comprised 8,212 men, 15,738 women, and 5,652 children under the age of 14.[2]

Some circles of Riga's Jewish community welcomed the creation of the ghetto, believing it offered some protection against the arbitrary confiscations and arrests by the Latvian police and Self-Defense forces. In any case, the process of resettlement into the ghetto was extremely difficult, because of the burden of forced labor, restrictions on the use of public transport, and the limited housing options available. Moreover, the Riga city administration demanded of the Jewish community that it cover the expenses incurred by non-Jews who had to move out of the ghetto area: "The Jews themselves have to organize the moving process with their own resources, and they are not allowed to use horses and express couriers for that purpose. In addition, they must respond to the requests of the 'Resettlement Office' to provide Jewish laborers for non-Jews who lack the financial means to organize their removal from the planned Jewish area."[3]

Immediately after the announcement of the planned resettlement, an illicit trade emerged in accommodation for those newly arrived in the ghetto. The Latvian and Russian inhabitants who left the ghetto area tried to make money from those Jews seeking housing in the narrowly confined space. Also, some Jewish agents earned a lot of money acting as mediators for the procurement of apartments in the ghetto, usually for large extended families.[4] The German authorities planned for only 4 square meters (43 square feet) per person for those living in the Riga ghetto.[5] The ghetto also contained 24 grocery stores, two workshops, four schools, three kindergartens, and one nursing home, which were established to meet the needs of this new community.[6] The only hospital in the Riga ghetto was the former women's hospital "Linas Hazedek," under the direction of Professor Vladimir Minc.

The Jewish Council consisted of seven members and included the following departments: social life, finance, delivery and distribution of food, the supply of other goods for daily needs, the housing office, the health department, the labor department, the clothing department, and the internal ghetto police. No evidence has been found of a fire brigade inside the ghetto. Due to the constant disputes among the inmates of the ghetto, an internal law office within the Jewish Council was also necessary.

The inmates of the Riga ghetto received 175 grams (6 ounces) of meat, 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of butter, and 200 grams (7 ounces) of sugar per person each week. Under these harsh conditions with very limited food and forced labor, the inhabitants of the ghetto tried to organize a relatively normal life, which included the observance of Jewish religious holidays and the performance of theater shows.

The decree officially establishing the ghetto was published by the Gebietskommissar and mayor of Riga, Hugo Wittrock, on October 23, 1941, two days before the Riga ghetto was enclosed beginning at 6:00 P.M.[7] Work crews acted quickly and surrounded it with a double barbed-wire fence, which was guarded by members of the 20th Latvian Police Battalion. With the establishment of a civil administration in Latvia, Wittrock assumed responsibility for the Riga ghetto, especially the considerable costs necessary for maintaining its infrastructure.

The Riga ghetto in this form and with these inhabitants was not intended to exist for very long. The Germans had already decided to kill most of Latvia's Jews, and thus the establishment of the ghetto to contain them was viewed only as a temporary measure from the start. (In the summer and fall of 1941, prior to the official establishment of the ghetto, a large but unknown number of male Latvian Jews had already been killed in shooting Aktions carried out primarily by Einsatzgruppe A with the assistance of the Latvian auxiliary police under the command of Viktors Arājs.) On the orders of the Higher SS and Police Leader Ostland, Friedrich Jeckeln, almost half of the ghetto inhabitants, more than 11,000 people, were murdered on November 30, 1941, by units of the German Order Police in Rumbula in a wooded area about 10 kilometers (6 miles) from the ghetto. Jeckeln and his staff planned this mass killing. The Jews residing at those addresses selected for the Aktion received instructions to gather at the ghetto's central square early in the morning; from there they were escorted to the killing site.

During this Aktion a rather unexpected incident happened. By this time the deportations of Jews from Germany

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to the Riga ghetto had already commenced. The first transport of 1,000 Berlin Jews arrived in Riga on the morning of November 30, 1941. Jeckeln decided to kill these individuals together with the Latvian Jews on his own authority, without orders from Berlin. Dr. Rudolf Lange, the head of the Security Police in Latvia, refused to participate in the killing of German Jews without a specific order from the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), and he withdrew his men from the Aktion. The first part of the extermination of the inmates of the Riga ghetto therefore took place solely under Jeckeln's direction. The Order Police carried out the shooting without the support of the Security Police.

The second Aktion aimed at killing most of the remainder of the Riga ghetto Jews, followed on December 8, 1941, again at the Rumbula forest site. This time no German Jews were among the victims, and the Security Police actively participated in the massacre. The victims of this shooting numbered more than 14,000 people, and the total number of Latvian Jews killed in these two Aktions was at least 25,500. Those spared were mostly men and some younger women who were healthy enough to work and had been moved to a separate part of the ghetto on the evening of December 7, just before the second Aktion.

After the killing of most of the Riga Jews, the remaining area of the ghetto gradually filled up with foreign Jews, whom the Germans transferred from the transit camp of Jumpravmuiza. About 22,000 German, Austrian, and Czech Jews arrived from the late fall of 1941 until mid-1942. Jews from Bonn, Würzburg, Münster, Hamburg, Dortmund, Leipzig, Hannover, Prague, Vienna, and other places were deported to Riga. The German Jews named the streets where they lived in the ghetto after the places or cities they had been deported from. The Nazi authorities strictly forbade any contact between the foreign and Latvian Jews. However, there were some contacts, especially between the Latvian and the German and Austrian Jews. Many of the Latvian Jews spoke German fluently and assisted the German-speaking Jews in obtaining food (most had lost their families in the Rumbula mass killings shortly after their arrival).

The mostly German-speaking Jews had to adjust quickly to the strange and partially hostile environment of the Riga ghetto and to organize their living conditions in the apartments vacated by Latvian Jews after they were killed. The deported Jews soon established their own Jewish Council to represent their interests. In some cases, these representatives had already been elected during the three days of travel in the deportation trains. First, the Jews organized their own groups dependent on the location they were deported from, but soon a centralized internal ghetto administration was established with a social department, a labor department, a prison, and a police unit. There was no Jewish administration for the distribution of apartments. According to the recollections of survivors, the German police allocated the space where each deportation group had to reside.

In the winter of 1941 and summer of 1942, the Security Police demanded a number of young Jewish men to build the barracks of the concentration camp in Salaspils, a camp planned to hold Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), located about 13 kilometers (8 miles) from Riga. The first group of men who were ordered to Salaspils left on December 22, 1941. The survivors of this labor detachment came back to the ghetto as living skeletons, because the food rations were very meager, and they had to spend the nights in half-built barracks without windows in the winter. It is not known exactly how many died, as many exhausted Jews were returned to the ghetto to be replaced by new healthy recruits.

After the decision was made to include German Jews in the killing operations in the spring of 1942, the Germans initiated further Aktions against the Riga ghetto. The systematic selection of German Jews was directed against those unable to work. First, on March 15, 1942, elderly people in the Riga ghetto were selected for "easy work at a fishing company," which, however, did not exist. On March 26, 1942, a similar Aktion took place at the Jumpravmuiza camp. This Aktion resulted in the deaths of some 2,000 people. On February 8, 222 male and 137 female Jews were deported from Kaunas (Lithuania) to the Riga ghetto, because of the shortage of labor in occupied Latvia.

The ghetto police initially consisted of 42 Latvian Jewish men who mostly tried to act in the interests of the ghetto inmates. They were in charge of both ghetto parts even after the liquidation of most Latvian Jews. At the beginning of 1942, with the help of the police, a resistance movement in the Latvian part of the ghetto was established. People from all strata of society in this part of the ghetto were involved, including the former chief of the financial department of the Jewish Council. They organized the smuggling of parts of weapons into the ghetto, where they were reassembled. This was possible, as numerous Jews worked for the Wehrmacht sorting weapons. The resistance movement had prepared a bunker, where they stored food, guns, and ammunition sufficient for a couple of months. They were betrayed under mysterious circumstances, and the German Security Police uncovered their activities. On October 29, 1942, all the members of the ghetto police were summoned to the so-called Blechplatz and were shot by German Security Police.[8]

Throughout its three years of existence, the Riga ghetto was a constantly changing entity. For example, the borders of the ghetto changed so often that its precise outline at a certain time can no longer be determined. There were reasons for this. Beside the radical change of the ghetto's initial function from one of isolation to that of a deportation camp, frequent shooting Aktions also reduced the ghetto population, causing the area of the ghetto to be reduced on several occasions.[9]

Most of the workplaces for Jews were located outside the ghetto, in many cases quite some distance away. To exploit their labor to the maximum, many companies kept the Jews overnight at the work sites for several weeks, to avoid the long march to and from the ghetto every day. In this way many Jews spent most of their working time outside the Riga ghetto. These conditions contradicted the aim of the Germans to isolate the Jews and made it possible for Jews to contact the

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Members of Police Battalion 22 stand guard outside the army vehicle repair installation (Heereskraftfahrzeugpark, HKP), one of the Riga ghetto's "quartering sites" (labor camps), which subsequently became a subcamp of the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp, 1941–1943.
USHMM WS #61537, COURTESY OF STA. HAMBURG

local population and obtain some extra food—or even to escape. On May 1, 1942, Latvian Generalkommissar Otto Drechsler complained that the establishment of many small labor sites for Jews would undermine the purpose of having a ghetto, and he demanded that the companies or military institutions return the working Jews every day by 8:00 P.M.[10] However, this order was never fully implemented.

At the same time, the authorities needed the ghetto to remain as a functioning urban area, including the maintenance of gas and electricity facilities. The Gebietskommissar was responsible for these issues, and he repeatedly sent non-Jewish mechanics into the ghetto to conduct this work.[11] In this way, a number of non-Jews received permission to enter the ghetto and gained an impression of living conditions there.

The liquidation of the Riga ghetto occurred incrementally. On July 8, 1943, Heinrich Himmler issued a secret order to the Riga Gebietskommissar that all Jews had to be confined within concentration camps containing "not less than 1,000 people."[12] This measure removed responsibility for the

Jewish forced laborers arrive by truck at the Luftwaffe field clothing depot on Moscow Street in Riga, 1942.
USHMM WS #97377, COURTESY OF YVA

11,701 Jews in Riga from the Gebietskommissar.[13] Now the German Security Police was solely responsible for the concentration and exploitation of Jews in Latvia. In the fall of 1943, the Jews of the Riga ghetto were gradually transferred to the authority of the Kaiserwald concentration camp, which had 23 subcamps, mostly composed of work sites, where the Jewish workers were still needed. On November 2, 1943, 2,268 Jews from the Riga ghetto were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp; then the last ghetto inmates, about 4,000 Jews, were transferred to Kaiserwald. This means that about 5,500 Riga ghetto Jews who were working outside the ghetto were also transferred to the authority of the Kaiserwald camp.

SOURCES Among the many publications available on the Riga ghetto, the work of Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" im Ghetto Riga. Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–44* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), is especially useful, as it includes a survey of the main postwar investigations, as well as an extensive bibliography and list of archival sources. Gertrude Schneider's *Journey into Terror: Story of the Riga Ghetto* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001) is an important account written by a survivor. Editors Wolfgang Scheffler and Diana Schulle, in their *Buch der Erinnerung: Die ins Baltikum deportierten deutschen, österreichischen und tschechoslowakischen Juden* (Munich: Saur, 2003), document the Jews deported to Riga from countries to the west.

Documentary information on the German occupation of Riga and the ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (e.g., R 92); BA-L (e.g., 207 AR-Z 7/59); BA-MA; GARF; LG-Hamb; LVA; LVVA (e.g., R69-1a-19); NARA (T-459); RGVA; USHMM; VHF; WL; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Internal note of the Labor Section of the Economic Department, Occupied Latvia, July 21, 1941, NARA, T-459, reel 19, frame (fr.) 555-56.
2. LVVA, P69-1a-19, p. 22.

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3. Order of Riga Gebietskommissar, September 11, 1941, NARA, T-459, reel 33, fr. 395.
4. Unpub. MSS by Mr. Rivosh, "Nachalo kontsa," p. 18 (in the possession of Katrin Reichelt).
5. NARA, T-459, reel 33, fr. 394.
6. Ibid., fr. 395.
7. LVVA, P69-1a-19, p. 8.
8. Gertrude Schneider, "The Riga Ghetto, 1941–1943" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1973), p. 140.
9. NARA, T-459, reel 3, fr. 671-672.
10. Ibid., reel 21, fr. 404.
11. Some telephone cables ran through the Riga ghetto, which required regular repair; see ibid., fr. 166.
12. Ibid., reel 23, fr. 410.
13. Ibid., fr. 408.

SALDUS

Pre-1940: Saldus (Yiddish: Froienburg), town, Kuldiga aprinka, Kurzeme reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1945: Frauenburg, Gebiet Libau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Saldus, Kurzeme reģions, Republic of Latvia

Saldus is located 105 kilometers (66 miles) west-southwest of Riga. In 1935, there were 329 Jews living in the town, comprising 7.5 percent of the total population.

By July 1, 1941, German armed forces had occupied the town, and a Latvian "Self-Defense" force had been established in Saldus. In the days following the German invasion, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate, but more than 200 Jews remained at the start of the occupation.

The first arrests of Jews took place on July 4 or 5, 1941. The leaders of the local Jewish community and several dozen other Jewish males were taken into custody and were shot by the Self-Defense force just outside Saldus, in the Veides Forest, at the old Jewish cemetery. Several days after these killings, Latvian nationalists arrested the remaining Jews of Saldus and held them in the police jail and the synagogue, which served as a temporary ghetto. Meanwhile, Latvians looted the homes and stole the belongings of the Jews. The Jews remained confined in prison and in the synagogue ghetto until Latvian policemen shot them in late July or August 1941.

The date when the mass murders took place is not precisely known, as the available sources give conflicting information. The most likely date, however, appears to be sometime in late July 1941; in the trials of several former members of the Self-Defense force, reference is made to the shooting of 150 to 200 Jews (57 families) in the Ulpes Forest, near Lake Baltezers, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside Saldus. Other sources give a maximum number of 242 Jews shot.

Local members of the Self-Defense force participated in the murders, escorting and guarding the victims as they went to their deaths in several trucks that left town at night. The actual shooting, however, was carried out by an unidentified team of men, either from Jelgava or from Liepāja. The latter is more likely, as the towns and villages of the western part of Kurzeme (e.g., Kuldiga, Saldus, Skrunda) lay within the area of activity of the Libau SD. After the murder of the Jews, the synagogue was looted and burned.

SOURCES For information on the fate of the Jews of Saldus in the Holocaust, see these publications: "Saldus," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 196–197; "Saldus," 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), p. 1122; and Rita Bogdanova, "Saldus," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 113–114.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Saldus can be found in these archives: GARF (7021-93-2415); LVA; and LVVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

SILENE

Pre-1940: Silene, village, Daugavpils aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Silene is located about 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Daugavpils. Until the mid-1930s the village was known as Borovka. According to the 1935 population census, there were 189 Jews living in Silene, or 18.5 percent of the total population.

On June 26, 1941, German armed forces occupied the town. Local Latvian nationalists immediately organized a "Self-Defense" detachment, which carried out the first Aktions targeting Jews and Soviet activists. In Silene, the Self-Defense detachment was headed by the senior policeman Alfred Timbergs, the elder of the administrative unit (volost'), Karlis Antin'sh, and the commandant Eric Priekulis. On July 22, 1941, this detachment, assisted by Latvian policemen from Riga and Ilūkste, arrested all the Jews and put them in a large synagogue, which, in effect, became a temporary ghetto. On several occasions, the Jews were brought out of the synagogue to drink water. On the way to the well, they had to pass large white signs that said the Jews would be transferred to the Brasław ghetto in Belorussia. Jewish homes were looted. The Jews remained in the synagogue-ghetto for about one week. On or around July 28, 1941, all the Jews were taken out on the pretext of being resettled to Brasław. They were allowed to take up to 15 kilograms (33 pounds) of luggage each. Fifteen horses with carts were driven up to the synagogue, but the peasants were reluctant to transport the Jews and invented all sorts of excuses: a lame horse, a missing wheel. Only the children and old people rode in the carts. The remainder were driven on foot to a site near Smilga Lake, 3 or 4 kilometers (about 2 to 2.5 miles) from Silene, where they were shot

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by the Self-Defense detachment. After the shooting, local non-Jewish residents dug four large pits and buried the victims there. In total, there were 186 Jewish victims (32 families). The property and belongings of the murdered Jews were divided among the perpetrators.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Silene during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Silene," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), p. 195; G. Smirin and M. Meler, "Borovka v Latvii," *Lekhaim* (Moscow), no. 10 (2001): 114; Iosif Rochko, "Unichtozhenie evreev v Ilukstskom uezde letom 1941 goda," in *Evrei v Daugavpilse: Istoricheskie ocherki: Kniga chetvertaia* (Daugavpils, 2005), pp. 174–196; and Iosif Rochko, "Silene," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 158–162.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Silene can be found in these archives: GARF (7021-93-111, pp. 346–347); and TsAFSB (4-5-535, p. 122).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

VALDEMARPILS

Pre-1940: Valdemarpils, town, Talsi aprinka, Kurzeme reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Sassmacken, Kreis Talsen, Gebiet Libau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Valdemarpils, Kurzeme reģions, Republic of Latvia

Valdemarpils is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west-northwest of Riga. Until 1926, the town was known as Sasmaka. According to the 1935 census, there were 159 Jews living in Valdemarpils (14 percent of the total population). The Jewish community of this town was one of the oldest in Latvia.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 3, 1941, 12 days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, only a small part of the Jewish community managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR.

A few days after the town was occupied, the remaining Jews were required to register, and the names of 112 people were recorded on the lists. These lists, however, were incomplete, as they did not include children under the age of 18 months. On July 10, 1941, on the orders of the town authorities, 56 Jews who were fit for work were sent to dig peat 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from town. On July 19, Jewish property was ordered to be confiscated. The Jews were allowed to keep only the bare essentials, food for two weeks, and 500 rubles per family. On July 21, at the order of the head of the Talsi district, the remaining Jews, about 70 in number, were concentrated in five houses that belonged to Jews. These houses, which constituted the Jewish ghetto, were guarded by members of a Self-Defense detachment. On the night of July 26, the Jews in this ghetto were shot in a forest clearing near the road from Jaunciems to Kaltene. On the night of August 7, 1941, the Jews who were being used to dig peat were also shot.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Valdemarpils during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Valdemarpils," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 109–110; "Valdemarpils," 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), p. 1372; "Valdemarpils," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:202; and Rita Bogdanova, "Valdemarpils," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 116–117.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Valdemarpils can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-130); LVA (e.g., 1986-1-5323); and YVA. Additional archival and published sources can be found in the important article by E. Prokopovičs and A. Jēkabsons, "Talsu apriņķa Valdemārpils pilsētas ebreju iznīcināšana 1941. gada vasarā," in *Holokausta izpēte Latvijā. Starptautisko konferenču materiāli, 2003. gada 12.–13. jūnijs, 24. oktobris, Rīga, un 2002.–2003. gada pētījumi par holokaustu Latvijā* (Riga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 2004), pp. 255–277.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

VARAKĻĀNI

Pre-1940: Varakļāni (Yiddish: Varklian), town, Rēzekne aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Varakļāni/Varakliany, Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Weraklani, Kreis Rositten, Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Varakļāni, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Varakļāni is located about 200 kilometers (124 miles) east-southeast of Riga. According to the 1935 census, a total of 952 Jews resided in Varakļāni, comprising 57 percent of the town's inhabitants.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 1, 1941, 10 days after their invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During that time, more than 200 Jews had managed to evacuate eastward. Approximately 700 Jews remained in Varakļāni at the start of the German occupation, including some refugees from places further to the west. After the arrival of German troops, a number of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Varakļāni. Local Latvians showed the German soldiers where Jewish families lived, and Jewish houses were looted. Large posters announced that Jews were forbidden to associate with non-Jews, could not be treated by non-Jewish doctors, and were forbidden to employ non-Jewish servants. Jews could buy food only in specially designated stores that were poorly supplied. Every day the German authorities rounded up some Jews and organized work details to clean streets and public places. In addition, the victims were insulted and humiliated.[1]

On July 15, 1941, a rumor spread that all the refugees who had come to Varakļāni would be allowed to return home, but

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the local authorities refused to grant them safe passage. As a result, many of the refugees attempted to return home on their own initiative, usually disguised as non-Jews.

At some time in mid-July 1941, probably after July 15, all the Jews were concentrated in a ghetto in the impoverished "Neustadt" suburb, near the Jewish cemetery. The ghetto was not fenced, but Jews were prohibited from leaving and were not allowed to communicate with non-Jews. In the ghetto, the Jews were subjected to systematic humiliation, beating, and robbery by the Latvian guards. Those Jews able to work were sent out daily for forced labor. All Jewish property was confiscated. The Latvian police also conducted a number of killings of members of the Jewish population.

The Jews stayed in the ghetto for only two or three weeks. On August 4, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated; all the Jews were herded into the building of the consumers' cooperative at the market square. Some were forced into the basement, and some were in the yard, fenced in on all sides. Blue buses and green army trucks arrived, carrying men in green uniforms. Panic broke out in the yard. The Jews had been told to bring along necessary items, including valuables, as they were to be transferred to another place. All these items were confiscated.

Some 20 to 30 Jews, mainly young, healthy males, were put into each truck. On arrival at their destination, the Jews were pushed out of the trucks, led to a ditch, and shot. Several hours later, more victims were brought. The women, children, and elderly were shot in the evening. They were driven on foot towards the Jewish cemetery; only a few, who were feeble, rode in carts. Rabbi Leizer Grodskii in particular was mistreated. His beard was tied to a horse's tail, and he was dragged along to the shooting site, while the thugs whistled and whooped. Some witnesses said that local residents were forced to watch the shooting; others claimed that the curious came of their own accord. Thus more than 500 of the town's Jews were shot at the cemetery.[2] The shooting was carried out by a detachment of the Arājs Kommando, sent from Riga, and by the local Latvian police. At the same time 20 local Gypsies were also murdered and thrown into an adjacent pit. The next day, August 5, peasants from surrounding villages were forced to come to the cemetery to fill in the pits.

Two Jews managed to escape the roundup and hid with the help of farmers in the village of Ludane. After several months, their hiding places were discovered, and when they tried to escape, they drowned in the surrounding marshes. Several young Jewish women were temporarily saved by converting to Christianity, but they were later arrested by Latvian police and subsequently executed. Before their retreat in the summer of 1944, the German authorities ordered local farmers to burn the corpses of the murdered Jews to destroy the evidence of the crimes.

SOURCES The ghetto in Varakļāni is mentioned in the following publications: "Varaklani," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 112–116; "Varaklani," 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), pp. 1374–1375; "Varakliani," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopedia," "Epos," 2000), 4:205. Additional information on the fate of the Jews of Varakļāni during the Holocaust can be found in Iosif Rochko, "Varakliany," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 228–234; and Frida Michelson, *I Survived Rumbuli* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979).

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Varakļāni can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93); LVVA; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Michelson, *I Survived Rumbuli*, pp. 34–36.
2. According to the "summary of the activities of the Rēzekne county police, July 20, 1942" (Varakļāni), 680 Jews and 20 Gypsies were shot at the 5th Police Precinct; see *Ne zabyvai Audrini!* (Riga, 1968), pp. 95, 119.

VENTSPILS

Pre-1940: Ventspils (Yiddish: Vindoi), town and aprinka center, Kurzeme reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: center, Kurzeme district, Latvian SSR; 1941–1945: Windau, Kreis center, Gebiet Libau, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Ventspils, Kurzeme reģions, Republic of Latvia

Ventspils is located 163 kilometers (101 miles) west-northwest of Riga. According to the 1930 census, there were 1,275 Jews living in Ventspils. By 1935 that number had declined to 1,246, almost 8 percent of the town's population.

German armed forces entered Ventspils, a port town on the Baltic Sea, on July 1, 1941, nine days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. Within this time, some of the Jews of Ventspils managed to evacuate, but more than 1,000 remained in the town and the surrounding district at the start of the German occupation.

At the end of June 1941, once the Soviet forces had retreated but before the Germans had arrived, a Latvian Self-Defense unit was formed in Ventspils. This unit wore former Latvian army uniforms or civilian clothing with white—later red-and-white—armbands. A former Latvian officer, Kanders, actively recruited men for the unit. The Latvian Self-Defense unit was established ostensibly to maintain order and prevent looting until the arrival of the German army.

In July 1941, Ventspils was governed by a German military administration. In August, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Ventspils became part of Gebiet Libau under Gebietskommissar Landrat Dr. Alnor and SS- und Polizeigebietsführer Leutnant der Polizei Auschrat.

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By July 8, 1941, Latvian Lieutenant Colonel Kārlis Lobe had arrived from Liepāja and with his deputy, Adolfs Jāsums, assumed authority over the Self-Defense unit in Ventspils. Almost immediately, Lobe issued Order No. 1, calling for the arrest of all Jews between the ages of 16 and 60 in the Ventspils area. All items of value in their possession were to be confiscated and turned over to the town of Ventspils. In addition, Communists were also subject to arrest, and a note on the document indicates that a number were taken into custody on July 14, 1941.[1] The first shootings of those arrested by Latvian Self-Defense men took place on July 12 (five victims), with more being shot on July 15, 1941.[2]

SS-Obersturmführer Erhard Grauel arrived in Ventspils from Liepāja with a detachment of Einsatzkommando 2 on or around July 16, 1941. He had orders from Einsatzgruppe A to carry out special "cleansing" Aktions in the Ventspils and Kuldiga areas over the following days. Immediately on his arrival, Grauel went to the military commandant and informed him of his mission. The commandant briefed Grauel on the situation in the town and reported that the Latvian Self-Defense forces had been conducting arrests and carrying out shootings. Grauel next met with the head of the Latvian Self-Defense force, Lobe, and briefed him on his task. Lobe gave Grauel his assessment of the situation in Ventspils and told him that the shootings had started already, but the number of individuals shot so far was negligible. Further, Lobe reported that Jews had been arrested and charged with collaborating with the enemy and that on orders from Riga these Jews were to be liquidated. Grauel assigned 17 or 18 men of the Einsatzkommando to conduct the shootings. Working with the Latvian Self-Defense force, they shot several hundred male Jews in at least three separate Aktions in the Kaziniu Forest, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the town, near a Latvian army barracks and training area. About seven or eight non-Jewish Soviet activists were shot at the same site. During the first joint Aktion, a squad of German SS marksmen first demonstrated to the Latvian Self-Defense unit how to conduct the shooting. Thereafter, Latvian auxiliaries shot the remaining victims under German supervision.[3]

At some date in mid-July 1941, the remaining Jews of Ventspils (mostly elderly people, women, and children) were isolated in two dilapidated buildings near the Venta River in what is described by local Latvian witnesses as a ghetto.[4] The local Fascist Latvian leader Kanders was appointed commandant of the ghetto. The Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto and were obliged to wear the Star of David and to perform forced labor.[5] Bearded Jews were forcibly shaven, and Jewish women were sexually assaulted. Their houses and property were looted by Latvians or sold for the benefit of the local administration. Some of the furniture was subsequently stored in the synagogue, which had probably been used initially to imprison some of the male Jews before they were shot.

Aktions on a smaller scale continued throughout July and August. In September and early October 1941, the Ventspils ghetto was liquidated, probably with the participation of the Arājs Kommando. First, the elderly people were shot (67 individuals on September 2 and 183 individuals on September 26, 1941: a total of 250 victims),[6] and at some date between October 3 and 17, 1941, the women and children (another 533 victims) were killed.[7] By late October, a sign had appeared on the road between Kuldiga and Ventspils, announcing that Ventspils had been "cleansed of Jews" *(judenrein).*

Altogether, between July and October 1941 more than 1,000 Jews from Ventspils and the surrounding area were killed.[8]

SOURCES The ghetto in Ventspils is mentioned in the following publications: "Ventspils," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 123–128; 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), p. 1386; and Rita Bogdanova, "Ventspils," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 107–111. The verdict against Grauel, which includes descriptions of the July mass shootings in Ventspils, has been published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 36 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), Lfd. Nr. 760a.

Information on the fate of the Jews of Ventspils during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-93-2393); LVVA (R83-1-21); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 21); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. D. Sprogis, "Oshchipannyi 'sokol,'" *Sovetskaia Latviia* (Riga), March 22, 1969. After the war, Lobe went into hiding in Sweden, where he later became the leader of the Latvian nationalistic organization "Daugavas Vanāgi" (Falcons of Daugava).

2. E. Avotiņš, J. Dzirkalis, and V. Petersons, *Daugavas Vanāgi: Who Are They*? (Riga, 1963), p. 78.

3. LG-Hann, Verdict of October 14, 1971, against Grauel and others (Sta. Hannover 2 Ks 3/68), in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 36, Lfd. Nr. 760a. According to the statements of the Latvian witnesses and the former members of the Self-Defense unit, on one of these days between 200 and 300 people were killed, and altogether in mid-July up to 700 victims were shot.

4. Ibid., pp. 172, 174, citing testimony of Latvian Self-Defense members Sar. and Lie.

5. The decree ordering that Jews be marked was published in the local newspaper; see *Ventas Balss*, no. 3, July 11, 1941. On July 24, 1941, the commander of the Rear Area, Army Group North, issued uniform instructions on the wearing of the yellow star in the area under his command; see LVVA, R1026-1-3, p. 141.

6. See the war records of the SS- und Polizei-Standortführer Libau, entries for September 22 and 26, 1941, in LVVA, R83-1-21.

7. Bericht des SS- und Polizeistandortführers Libau, October 18, 1941, in LG-Hann, Verdict of October 14, 1971, against Grauel and others (2 Ks 3/68), Sta. Hannover.

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8. According to materials from GARF, 7021-93-2393, approximately 3,000 Jews allegedly were shot in the town of Ventspils (2,000 Ventspils residents and 1,000 people from the surrounding area). This number is probably much too high.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Viļaka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-93); LVVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

VIĻAKA

Pre-1940: Viļaka (Yiddish: Viliaki), town, Abrene aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Marienhausen, Kreis Abrene, Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Viļaka, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Viļaka is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northeast of Balvi. According to the 1935 census, there were 465 Jews living in Viļaka (29 percent of the total population).

German armed forces occupied the settlement on July 4, 1941, two weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR, although many were turned back at the former Soviet border. As a result, around 400 Jews remained in Viļaka at the start of the occupation.

A few days after the occupation began, all the Jews were isolated in a ghetto, for which the poorest quarter of town was allocated, bounded by Liepnenskaia and Balvskaia Streets. The Jews were allowed to go out on the street between 4:00 and 6:00 P.M.; those who violated this rule were beaten with a truncheon. In the ghetto, the Jews were subjected to systematic humiliation, beating, and robbery by the Latvian security force. The Latvian police also carried out a number of murders of Jews.

The Jews spent about one month in the ghetto. In the second week of August 1941 (either on August 8 or August 11, according to different sources), the ghetto was liquidated; all the Jews were shot in a forest near the village of Kazukalna. The shooting was carried out by a detachment of the Arājs Kommando, which had come from Riga, and by local policemen. A small group of Jews who found shelter with local peasants were subsequently found and also killed. Shortly before their retreat, the Germans burned the bodies of the Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Viļaka during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Viliaka," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 119–121; Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 250–251; "Vilaka," 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), p. 1396; "Viliaka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:252–253. There is also a testimony by the former political prisoner A. Liede given on November 12, 1944, published in *My obviniaem* (Riga, 1967), pp. 108–111.

VIĻĀNI

Pre-1940: Viļāni (Yiddish: Vilon), town, Rēzekne aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Viļāni (Russian: Vilani), Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Welonen, Kreis Rositten, Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Viļāni, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Viļāni is located 180 kilometers (112 miles) south-southeast of Riga. According to the census of 1935, there were 396 Jews living in Viļāni, accounting for 30 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 2, 1941, 10 days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR, and as a result, around 390 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

On July 3, 1941, the Jews were ordered to appear for registration, and when they returned, they found that their homes had been robbed by the Germans, led by their officers. The next day, the local police continued the looting.

A few days after the occupation of the town, all the Jews were isolated in a ghetto, which consisted of the Russian high school building. The Jews, both men and women, were required to perform forced labor. In the ghetto, the Latvian police subjected the Jews to systematic humiliation, rape, beatings, and robbery. The Latvian police also killed a number of Jews. In response, 2 Jews killed one of the Latvian guards with shovels. The Jews remained in the ghetto surrounded by barbed wire for about one month. On August 4, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and all the Jews were shot near the Jewish cemetery. A detachment of the Arājs Kommando, which had come from Riga, carried out the shooting with the help of local policemen. The total number of victims was 390.[1] At the end of 1941, a number of Gypsy families were murdered near the pits where the Jews perished. Before their retreat, the Germans opened the pits and burned the corpses to hide their crimes.

Of the very few Jewish survivors, the Barkan family was aided by the local priest, who hid them in the home of one of his parishioners. Another Jew, Leib Luban, was hidden by a local farmer.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Viļāni during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Vilani," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 117–119; "Vilani," 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), p. 1396; "Viliany," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia

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Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:253; and Iosif Rochko, "Viliany," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 271–274.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Viļāni can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-45, 47); LVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. See "Obzor deiatel'nosti Rezeknenskoi uezdnoi politsii po sostoianiiu na 20 iiulia 1942 g. (III. politseiskii uchastok)," in *Ne zabyvai Audrini!* (Riga, 1968), pp. 95, 119. Police Precinct (uchastok) III consisted of Viļāni and the volosti (administrative subdivisions) of Galeny, Sakstagals, and Gaigalava.

VIŠĶI

Pre-1940: Višķi, village, Daugavpils aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Viski, Kreis and Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Višķi, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Višķi is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Daugavpils. According to the 1935 census, there were 423 Jews living in Višķi (56 percent of the total population).

German armed forces occupied the village on June 27, 1941, five days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. In the interim, several dozen Jews managed to evacuate to the interior of the USSR, and as a result, about 380 Jews remained in Višķi at the start of the German occupation.

Soon after the village was occupied, all the Jews were herded into the building of the fire station, which served as a temporary collection ghetto for them. One day, probably in early July, the Jews were escorted to a forest near the village of Ostrovo, where machine guns were already in place. Minutes before the shooting was about to begin, a vehicle appeared, and a German officer unexpectedly called off the Aktion. From the fire station, the Jews were briefly allowed to return home, to collect their valuables and prepare for evacuation to Daugavpils.[1] Most did not believe they were going to their deaths, but some attempted to hide in cellars, attics, barns, and haystacks, and the cemetery. The majority of these people were soon discovered and shot on the spot. On July 11, 12, and 23, 1941, 374 Jews were deported to Daugavpils, and five Jews were killed in the village.[2] Following the deportation of the Jews, white leaflets were posted on the Jewish houses, warning that entering them was prohibited. The Jews' belongings were taken primarily by those who took an active part in the shootings. After the war, the vacant Jewish houses were sold off to needy neighbors whose homes had burned during the war.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Višķi during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Viski," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 122–123; Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 251–257; and I. Rochko, "Kholokost v Latgalii," in Boris Vol'kovich et al., eds., *Kholokost v Latgalii: Sbornik statei* (Daugavpils: Daugavpilsskaia evreiskaia obshchina, 2003), p. 419.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Višķi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-93-94); LVA; Museum of Jews in Latvia (file B-785); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Višķi," Museum of Jews in Latvia, in Riga, file B-785.
2. GARF, 7021-93-94, pp. 317–318, 340.

ZILUPE

Pre-1940: Zilupe (Yiddish: Rozinovsk), town, Lūdza aprinka, Latgale reģions, Latvia; 1940–1941: Latvian SSR; 1941–1944: Rosinhof, Kreis Ludsen, Gebiet Dünaburg, Generalkommissariat Lettland; post-1991: Zilupe, Latgale reģions, Republic of Latvia

Zilupe is located 114 kilometers (71 miles) northeast of Daugavpils. According to the 1935 census, there were 471 Jews living in the town (30 percent of the total population).

On July 6, 1941, two weeks after the German invasion of the USSR, German armed forces occupied Zilupe. Some Jews were able to evacuate to other parts of the Soviet Union. Around 400 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation. The German military administration (Ortskommandantur) required that the Jews be registered. At night they were allowed to stay in their homes, but each morning they had to report to the Ortskommandantur.

Sometime in late July or early August 1941, all the Jews of Zilupe were isolated in a ghetto, in the poorest part of the town. Confined within this ghetto were 150 to 200 Jews, including some refugees from Lithuania and other towns in Latvia who had failed to get across the Russian border in time. Jews in the ghetto were subjected to systematic robbery, assault, and human degradation by the Latvian security force. The Latvian policemen also carried out a series of murders against the Jews. For example, at the start of August 1941, 17 Jews were shot.[1]

The ghetto for the Jewish population existed for about one month. On August 24, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. Local police herded the Jews, carrying their belongings, into the market square. They were informed of their impending transfer to Lūdza and, in groups of 15 to 20, were escorted in that direction. Those who could not walk were taken by truck. All the Jews were shot in a forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, near the village of Zabolotskie. David Deutsch resisted the murderers and was beaten viciously before being buried half alive. Along with the Jews, 24 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were executed. The killings were carried out by a

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detachment of the Arājs Kommando, which had come from Riga, and by local policemen. In May 1944, the corpses were exhumed and burned.[2]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Zilupe during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Zilupe," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 128–130; "Zilupe," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 283–287; "Zilupe," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:484; and Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1999), p. 289.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Zilupe can be found in these archives: GARF (7021-93-114); LVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-93-114, p. 115.
2. Ibid., pp. 16, 93–94.

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LITHUANIA REGION

"The Main Gate" of the Kaunas ghetto; pen-and-ink drawing by survivor Esther Lurie, 1943.
USHMM WS #73488, COURTESY OF SARA MILO

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LITHUANIA REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT LITAUEN)

Pre-1939: Lithuania and parts of Poland; 1940–1941: Lithuanian SSR and parts of the Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Generalkommissariat Litauen, including part of the initial territory of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien (transferred on April 1, 1942), Reichskommissariat Ostland; post-1991: Republic of Lithuania and part of Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

The German and local Lithuanian authorities established around 115 ghettos in Generalkommissariat Litauen. Of these, 38 were established in what became under the German civil administration, Gebiet Schaulen-Land; 25 in Gebiet Kauen-Land; and 22 in the area of Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, which was not formally split off from Gebiet Schaulen-Land until November 1941. In Gebiet Wilna-Land, as it existed initially in August 1941, there were 15 ghettos; another 15 ghettos, holding around 7,000 Jews, were added, however, when a strip of territory was included from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien in April 1942.

Ghettoization began within a few days of the occupation in these regions and was effectively completed by the end of September 1941, when a remnant ghetto was formed in Święciany. The more than 80 ghettos and temporary holding camps established for Jews in a number of smaller Lithuanian towns and villages in the summer of 1941 were almost all liquidated within a few weeks or months by November 1941. The Telšiai ghetto outlasted most other short-lived ghettos by a few weeks, with the last inmates being shot at the end of December 1941. Effectively these sites were destruction ghettos, serving the purpose of concentrating the Jewish population prior to the killing Aktions. By January 1, 1942, the Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators had murdered more than 150,000 Jews in the territory of Generalkommissariat Litauen.

Many of the smaller temporary ghettos in Lithuania were established in synagogues, prayer houses, farm buildings, or barracks or on a few streets in the poorer section of town. The ghetto in Kaišiadorys, for example, consisted of a large grain storage building, where Jews from the town and other places nearby were held for two weeks under appalling living conditions.

From the end of 1941 until late 1943, most of the remaining Jews in Lithuania (ca. 43,000 people) were confined within the three main ghettos of Wilno, Kaunas, and Šiauliai. The only other ghetto that continued to exist until 1943 was the Święciany ghetto. However, some of the 15 ghettos added from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien in April 1942, including those of Oszmiana, Michaliszki, and Soly, survived for another year. These ghettos were subordinated administratively to the Wilno ghetto and gradually consolidated in the fall of 1942. The Germans liquidated them in March and April of 1943, with some of the inmates being transferred to the Wilno ghetto or to labor camps in Lithuania, while several thousand were murdered at Ponary.

Including Jewish refugees from Poland who arrived following the September Campaign of 1939, more than 200,000 Jews were residing in Lithuania on the eve of the German occupation of the country in late June 1941. The Soviet deportation of people from Lithuania in 1940–1941 was blamed by many Lithuanians on the Jews, even though a considerable proportion of those deported were themselves Jewish. Following the German invasion, more than 8,000 Jews managed to flee into the interior of the Soviet Union, but many were turned back at the Latvian border or were overtaken by the rapid German advance. Some Jews fleeing on the roads were killed by Lithuanian partisan units, which were patrolling in search of Red Army stragglers.

In Lithuania, the arrival of German forces in late June 1941 was accompanied by the rapid establishment of a local Lithuanian administration and police forces, supported by the partisan units (often recruited from former Lithuanian riflemen's organizations [Šaulys]) that had formed on the Soviets' retreat. These interim organizations played an important role in the implementation of a wide range of anti-Jewish regulations and measures, including the ghettoization and mass murder of Jews in a number of Lithuanian towns.

Initially, Lithuania came under the German military administration, run mainly by the offices of the military commandants (Ortskommandanturen and Feldkommandanturen) based in the towns. However, from the start, units of Einsatzgruppe A (German Security Police) played a major role in security matters, especially the arrest and shooting of Jews. During the summer, authority was transferred to a German civil administration, headed by Generalkommissar Theodor Adrian von Renteln, which completed the process of ghettoization together with the local Lithuanian administration and police, subordinated to the German Gebietskommissare and the Kreischefs.

In the first weeks of occupation, Einsatzgruppe A, supported by SS, Order Police, Wehrmacht units, and Lithuanian auxiliaries, conducted a number of killing Aktions in Lithuania directed mainly against suspected Communists and adult male Jews accused of having supported Soviet rule.

At this time, orders were issued for Jews to wear yellow stars. Jews were strictly forbidden to leave their places of residence without an official permit, to engage in any form of business, to attend the market, or to use the sidewalk. Local authorities imposed additional restrictions that varied somewhat from place to place. Jewish stores were closed down; Jewish men were beaten, humiliated, and arrested; and Jewish homes were looted. Some synagogues were burned down shortly after the start of the German occupation.

Forced labor for Jews was also imposed quickly in most towns, often organized with the assistance of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Jews were employed mainly on clearing rubble,

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Mid-1930s portrait of Theodor Adrian von Renteln, Gebietskommissar Litauen.
USHMM/PHOTOGRAPHED FROM ERNST KIENAST (ED.), *DER DEUTSCHE REICHSTAG 1936: III. WAHLPERIODE NACH DEM 30. JANUAR 1933; MIT ZUSTIMMUNG DES HERRN REICHSTAGSPRÄSIDENTEN* (BERLIN: R. V. DECKER'S VERLAG, G. SCHENCK, 1936)

construction work, cleaning streets, and other public projects in the towns; sometimes they worked in agriculture or other labor outside the towns, such as road repairs and digging peat. In some places, local farmers could rent Jews as day laborers.

The process of ghettoization in Lithuania is relatively well documented in each of the four separate subdivisions (Gebiete). The earliest improvised ghettos were reportedly established at the end of June or early July 1941 as, for example, in Vyžuonos and Palanga. Planning for a ghetto in the city of Kaunas began in early July, and on August 7, orders were issued for the resettlement of Jews into ghettos in Kreis Kauen by August 15, the date set for closing the Kaunas ghetto. The same order also included instructions for the establishment of small units of Jewish Police (5 to 15 people) and Jewish Councils (of about 12 people) to manage the internal affairs of the ghettos.[1] In Garliava, in mid-August 1941, local policemen and partisans forced the Jews of the town and neighboring villages into the local synagogue, where they were confined for around two weeks in an improvised ghetto. The local chief of police then requested instructions from his superiors as to what should happen with the imprisoned Jews, as there were problems feeding them and no more suitable accommodations were available.[2]

Throughout Gebiet Kauen-Land, ghettos were set up somewhat sporadically over the period from mid-July until mid-September, when the ghetto in Lazdijai was established. This was also among the last ghettos to be liquidated in early November 1941. A number of ghettos in the area were liquidated in quick succession in early September 1941, including those in Vilkaviškis, Butrimonys, Alytus, and Merkinė. This intense wave of killings was coordinated by Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian policemen. As throughout Lithuania, however, the destruction often took place via a series of Aktions spread over several weeks. In Jonava, for example, 497 Jewish men and 55 Jewish women were shot on August 14, and only then were the remaining Jews, mostly women, children, and the elderly, confined to a remnant ghetto for two more

A map that accompanied a secret undated report on the mass murder of Jews by Einsatzgruppe A, submitted into evidence by US and British prosecution teams at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. The map is titled "Jewish Executions Carried Out by Einsatzgruppe A," stamped "Secret Reich Matter," and indicates that the Einsatzgruppe murdered 136,421 Jews in Lithuania. The Kauen (Kaunas) and Schaulen (Šiauliai) ghettos are also indicated.
USHMM WS #03550, COURTESY OF NARA

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Jews move into the Kaunas ghetto, August 1941.
USHMM WS #1094, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

weeks before they were shot in early September. Some ghettos, such as that in Krakės, were also used as collection points for Jews from a number of surrounding places, although in the case of Marijampolė the designation of the cavalry barracks as a "ghetto" was deliberately intended as a ruse to allay Jewish fears shortly before their destruction. The Jews from Kalvarija were brought here just two days before they were shot.

In Kreis Schaulen, the local Lithuanian authorities, in coordination with the German military commandant's office (Feldkommandantur), ordered on July 23 that all Jews should be moved into a locally established ghetto by August 15. Jews were also given until July 25 to wear the Star of David on their clothing.[3] The implementation of ghettoization, however, was delayed in most places until the German civil administration took over in August. In Jurbarkas, according to postwar testimony by the former chief of the police, "after the first shootings in June, mass arrests were carried out by . . . the police. The arrested Jewish men were transferred to two ghettos on Dariaus and Gireno Streets."[4] Another local policeman described conditions in one of the Jurbarkas ghettos: "The Jews with their children and the elderly were placed in the ghetto, which was a building surrounded by barbed wire. . . . There the Jews lived under prison conditions. The diet was poor, consisting of cabbage soup and a little bread. They were driven to work under guard and had to clean rubbish from the houses and the streets and do other disgusting and difficult work, with food being scarce."[5]

In mid-August 1941, Gebietskommissar Schaulen-Land Hans Gewecke ordered the establishment of Jewish ghettos in the larger towns of the Gebiet.[6] Subsequent local orders for Kreis Schaulen instructed that all Jews and half-Jews had to reside in ghettos and were obliged to be available for forced labor. All of their possessions were to be inventoried, including those items already in the hands of non-Jews. By August 30, all the Jews had to reside in enclosed ghettos, especially in Radviliškis, Joniškis, and Žagarė. The Jews could only take with them some clothes, household equipment, and up to 200 Reichsmark (RM) per family.[7]

In August 1941, the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, also issued various instructions relating to the imminent confinement of Jews within ghettos. These were then passed down to the Kreischefs at the local level. On August 19–20, Wulff visited the Traken, Schwentschionys, and Wilna Kreise. Shortly thereafter, new restrictions were imposed on the purchase of food by Jews.[8] Then instructions were issued for Jews to be clearly segregated from non-Jews and for the locations of ghettos to be determined by September 5, 1941. Detailed instructions regarding the confiscation of all Jewish property soon followed.[9] Pursuant to these orders, the Jews of Gebiet Wilna-Land were concentrated in more than 10 short-lived ghettos, established mostly between late August and late September 1941.

On September 19, Wulff again urged the Kreischefs to isolate all Jews who were not yet residing in segregated districts. The Jews were to be placed behind barbed wire and guarded, and only those with a certificate from the German police would be permitted to leave the ghettos to go to work.

Mid-1930s portrait of Hans Gewecke, Gebietskommissar Schaulen.
USHMM/PHOTOGRAPHED FROM ERNST KIENAST (ED.), *DER DEUTSCHE REICHSTAG 1936: III. WAHLPERIODE NACH DEM 30. JANUAR 1933; MIT ZUSTIMMUNG DES HERRN REICHSTAGSPRÄSIDENTEN* (BERLIN: R. V. DECKER'S VERLAG, G. SCHENCK, 1936)

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However, this final push to concentrate and isolate all Jews, accompanied by the seizure of their property, only served as a cover for the murder of nearly all the Jews of the Gebiet living outside the Wilno ghetto. The Jews of Kreis Wilna were then murdered at several different sites on September 20–22. Prior ghettoization could only be documented for the Jews of Mejszagoła.[10] The concentration and murder of Jews at the Veliučionys estate near Nowa Wilejka (Naujoji Vilnia), where some Jews resisted and a few managed to escape, occurred so rapidly (within a few days) that it is not possible to use the term *ghetto* for this killing site. In Kreis Traken, the Jews of Žiežmariai had already been ghettoized and murdered in the second half of August. Then the remaining Jews of the Kreis were concentrated in at least four ghettos before being murdered at two separate sites at the end of September 1941.

In Kreis Schwentschionys, temporary ghettos were set up in a number of towns by early September, in preparation for the transfer of the Jews to a site of concentration in Nowe Święciany at the end of September. Here several thousand Jews were crammed into an overcrowded barracks at a military camp (or shooting range) also known as the Poligon transit camp. Then on or around October 9, 1941, most of the Jews of the Kreis were shot, apart from a few hundred (mainly craftsmen and their families) preserved in the Święciany ghetto.

In what was subsequently to become Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, ghettoization mainly took place during July and August. In the area around Rokiškis the town authorities confined all the Jews in two separate ghettos in early July. They put the Jewish men into Count Przeździecki's stone stables, and the women and children up to the age of eight were moved to the Antanašė estate, between Rokiškis and Obeliai. Other Jews from the surrounding area were also brought to these two rural ghettos prior to their destruction. The men were shot first on August 15–16 and the women and children on around August 25.[11]

In contrast to most other regions, ghettoization in Lithuania was a very short-lived and improvised process that ran parallel to, and became an integral part of, the program of mass killing in the second half of 1941. Many of the makeshift places of confinement can hardly be described as ghettos, as they resembled more labor camps, prisons, or staging areas for the Jews, just prior to the mass shootings. However, the extensive use of the term *ghetto* to describe many of these camps in the orders of the German and Lithuanian administration, as well as in the testimonies of survivors and bystanders, necessitates the inclusion of many such improvised sites from Lithuania in this volume. Some, such as that in Ylakiai, are described in the immediate postwar Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports as "ghettos."[12] Nonetheless, a number of similar sites have not been included, either because the period of incarceration was too short (less than 10 days), the descriptions indicated a labor or other type of camp, or there was simply insufficient information to establish that a ghetto existed. A few questionable cases have been included, which help to demonstrate the difficulties in making such decisions.

The Jews confined within the small, improvised regional ghettos suffered from severe overcrowding, inadequate food and clothing, unsanitary conditions, and often exposure to the elements. Little information is available concerning the existence of Jewish Councils or a Jewish Police in the smaller ghettos, but in some cases such structures are known to have existed. Jews in a number of short-lived ghettos continued to be exploited for forced labor and were subjected to beatings, robbery, and extortion. In the Mejszagoła, Vainutas, Šakiai, and other ghettos, Jewish women were sexually assaulted by the guards.

Einsatzgruppe A played a key role in organizing many of the Aktions, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliary forces. Prominent among the latter were the so-called Lithuanian Ypatingas Burys (special troops), which murdered tens of thousands of Jews at the Ponary killing site, and also the Rollkommando Hamann subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3, commanded by Karl Jäger. However, eyewitness descriptions from survivors also stress the key role played by local Lithuanian officials and partisan forces.

Jewish resistance in the smaller destruction ghettos consisted mainly of individual acts of defiance. Some Jews managed to escape from the ghettos when Lithuanian policemen turned a blind eye. Jews sometimes received warnings of forthcoming Aktions. However, hiding among the Lithuanian population was not easy, and despite selfless aid from individual Lithuanians, better chances of survival were offered by fleeing to other ghettos in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien in the fall of 1941. Jews from the ghettos in Holszany and Oszmiana even managed to get transferred to Wołożyn and Mołodeczno, respectively, at the time these ghettos were transferred to Generalkommissariat Litauen in April 1942, as the Jews greatly feared coming under Lithuanian control. In 1942–1943, a number of Jews managed to escape from the Kaunas and Wilno ghettos, as well as from other ghettos and camps in Gebiet Wilna-Land, to join the Soviet partisans in the Belorussian forests.

In Wilno, 40,000 Jews were enclosed within two separate ghettos on September 6–7, 1941. These Jews were assaulted in a series of Aktions during the fall, including the liquidation of the small ghetto. At this time, there were around 17,500 "working Jews" in the Kaunas ghetto, following a similar series of Aktions there, and about 5,500 in the two sections of the Šiauliai ghetto.

From 1942 until the summer of 1943, there was a period of comparative quiet in these three main ghettos, as the Germans were in need of the labor they provided. The Kaunas and Wilno ghettos supplied labor to a number of German offices, including work at construction sites and some labor camps outside the ghetto. Conditions in these three larger ghettos resembled those in other large ghettos, such as Warsaw, Białystok, or Riga. The Jewish Councils ran a number of separate departments, including housing, food supply, health, and welfare to organize the ghettos' internal affairs. There were cultural activities, such as theater plays and concerts, the observance of religious holidays, and attempts to ameliorate conditions through smuggling and welfare efforts. Despite inevitable conflicts of interest between the Jewish Councils, the Jewish Police, and the various resistance movements, efforts at cooperation were at times attempted.

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Resistance and flight to the partisans were strongest in the Wilno ghetto from the spring of 1943, following the murder in Ponary of several thousand Jews from the nearby smaller ghettos in early April. However, German fears of resistance getting out of hand in Wilno probably led to the liquidation of that ghetto in August and September 1943, with thousands of Jews being sent to the Vaivara camps in Estonia. At this time, responsibility for the Kaunas ghetto was transferred to the SS, and it was converted into a concentration camp. Its remaining labor outposts became subcamps of the Kauen main concentration camp, as was also the remnant of the Šiauliai ghetto. A few thousand survivors of the main Lithuanian ghettos ultimately entered the German concentration camp system from Kaunas and the camps in Estonia during the German retreat in 1944.

SOURCES Secondary works dealing with the fate of the Jews in the ghettos of Lithuania include: Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982); Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų getai ir laikinos izoliaviavimo stoyvyklos 1941–1943 metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179; Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006); Christoph Dieckmann, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011); Christoph Dieckmann and Saulius Suziedelis, *Persecution of Jews in Lithuania: Murders and Other Crimes Carried out during the First Days of the Nazi-Soviet War* (Vilnius: Margi rastai, 2006); Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003); Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009); Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002); and U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, ed., *Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998).

Useful reference works include *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–2010); Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996); Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010); Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995); 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); and Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include: B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998); Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997); Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002); Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with USHMM, 2007); and Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; FVA; GARF; IfZ; LCVA; LVVA; LYA; MA; NARA; RGVA; USHMM; VHF; YIVO; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. LCVA, R 1534-1-193, p. 40, letter from chief of Babtai Police, August 11, 1941.
2. Ibid., R 683-2-2, pp. 8, 76, Garliava police chief enquiries, August 20 and 28, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, section F.1.2.5.
3. LCVA, R 1099-1-1, p. 41, Kreischef in Šiauliai, Order no. 6, July 23, 1941.
4. LYA, B.14142/3, pp. 47–48, interrogation of Mykolas Levickas, November 24, 1948.
5. Ibid., B.16816, pp. 69–70, confrontation of P. Kairaitis with witness J. Keturauskas, June 21, 1948. The date on which the ghettos were established is not clear from these testimonies.
6. LCVA, R 1753-3-4, pp. 36–37, order of Gebietskommissar Schaulen-Land, August 14, 1941.
7. Ibid., R 1099-1-1, pp. 130, 134, 149, 156, correspondence of Kreischef in Šiauliai, August 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, section F.1.2.2.
8. LCVA, R 691-1-20, p. 76, letter of Kalendra to Kreischefs, August 21, 1941; Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes*, vol. 1, pp. 107–108.
9. LCVA, R 685-5-4, pp. 4, 9, letters of Gebietskommissar Wulff to Kalendra, August 23 and 28, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, section F.1.2.6.
10. YVA, M-1/E/1689 (USHMM, RG-68.095), testimony of David Rudnik.
11. M. Bakalczuk-Felin, ed., *Yisker-bukh fun Rakishok un umgegnt* (Johannesburg: Rakisher Landsmanshaft of Johannesburg, 1952), pp. 383–390; RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 111–112, report of Einsatzkommando 3 (Jäger report), December 1, 1941; USHMM, RG-50.473*0100, testimony of Elena Zalogaite, born 1928.
12. GARF, 7021-94-423, pp. 28–35.

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AKMENĖ

Pre-1940: Akmenė (Yiddish: Akmian), town, Mažeikiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Akmenė/Akmiane, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Okmian, Kreis Moscheiken, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Akmenė, rajonas center, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Akmenė is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) west-northwest of Šiauliai. As of 1940, there were 25 to 30 Jewish families, or about 100 Jews, living in Akmenė.

On June 26, 1941, German armed forces captured the town. Lithuanian nationalist collaborators immediately arrested all the Jewish men and put them into the town's prison. On July 5–6, 1941, one of the few Germans present selected three Jews: the brothers Yosef and Faroush Yosselevich and a man named Shmidt. Assisted by 15 local Lithuanians, the Germans took these men out and shot them. The other Jewish men remained in the prison until early August. From available sources, it is not completely clear whether the Jewish women and children were imprisoned together with the men in July or rounded up only in early August.

On August 4, 1941, all the Jews of Akmenė were transported to three large grain silos on the banks of the Venta River near Mažeikiai. The escorting forces immediately took the men to the pits in the forest close to the Jewish cemetery, where German security forces and Lithuanian auxiliaries under the command of Lieutenant Vitkauska shot them together with the Jewish men from Mažeikiai and other nearby towns.[1] According to one account, the three rabbis from Akmenė, Mažeikiai, and Viekšniai donned their prayer shawls and phylacteries (tefillin) just prior to being shot. Kalman Maggid, the rabbi of Vekshne (Viekšniai), called out to the Jews not to show any signs of sadness to the Germans: "We must sanctify G-d. That is the loftiest, the holiest goal of a Jew. We must die as Jews, as holy people, as the members of G-d's people."[2]

The Jewish women and children from Akmenė were imprisoned together with the Jewish women and children of Mažeikiai and the surrounding area in the grain silos. On August 9, 1941, the Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators shot all these prisoners at the same site as the men.

SOURCES The following published sources contain information on the destruction of the Jews of Akmenė: *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 240; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), p. 178; "Akmene," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 155.

Relevant testimonies can be found in the following archives: LYA (e.g., 3377-55-111) and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1637—Tzvi Rosenbaum testimony).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. LYA, 3377-55-111, pp. 75–76, testimony of accused J., November 21, 1944. J. was present at the shootings of Jews in Mažeikiai in August 1941 and subsequently served in the police battalion led by Impulevicius.

2. As quoted by Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 178.

ALSĖDŽIAI

Pre-1940: Alsėdžiai (Yiddish: Alshad), town, Telšiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Alsėdžiai/Ol'siadi, Tel'shiai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Alsedziai, Kreis Telsche, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Alsėdžiai, Plungė rajonas, Telšiai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Alsėdžiai is located 13 kilometers (8 miles) west-northwest of Telšiai. According to the 1923 census, there were 199 Jews (19 percent of all inhabitants) living in the town. By June 1941, emigration had slightly decreased the number of Jews in Alsėdžiai.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Immediately thereafter, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. For example, all Jews were registered; their valuables were confiscated; and they were forbidden to appear in public places or to associate in any way with non-Jewish Lithuanians. According to Jewish survivor Feiga Fishkin, within only a couple of days of the Germans' arrival, they told all the Jews to evacuate their houses and move into a ghetto, which consisted of just one street. Around 50 families lived together on this one street, with 3 or 4 families forced to share a house.[1]

Pinkas ha-kehilot reports the establishment of a temporary ghetto on July 5, 1941, when all the Jews were forced to move into the synagogue, the bathhouse, and two other houses. There was a roll call every morning at which the male Jews were subjected to humiliation and beatings by local antisemites. After the roll call, the Jewish men were assigned to various types of forced labor, such as weeding parks and cleaning latrines.

After only a few days in the ghetto, the Jews of Alsėdžiai were moved to the Viešvenai and Rainiai camps near Telšiai. Jews from other towns and villages of the Telšiai district were also placed in these camps. On July 15 and 16, 1941, all the Jewish men from these camps were taken out to be shot, while the women and children were transferred to the Geruliai camp. In late August 1941, about 400 young women were selected in the camp and moved to the Telšiai ghetto; Lithuanian police shot all the remaining women and children.

On December 24, 1941, 30 women and children from the Telšiai ghetto were shot at the home of the priest Dumbrauskas in Alsėdžiai as a symbolic reprisal against him, as in late June or early July of 1941 he had intervened to prevent the murder of the town's Jews. Dumbrauskas also helped to save the Torah scrolls from the Bet Midrash and subsequently returned

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them to the family of Reb Yosef Ber Factor, the ritual slaughterer of Alsėdžiai, who managed to survive the German occupation by hiding with a Lithuanian farmer.

SOURCES Information regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Alsėdžiai can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 408; "Alsedziai," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); and "Alsedziai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 144–145.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: VHF (# 29324); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. VHF, # 29324, testimony of Feiga Fishkin.

ALYTUS

Pre-1940: Alytus (Yiddish: Olite), town, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Alytus/Olita, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Olita, Kreis center, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Alytus, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Alytus is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south of Kaunas. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was about 1,730, including a number of Jewish refugees from the Suwałki Region, which was annexed by Germany in 1939.[1]

German armed forces attacked the town on June 22, 1941. During the fighting, which lasted until June 24, 214 residences and 160 other buildings were destroyed by German bombardment.[2] A number of Jews died in the bombing and under the ruins, but on June 23, after two members of the Wehrmacht had been found killed near a mill, German soldiers shot the first civilians: 42 people, some of whom were Jews.[3]

Immediately after the occupation of the town, Lithuanian nationalist activists established local authorities. The commandant of the town (later the mayor) was Major of the General Staff Juozas Ivašauskas, and the head of the district was Captain Stepas Maliauskas. The head of the district police was Air Force Captain Antanas Audronis; the chief of the Lithuanian Security Police was Lieutenant of the Reserve Pranas Zenkevičius; and the head of the Lithuanian Criminal Police was Alfonsas Nykštaitis. At their disposal for the guarantee of order and security in the town of Alytus in July 1941 were 50 policemen and 100 Lithuanian partisans.[4] The newly created Lithuanian institutions were subordinated at first to the German military commandant (Hauptmann von der Marwitz); after August 5, when authority in Lithuania was transferred to a German civil administration, the Gebietskommissar Kauen-Land, SA-Oberführer Arnold Lentzen, assumed command.

According to Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, several prominent Jewish citizens, including Dr. Abramovich and Rav Levin, were arrested soon after the occupation; they were forced to work until near exhaustion, and then some were killed. On June 25, 1941, several hundred Jews were taken to Suwałki by Lithuanian nationalists for forced labor and killed. Other instances of violence occurred before the creation of the ghetto in Alytus—including the destruction of a synagogue after hundreds of Jews had been forced inside.

On July 1, 1941, the town mayor ordered the organization, as of July 5, of forced labor for Jewish males aged between 16 and 55 and Jewish females between 16 and 45.[5] The forced labor consisted of clearing the streets of rubble created by the bombardments.

On July 12, a series of new restrictions applying to Jews was announced: as of July 14, they had to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing; they could not use the sidewalks; they were subject to a curfew between 8:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M.; they could shop only after 11:00 A.M.; they were prohibited from trading with non-Jews, while other Lithuanians were forbidden to sell food to the Jews; Jews also could not use the services of non-Jewish hired workers; and they were forbidden to swim in certain parts of the Memel River, to move from one place to another, or even to speak Yiddish on the telephone. They had to hand over radios, bicycles, and motorcycles, and they could not appear in public places in groups of more than two people.[6] On July 14, 1941, the German military commandant's office established a daily food ration for the Jews: 875 grams (3 ounces) of bread per week, 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of flour, and 75 grams (2.6 ounces) of groats.[7]

At the same time that these restrictions went into effect, the Lithuanian policemen and Lithuanian partisans began arresting and shooting Communists and Jews. In the entire Alytus district, before July 16, 1941, 82 Communists were shot, 389 arrests were made, and 345 more people were under investigation.[8] As a result of denunciations, in the town of Alytus alone, before the end of August 1941, 36 Communists, 9 members of the Red Army, and "a large number of Jews" were arrested.[9]

In late July and early August 1941, all the Jews of Alytus were placed in a ghetto, for which several streets in the poorest part of town were allocated. The ghetto contained between 1,300 and 1,500 people, including Jews from the surrounding area. Responsibility for maintaining order in the ghetto was assigned to the Jewish Council (Judenrat), which had three members (the lawyers Halperin and Salansky, as well as Kopl Nemunaitzky).[10] Information regarding living conditions in the ghetto remains scant, as very few of its inmates survived.

The liquidation of the ghetto in Alytus was carried out in several phases. First, on August 13, 1941, 617 men and 100 women were shot. From August 13 to August 31, 233 more Jews were shot, mainly people who were forced to come to Alytus

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from neighboring localities. On September 9, 1941, the liquidation of the ghetto was completed: 1,279 people were shot (287 men, 640 women, and 352 children).[11] The victims also included Jews from nearby localities, around 1,000 in number, who not long before this Aktion had been forcibly driven into the town and were held for a short time in the yard of the prison.[12] The shootings were carried out in the Vidzgiris Forest by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by the Lithuanian Security Police under the leadership of Zenkevičius and 20 Lithuanian partisans led by Jonas Borevičius. Also participating in the last mass shooting was a Lithuanian platoon under the leadership of Air Force Lieutenant Bronius Norkus, which was subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3.[13]

Among the few Jews from Alytus who survived were some who received help from local Lithuanians. For example, two Lithuanians hid the Jewish girls Belkin and Chayah Kaplan throughout the occupation period. Another Lithuanian woman was imprisoned for helping Jews, as was a Lithuanian peasant, who was arrested and tortured for assisting Jews.[14]

SOURCES Information about the murder of the Jews in Alytus can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Alytus," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 140–143; and Inayet Erdin, *Deutsche Okkupationspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944 am Beispiel des Ortes Alytus* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2006).

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews in Alytus can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-3); LCVA (R1436-1-29 and 38, R660-2-231); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Alytus," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 140.
2. LCVA, R 1436-1-29, p. 58.
3. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 389.
4. LCVA, R 1436-1-29, p. 14.
5. See ibid., R 1436-1-38, p. 115, order of the mayor of Alytus, July 1, 1941.
6. See ibid., p. 17, order of the chief of the Alytus district, July 12, 1941.
7. See ibid., pp. 18, 33, 126, orders of Ortskommandantur II/352, July 14, 1941, for the civilian population and civil authorities.
8. Ibid., R 1436-1-29, p. 69, report from Alytus, July 16, 1941, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Provisional Government of Lithuania.
9. See short summary of the activity of the "self-defense force" in Alytus, August 31, 1941, ibid., R660-2-231, pp. 1–2.
10. "Alytus," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 142.
11. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 109–117, published in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, pp. 131–140; B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 231–241.
12. See the testimony of the former chief of the Lithuanian Criminal Police in Alytus, Alfonsas Nykštaitis, on June 28–29, 1960, published in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 116–120.
13. See testimony of Nykštaitis, June 28–29, 1960, ibid.; and testimony of Borevičius, July 4, 1960, and April 21, 1961, published in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, pp. 67–73.
14. "Alytus," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 142–143.

ANYKŠČIAI

Pre-1940: Anykščiai (Yiddish: Aniksht), town, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Anykščiai/Anikshchiai, Utena uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Onikschten, Kreis Utena, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Anykščiai, rajonas center, Utena apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Anykščiai is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) northeast of Kaunas in the Svėtė River Valley. The Jewish population in 1940 was about 2,000.

On the first day of the German invasion (June 22, 1941), a young Jewish girl was raped near Anykščiai and murdered by local peasants. On June 24, the Soviet forces abandoned the town, leaving it without any local authority. German forces of Army Group North captured the town on June 26, 1941. In the first days following the German invasion, numerous refugees arrived in Anykščiai from Lithuanian territories to the west. On the arrival of German forces, Lithuanian nationalist partisans rounded up a number of Jews, including many refugees, and locked them up. Over the following days, the Lithuanian partisans beat and abused them, killing dozens of Jews, alleging that they were Communists. Then the remaining imprisoned Jews were either sent to Utena or released and sent back to their hometowns.[1]

In these first weeks, gangs of Lithuanians also broke into Jewish houses, which had been marked with the word *Jew*, plundering Jewish property and raping Jewish girls. After two weeks, the Jews were forced to abandon their homes and move into the Bet Midrash and its courtyard (the Shulhof Square). The people were squeezed together in a very confined area, and soon many decided to leave town, seeking shelter with peasant acquaintances in the surrounding area. However, most were recaptured by the Lithuanian partisans and forced to return. The German authorities imposed forced labor on the Jewish men, and the Lithuanian guards beat them as they went out to work.

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In mid-July 1941, the local Jews were sent to an improvised open-air camp in the forest near some summer houses for a couple of weeks. From here, local farmers collected them daily for agricultural forced labor. At the end of July, the authorities sent the Jews back to the town, together with other Jews from the surrounding villages. On July 28, 1941, the Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators selected a group consisting mainly of Jewish men and took them to the sand hill known as Hare's Hill a short way outside the town. Some of the Jews were forced to dig a pit, while the others, including the rabbi of Anykščiai, Rabbi Kalman Yitzhak Kadeshwitz, had to do exercises to tire themselves out (reducing the chances of any resistance or escape). Then the Germans and their collaborators shot the Jewish men, throwing the bodies into the pit and burying them, including some who were only wounded.

The remaining Jews, mainly women and children, were subsequently imprisoned in an improvised and overcrowded ghetto in the town. The Jews were starving and begged the local inhabitants for food. On August 29, 1941, Lithuanian units under German authority shot the remaining 1,500 Jews of Anykščiai about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the town. Local Lithuanian nationalist activists (partisans) who participated in the mass murders also took the best houses in Anykščiai and other items of Jewish property for themselves.[2]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Anykščiai during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Joe Woolf, "Anyksciai," in *The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns*, available at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/lithuania3/lit3; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 151–155; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 181–184; and Rimantas Vanagas, *Nenusigręžk nuo savęs: Gyvieji tiltai* (Vilnius: Vyturys, 1995), pp. 45–52.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Anykščiai can be found in the following archives: GARF; LYA; USHMM (RG-50.473*0022 and *0056); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Testimony of V. Butenas, June 7, 1951, published in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 310–311.

2. Vanagas, *Nenusigręžk nuo savęs*, pp. 47–48; USHMM, RG-50.473*0022 (oral history interview with Ona Balaisiene, April 20, 1998); and RG-50.473*0056 (oral history interview with Jonas Uzdonas, August 16, 2000).

ARIOGALA

Pre-1940: Ariogala (Yiddish: Eyragula or Ragala), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Eiragola, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Ariogala, Kreis Kedahneh, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Raseiniai rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Ariogala is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the census of 1923, there were 456 Jews (38 percent of the total population) living in Ariogala.[1] Emigration in the 1930s slightly reduced the Jewish population.

German armed forces occupied the town as early as June 23, 1941. Immediately after the town's occupation, Lithuanian nationalists set up a local administration and a police force, which soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were used for various types of forced labor, during which the local antisemites subjected them to humiliations and beatings. Arrests and killing of Jews began, especially targeting those who had collaborated with the Soviet authorities in the period 1940–1941.

On July 30, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3 shot 27 Jews and 11 Lithuanian Communists in Ariogala.[2] The remaining Jews were herded into a ghetto, and their property was stolen by Lithuanians. According to local witness Juozas Palšauskas, who was 18 years old in 1941, the ghetto existed for about one month. It was guarded by Lithuanian auxiliaries known as "white-stripers" for the armbands they wore. The Jews were not allowed to leave the ghetto or to have contacts with non-Jews, but Palšauskas recalls a local woman named Švelnienė, who brought food to the Jews in the ghetto.[3]

In about mid-August 1941, hundreds of Jews from Josvainiai also were brought into the Ariogala ghetto, escorted by Lithuanian collaborators.[4] A few days later, all the Jewish men (more than 200) were arrested in the ghetto, along with 80 Jewish women, who were suspected of collaboration with the Soviet authority in 1940–1941 and of "communist activity."[5] These men and women were placed in the synagogue and were the first in line to be shot. The shooting took place on August 30, 1941, and all the remaining Jews in the town were shot along with them. German records indicate that in total 662 people were shot: 207 men, 260 women, and 195 children. The shooting was carried out by members of the 3rd Company of the 1st (13th) Lithuanian Police Battalion, assisted by members of the local Lithuanian police.[6]

Some details of the mass shooting are given by the witness Palšauskas. Before they were taken away, the Jews were told that they would be transported to Palestine. They were taken out of the town on trucks escorted by only one German and about 30 Lithuanian collaborators. However, when the trucks turned into the forest, the Jews realized their fate, and there was a great uproar. Local Lithuanians were requisitioned to dig one or two large pits to form the mass grave. At the killing site, the Jews were made to undress down to their underwear. Then men were shot first, followed by the women and children. Two of the Jews attempted to escape, but both were chased down and killed. Those who were only wounded by the initial shots were finished off by machine guns fired into the pit. After the Aktion, the local collaborators involved celebrated for the rest of the day, drinking, singing, and firing off their

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weapons. The property of the Jews was auctioned off the next day in Ariogala. Palšauskas says that he forbade his mother to buy any of the property, as he was still affected badly from witnessing the mass shooting.[7]

For participation in the murder of the Jews in Ariogala, as well as in other towns and villages of Lithuania (especially in Kaunas in July and October 1941), eight former policemen from the 3rd Company were sentenced to death in a trial held in Kaunas from September 27 to October 4, 1962.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Ariogala during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Ariogala," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Ariogala," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 135–138; 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), p. 54.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Ariogala can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-427); LCVA (R 683-2-2); LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-50.473*0114); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Ariogala," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 135.
2. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
3. USHMM, RG-50.473*0114, testimony of Juozas Palšauskas, a Lithuanian resident of Ariogala, 2005.
4. Ibid.; LCVA, R 683-2-2, p. 30, report of police precinct in Josvainiai, August 14, 1941.
5. See report of police chief of Kedainiai district, August 17, 1941, in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 138–139.
6. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
7. USHMM, RG-50.473*0114.

BABTAI

Pre-1940: Babtai (Yiddish: Bobt), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Schaken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kaunas rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Babtai is located about 27 kilometers (17 miles) north-northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 population census, there were 153 Jews living in Babtai, comprising 20 percent of the total population. Owing to the migration of Jews away from the town in the 1920s and 1930s, the number of Jews had declined by June 1941.

Advance units of German Army Group North occupied Babtai on June 24–25, 1941. Immediately after the start of the occupation, the pre-1940 Lithuanian administration and police forces were restored. Justinas Janušauskas returned as head of the rural district, and Kazys Trebunivičius was appointed chief of police. A "partisan" squad commanded by Stanislovas Aniulis was organized from former riflemen (Šaulys), which took orders from the new Lithuanian administration.

During the first days of the occupation, a number of Russian citizens accused of being active Communists or Communist sympathizers were arrested, and several of them were shot. On July 17, 1941, a further Aktion took place. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 3 arrested and shot eight people, including six Jews, whom they also accused of being Communist activists.[1]

Largely on their own initiative, the new Lithuanian authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with the Star of David; were impressed into different forms of forced labor; and were subjected to robbery, assault, and humiliation by the local Lithuanian partisans. Jews were also forbidden to appear in public spaces or to have any relations with non-Jewish Lithuanians. On August 7, 1941, the head of the Kaunas District issued an order calling for the resettlement of Jews into ghettos by August 15. The same order also included instructions for the establishment of small Jewish police forces (5 to 15 people) and Jewish Councils (of 12 people) to manage the internal affairs of the ghettos. On August 11, the chief of the Babtai Rural Police reported that there were 93 Jews residing in the town.[2] A few days later, on secret instructions from V. Reivytis, 34 adult Jews were rounded up and incarcerated in the synagogues of Babtai. A number of male Jews from the nearby town of Vendžiogala, who had been arrested by Lithuanian activists while praying, were also brought to Babtai on carts and imprisoned in the synagogues.[3]

Apart from the above-mentioned order for the establishment of ghettos, the available sources do not otherwise refer to the imprisonment of the Jews in the Babtai synagogues as a ghetto; and it appears that not all of the Babtai Jews were confined together there. The initial aim of the arrests may have been rather that of hostage taking, as by August 25 the Jews had paid 9,000 rubles in response to a demand for "contributions."[4]

At the end of August 1941, local partisans and Lithuanian police from the area rounded up the Jews in Babtai and also those remaining in Vendžiogala and escorted them to a site in the Babtai Forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, near the Nevėžis River. On the morning of the Aktion, several dozen local men had been requisitioned to dig a ditch about 50 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 2 meters deep (164 by 3.3 by 6.6 feet) at the killing site. Two trucks carrying about 50 soldiers of the Lithuanian 3rd Company (1st Battalion) also arrived under the command of officers B. Norkus,

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J. Barzda, and A. Dagys. The Jews were made to undress down to their underwear and were forced to go to the edge of the ditch, where the soldiers shot them in the back in groups. All the soldiers of the 3rd Company who arrived took turns shooting. Some women who refused to undress were separated from the rest and tortured before being shot. After the mass shooting, local people divided the clothes and more valuable items among themselves.[5] According to the report of Karl Jäger, 83 Jews (20 men, 41 women, and 22 children) from Babtai together with 252 Jews (42 men, 113 women, and 97 children) from Vendžiogala (in total, 335 people) were shot.[6] Very few Jews managed to escape from the roundup and survive to the end of the occupation.

For taking part in the murder of the Jews in Babtai and in other places in Lithuania, the Soviet authorities sentenced to death eight former policemen of the 3rd Company, following their trial in Kaunas in 1962. The mass grave for the Jews of Babtai is located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town on the right side of the road, in the direction of Memel, on the bank of the Nevėžis River. A memorial with an inscription in Hebrew has been placed to mark the site.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Babtai during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Babtai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 160 ff.; and Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in D. Gaunt, P.A. Levine, and L. Palosuo, eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus*, *Estonia*, *Latvia*, *Lithuania* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 299–301.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Babtai during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA (R 1534-1-190 and 193, R 683-2-2); LYA (K 1-58-47337/3); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA (M-1/Q-1198/57).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 110, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
2. LCVA, R 1534-1-193, p. 40, letter by the chief of Babtai Rural Police to the Kaunas District governor, August 11, 1941.
3. Ibid., R 683-2-2, pp. 20–89, reports by the chiefs of police stations to the Police Department. Sources differ on the number of Jews sent to Babtai from Vendžiogala: from 30 up to about 100.
4. Ibid., R 1534-1-190, p. 6, letter by the chief of Babtai Rural District to the Kaunas District governor, August 25, 1941.
5. LYA, K 1-58-47337/3, vol. 1, pp. 157–161, minutes of the interrogation of P. Matiukas, October 2, 1961.
6. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

BATAKIAI

Pre-1940: Batakiai (Yiddish: Batok), village, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Botocken, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Batakiai, Tauragė rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Batakiai is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) northeast of Tauragė. According to the 1923 census, there were 88 Jews living in the village. In 1940, the Jewish community consisted of about 10 families. In the nearby village of Skaudvilė (Yiddish: Shkudvil), there were 1,017 Jews in 1923 and, according to one estimate, almost 2,000 Jews out of a total population of 2,800 in June 1941.[1]

German forces occupied the villages of Batakiai and Skaudvilė on June 22, 1941, the first day of their invasion of the USSR. Consequently, very few Jews were able to flee in time. As the German forces passed through Skaudvilė, many Jews sought shelter in the surrounding countryside. On their return home a few days later, some found their houses had been looted.

A German military commandant was based in Skaudvilė and a Lithuanian local administration was soon established there. Lithuanian partisans wearing white armbands, under the command of a man named Liepa in Skaudvilė, appeared on the streets acting as an auxiliary police force. One Jew, named Abromson, had managed to flee from Skaudvilė with the Soviets; a few days after the occupation, his remaining property was confiscated and taken away by truck on the orders of German officials.[2]

On July 16, 1941, an announcement was posted in Skaudvilė, signed by the German commandant and the partisan leader Liepa, which ordered all men over the age of 14 to appear at the horse market. Here the Lithuanians were separated from the Jews, and all the Jewish men, including Rabbi Rubinstein, were told that they were being sent on a labor assignment to the nearby village of Pužai. Nachum Levy was fortunate that his father instructed him to remain at home on this day, although he was over 14 years of age.[3]

About 300 Jewish men were escorted out of Skaudvilė on foot by a large group of Lithuanian partisans brandishing whips. In Pužai, they were joined in a storage building by small groups of men brought there from Batakiai and Upyna. Within three days, all the men gathered there were taken into the Pužai Forest and shot by a unit of German SS with machine guns, assisted by the Lithuanian partisans.

In Batakiai, the remaining Jewish women, children, and elderly persons were moved into barracks near the railroad line. Construction of the barracks was still incomplete, and many of them lacked a roof. A few days after the mass shooting, more than 100 horse-drawn wagons arrived in Skaudvilė and loaded up the remaining Jews of the town, together with much of their property. Tearful Jewish women gave a few of their more expensive items to neighbors they thought they

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could trust, "asking not to be forgotten, and, if an opportunity should arise, to be helped in the future."[4]

The Jewish women, children, and old people from Skaudvilė, together with those from Upyna, were then crowded into three dilapidated barracks with the Batakiai Jews. Guarded by armed Lithuanian police, the Jews stayed in these barracks for about two months. Able-bodied women and adolescents were sent out every day to perform various kinds of work on Lithuanian farms in the vicinity. Conditions in the camp were filthy, and the Jews suffered from hunger. Nachum Levy recalls foraging for food: "During the day I would creep out to the neighboring villages and buy foodstuffs in exchange for clothing items and personal trinkets. I would set out with a few other boys, and we would barter with the locals. Another possibility was to buy food from the Lithuanian peasants who would bring farming products to the camp in horse wagons and sell them for money."[5]

On September 15, 1941,[6] this Jewish ghetto/camp was liquidated by shooting all of the prisoners, probably some 800 people, in the woods not far from Batakiai. The terrified and half-starved victims were forced to dig the grave and remove their clothing before they were shot. The shooting was carried out by members of the Lithuanian police and eight Gestapo officials from the Grenzpolizeiposten Laugszargen (Lauksargiai), headed by Kriminalsekretär Schwarz. Initially Schwarz suggested to SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, the head of the Tilsit Gestapo, that the barracks should be blown up along with the women and children inside, but this plan was rejected because the blasts could have damaged the nearby railroad station.[7]

After the war a number of Lithuanian partisans from Tauragė were tried by the Soviet authorities for their participation in the mass shooting of Jews in Batakiai. The massacre in Batakiai is mentioned also in the records of the trial conducted of Bernhard Fischer Schweder, Hans-Joachim Böhme, and a number of other defendants in Ulm in 1958 and in another German trial conducted against a member of the Lithuanian auxiliary forces in Frankfurt am Main in 1972.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jewish communities of Batakiai and Skaudvilė during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 169–171, 695–698; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 130–135; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), p. 253; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 279; Urteil des Landgericht Ulm (Ks 2/57) v. 29.8.1958 gegen Böhme u.a., in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten. Bd. II, Einsatzkommando Tilsit. Der Prozess zu Ulm* (Frankfurt/Main, 1966) and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465; Urteil des Landgericht Frankfurt/Main (4 Ks 2/71) v. 27.4.1972 gegen Juozas Sta., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 37 (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2007), Lfd. Nr. 773; and Nachum Levy, "How I Survived the Holocaust," available at shtetlinks.jewishgen.org.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Batakiai can be found in these archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/14080); GARF (7021-94-429); LCVA; LYA (3377-55-2); MA (A.401); USHMM (RG-02.184); VHF (# 3247); and YVA (e.g., O-71/10 and 11).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Everything Began in This Way," in Levinson, *The Shoah*, p. 135.
2. Ibid., p. 130.
3. Ibid., pp. 131–132; and Levy, "How I Survived the Holocaust."
4. "Everything Began in This Way," p. 134.
5. Levy, "How I Survived the Holocaust."
6. This date is given by Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 253, and is corroborated by Levy, "How I Survived the Holocaust," who escaped from the Batakiai camp on the eve of the Aktion. Other sources, e.g., Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, date the killing in August. Estimates for the number of victims vary between 300 and 1,800.
7. *JuNS-V*, vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 215–216. A more precise description of the mass grave site can be found in *JuNS-V*, vol. 37, Lfd. Nr. 773, p. 213. See also, MA, A.401, testimony of Yoseph Ben-Yaakov, who managed to escape from the killing site.

BIRŽAI

Pre-1940: Biržai (Yiddish: Birzh), town, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Biržai/Birzhai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Birsen, Kreis center, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post–1991: Biržai, rajonas center, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Biržai is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) east-northeast of Šiauliai. In 1934, there were about 3,000 Jews in the town, making up just over one third of the population.

German troops captured Biržai on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalist activists formed a town administration and a local auxiliary police force, commanded by a man named Ignatavicius. A series of anti-Jewish measures were promptly imposed. They ordered the Jews to wear yellow Stars of David and forbade them to use the sidewalk. Jewish houses were marked with the letter *J*. Jews were dismissed from their jobs, and the authorities compelled them to perform forced labor in the course of which the Lithuanian overseers taunted and beat them.[1] The killing of individual Jews began immediately. Among the first victims was the rabbi, Rav Yehuda Leib Bernstein, who was shot by local Lithuanian antisemites who bore a personal grudge, as he had once reported them for breaking the windows in the synagogue. The community managed at some risk to bury him in the Jewish cemetery.

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On July 26, 1941, the town authorities ordered all the Jews to move into a ghetto, for which purpose they had designated several small streets in the vicinity of the synagogue. Any Lithuanians living in this area were also forced to move out, exchanging houses with Jews who moved in. Barbed wire surrounded the area, and armed Lithuanian policemen guarded it. A lack of resources caused widespread hunger in the ghetto.

The Biržai ghetto existed for only about two weeks. On August 4, 1941, a group of about 500 Jewish men were sent out of the ghetto with spades, while the women, children, and elderly were locked up in the synagogue, guarded by Lithuanian auxiliary police (wearing white armbands). The men dug a ditch more than 30 meters long and 2 meters wide (98.4 by 6.6 feet), which took them three days. Then on August 8, German forces of Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliaries, surrounded the ghetto. The Jews were told that they would be sent to Palestine and were ordered to assemble. The men were marched out to the ditches first and were beaten and cursed on the way. Dr. Levin, a local physician, refused to go and was shot on the spot. They were taken to the ditches in the Astravas Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town.[2]

About one hour later, the women and children were marched off in the same direction, waving good-bye to local acquaintances. At this time the sound of shooting could already be heard in the distance. Jews from the hospital were taken to the killing site on trucks.[3] At the ditch the Jews were made to undress and then shot in the graves in groups of 10, piled up on top of each other. Some of the Jews had their gold teeth ripped out of their mouths. The murderers drank heavily during the Aktion.[4] In total about 2,400 Jews (720 men, 780 women, and 900 children) were murdered. Several days later about 90 Lithuanians were shot into the same mass grave for alleged collaboration with the Soviets.[5] After the Aktion, local Lithuanians looted property from the empty ghetto, handing only the most valuable items on to the Germans. In September 1941, Einsatzgruppe A reported that Kreis Birsen was "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*).[6]

One Jewish girl, Helena Nosova, is known to have escaped from the murder Aktion and survived with the aid of local Lithuanians until the arrival of the Red Army. After the war, Jewish survivors and returnees to Biržai placed a memorial at the site of the mass killing.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Biržai during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Henry Tabakin, *Only Two Remained* (Cleveland, OH: Private Edition, 1973); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, ed., *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje (1941–1944) Dokumentų rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: "Mintis," 1973), pp. 115–118; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 184–186; Arūnas Bubnys, "Mazieji Lietuvos Zydu Getai Ir Laikinos Izoliaviavimo Stoyvyklos 1941–1943 Metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179, on p. 178; and Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 172–178 (an English translation of the article on Birzh [Biržai] by Yosef Rosin can also be found via jewishgen.org).

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Biržai can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217) LYA (K 1-46-1294); TsGAMORF (335/5136/151, pp. 36–37); USHMM (RG-50.473*0099); and YVA.

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trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.473*0099, testimony of Regina Drevinskiene.
2. TsGAMORF, 335/5136/151, pp. 36–37.
3. USHMM, RG-50.473*0099.
4. TsGAMORF, 335/5136/151, pp. 36–37.
5. Ibid.
6. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 88, September 19, 1941. In this report Biržai is misspelled as Perzai, but it is correctly spelled in the Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 5, for the second half of September; see Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 203.

BUTRIMONYS

Pre-1940: Butrimonys (Yiddish: Butrimants), town, Alytus apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Eyshishkes uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Olita, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post–1991: Alytus rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Butrimonys is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) south-southeast of Kaunas. In 1934, there were 948 Jews living in Butrimonys.

On June 23, 1941, the day after the start of the German invasion, Soviet forces abandoned Butrimonys, and units of the Wehrmacht seized the town. Immediately after the occupation began, Lithuanian nationalists established a town administration, and a militia or local police force was formed, composed of about 40 Lithuanians who were antisemitic. This force is also described in some sources as Lithuanian partisans. In Butrimonys, they were commanded by Leonardas Kasperiunas.[1]

The provisional Lithuanian administration in Butrimonys quickly implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with yellow stars, and special signs were put up on their houses. Jews were ordered to perform humiliating forced labor tasks without pay, such as cleaning toilets. The local partisans robbed and assaulted them. During the first two weeks, the partisans evicted all the Jews from the large houses on the market square and sent them to the side alleys. Many Jews were afraid even to go out on the street, as the Lithuanians and Germans could arrest or shoot them on the slightest pretext. Jews were not permitted to leave town except with special police permits, and non-Jews were forbidden to allow Jews into their homes or trade with them. According to one account, Jews in Butrimonys were not even permitted to wear shoes.[2]

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On June 30, 1941, Lithuanian policemen carried out the first Aktion in Butrimonys. They arrested all remaining Communists and Soviet officials and imprisoned them. Shortly afterwards, the policemen released some of those who had been arrested. The remaining individuals, five Jewish men who worked as teachers and one Jewish woman, were taken to Alytus with a group of prisoners of war. On the way there, the Lithuanians murdered the Jewish woman and one of the teachers. All the others were shot in Alytus.[3] Sometime later, another six Jews were escorted to Alytus and shot.

During two separate Aktions on August 12 and August 22, 1941, 217 Jews from Butrimonys (including 32 women) were escorted to Alytus and shot there.[4] On their arrival in Alytus, some of the Jews were instructed by the Lithuanian police to write letters to their families asking them to send money, clothes, and food. In Butrimonys, a local Lithuanian named Vaitkevicius, among others, tried to use some of these letters to trick Jews into giving him the items, knowing full well that the intended recipients were dead. Riva Losanskaya recalls, however, that she learned from other neighbors that her father had already been murdered.

The Lithuanian police also exploited Jewish girls sexually. Pranas Senavaitis received permission from his boss, Kasperiunas, to "put to work" Asya, a 20-year-old Jewish girl of exceptional beauty. He continued periodic sexual relations with her until mid-November, when he shot her himself. Other Jewish women, handpicked by Kasperiunas for his "harem," were also among the few Jews temporarily spared from the mass shooting on September 9, 1941, along with the "leader of the ghetto," Izhak Miliunsky, his wife, and a few others.[5]

At the end of August, about 70 Jews from the nearby village of Punia were brought into Butrimonys and given temporary shelter. On the morning of Friday, August 29, 1941, the Lithuanian authorities again ordered all the Jews to assemble in the marketplace.[6] They conducted a further selection, choosing all the men (old and young) and some young children and younger women. Then they sent them to Alytus, where they were murdered. After the selection, they ordered the remaining Jews—the women and children—to leave their houses all over town and move into two streets, Tatarshe and Klidze. Those who lived outside this area moved in hurriedly, clutching their remaining bundles of belongings. This became the ghetto, which was guarded by the Lithuanian police. In the meantime, local Lithuanians, including a priest, helped themselves to confiscated Jewish furniture that had been put into storage near the synagogue.[7]

Over the next few days, more Jews from the villages of Stakliškes and Birštonas were forcibly resettled into the temporary ghetto in Butrimonys.[8] In the ghetto, the Jews now had no illusion as to their fate. Local Polish and Lithuanian neighbors offered to take their possessions into safekeeping, expecting that few, if any, would survive. On September 4, 1941, news arrived of the shooting of the remaining Jews of Jieznas (a few kilometers to the northwest) on the previous day. Over the next few days, as many as 80 Jews managed to leave the ghetto as some Lithuanian police turned a blind eye, being more intent on securing Jewish property. Most who left went into hiding with local peasants, although only a small proportion of them managed to survive until the end of the occupation.[9]

On September 6–8, 1941, some of the residents of Butrimonys and others from neighboring farms, under the direction of local authorities, dug two pits near the village of Klydzionys, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from town. Then, on September 9, a church holiday, a detachment of German Security Police from Einsatzkommando 3, along with Lithuanian police, liquidated the ghetto. The Lithuanian police, assisted by local residents, rounded up the Jews and escorted them in a long column out of town. The Jews, shuffling to their deaths, were weak from hunger and trembling with fear. As the guard remained lax, Riva Losanskaya and her mother managed to escape into the forest just as the column was approaching its final destination. At the pits some Jews tore up their money, while others threw their clothes to peasants they knew in the watching crowd, to prevent the murderers from benefiting from their crime.[10] According to the Jäger report, on that day the Germans and their collaborators shot 740 Jews, including 67 men, 370 women, and 303 children.[11] Over the following weeks, Lithuanian policemen shot the few Jews (about 10 or 20) who remained.[12]

After the liquidation Aktion, the Lithuanian police continued to hunt down those Jews who had gone into hiding with local peasants, punishing also those non-Jews who concealed Jews. After one Polish family who hid Jews, the Golembowskis, was betrayed in 1942 by a greedy and vengeful relative, leading the Lithuanian police to arrest and kill the family's head, many other Jews were then turned out by their anxious protectors.[13]

In July 1944, the Red Army drove the Germans from the area. Shortly after the war, the few Jews who had survived locally, together with others who had returned from the Soviet interior, erected two memorials next to the mass graves, dedicated to the memory of the murdered Jews of the town. However, these monuments soon fell into disrepair, as no Jews remained in Butrimonys to look after them.

In 1961, the criminal affairs board of the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR sentenced to death three former policemen, K. Stoškus, A. Jauneika, and I. Steponkavicius, who in 1941 had participated in the extermination of the Jews in Butrimonys. Kasperiunas/Kasperkis settled in Canada after the war. He died in Edmonton on April 18, 1974.

SOURCES Information about the elimination of the Jews in Butrimonys can be found in these publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); N. Cohen, "The Destruction of the Jews of Butrimonys as Described in a Farewell Letter from a Local Jew," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 4:3 (1989): 357–375; Kh. Shneiderovich, "Dokument," in *Narod tvoi* (Jerusalem, 1991);

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"Butrimonys," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 163; Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų getai ir laikinos izoliaviavimo stoyvyklos 1941–1943 metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179, on pp. 172–173; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 297–298. There is also a relevant article titled "Dovanos Is Kanados" in *Svyturys* magazine (October 1962).

Published eyewitness testimonies can be found in the following books: Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 214–215; Laurence Rees, *The Nazis—A Warning from History* (New York: New Press, 1997), pp. 182–186; and Olga Zabludoff and Lily Poritz Miller, eds., *If I Forget Thee . . . The Destruction of the Shtetl Butrimantz* (Washington, DC: Remembrance Books, 1998), which also contains a list of the names of those who perished, together with some photographs.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Butrimonys can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-3); LYA (3377-55-92); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (Acc.2003.249.1); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33; E-146-2-8; O-33/1563).

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NOTES

1. YVA, E-146-2-8; an annotated English translation of this document has been published by Cohen, "The Destruction of the Jews of Butrimonys," pp. 357–375.
2. Ibid.; Zabludoff and Miller, *If I Forget Thee*, pp. 24–26; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 214–215.
3. *"Esli zabudu . . ." Dokumental'naia povest' o gibeli Butrimonisa, evreiskogo mestechka v Litve* (Jerusalem, 1985), p. 37; Shneiderovich, "Dokument," p. 122.
4. Shneiderovich, "Dokument," pp. 123–124.
5. LYA, 3377-55-92; Zabludoff and Miller, *If I Forget Thee*, pp. 33, 49, 84; YVA, E-146-2-8.
6. Zabludoff and Miller, *If I Forget Thee*, p. 40.
7. YVA, E-146-2-8; Zabludoff and Miller, *If I Forget Thee*, pp. 40–42.
8. *"Esli zabudu . . ." Dokumental'naia povest'*, p. 54 (August 29, 1941); Shneiderovich, "Dokument," p. 122 (August 8, 1941).
9. YVA, E-146-2-8; Zabludoff and Miller, *If I Forget Thee*, p. 42.
10. Rees, *The Nazis—A Warning from History*, pp. 183–186.
11. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando No. 3 (Jäger report), December 1, 1941; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965), p. 135; B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 236.
12. Shneiderovich, "Dokument," pp. 130–131; LYA, 3377-55-92.
13. Zabludoff and Miller, *If I Forget Thee*, pp. 75–81, 88.

BYSTRZYCA

Pre-1939: Bystrzyca (Yiddish: Bistrits), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Bystritsa, Ostrovets raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bystrzyca, initially Rayon Swir, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Swir, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Bystrytsa, Astravets raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bystrzyca is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) east-northeast of Wilno. In 1919, the Jewish population of the village was 154 (23 families).

German armed forces occupied the village on June 24, 1941. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Bystrzyca. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Initially, Bystrzyca was part of Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Bystrzyca: Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village or from using the sidewalks; they were obliged to wear a yellow patch; and Jewish property, including agricultural land, was confiscated. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat).

According to survivor Saul Katz, who arrived in Bystrzyca during the summer of 1941, a ghetto was set up in the village within a few months, probably in the fall of 1941. The Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, with no running water. Each day a number of Jews were taken out of the ghetto to perform manual forced labor, mainly in agriculture, working land previously owned by Jews. The ghetto was only lightly guarded by a couple of local policemen, and the Jews managed to obtain some food by bartering their possessions with other local inhabitants. Katz received the impression that the Judenrat did its best to protect the Bystrzyca Jews but that it discriminated against newcomers. He left the ghetto during the winter of 1941–1942.[1]

Soon after the establishment of the ghetto, the German authorities imposed a fine of 50,000 rubles on the village's Jews. Subsequently the Germans demanded the surrender of all valuables, boots, and furs. Over time they also took furniture, bed linens, and whatever jewelry remained. The local policemen assigned as overseers constantly beat the Jewish laborers and displayed great cruelty. Groups of young Jews were sent to labor camps in Ostrowiec, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) distant; in the Lithuanian town of Vievis, about 150 kilometers (93 miles) away; and in other locations. A few of these people escaped into the forests, but most of the others were murdered when the camps were liquidated.

On April 1, 1942, the region including Bystrzyca was officially transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen and became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land, headed by Gebietskommissar Horst Wulff. Among the restrictions imposed officially on the Jews living

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in the ghettos in this region was a curfew from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M., compulsory labor, and a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews.[2] According to the results of a census conducted by the Germans in May 1942, there were 194 Jews living in the Bystrzyca ghetto at that time.[3]

On October 27, 1942, the head of the Judenrat in Wilno, Jacob Gens, reported that the Germans had liquidated the ghettos in Bystrzyca and Kiemieliszki during the previous week. He regretted that no Jewish Police from the Vilna ghetto had been present, as "all the Jews were shot there without any distinction."[4] The list of victims prepared by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) includes 153 names.[5] The mass shooting probably was carried out by a detachment of German Security Police from Wilno, assisted by the local police.

Some Jews evaded the roundup and found refuge with local farmers; of these, eight are known to have survived until the Red Army liberated Bystrzyca in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Bystrzyca during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Bystrzyca," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 175–176; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 98; and Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, *Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners*, *1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 115–116, 414, 640.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Bystrzyca can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-11); MA (D.1357); VHF (e.g., # 43006); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 43006, testimony of Saul Katz.
2. Anordnung Betr.: Ghettoisierung der Juden, issued by Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, May 13, 1942, reproduced in Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, *Švenčionys Regions*, p. 130.
3. Ibid., pp. 115, 640.
4. See Jacob Gens's words at the meeting of the Judenrat in Wilno on October 27, 1942, MA, D.1357, published in I. Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 254.
5. GARF, 7021-89-11, pp. 10–13.

DARBĖNAI

Pre-1940: Darbėnai (Yiddish: Dorbian), town, Kretinga apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Darbėnai/Darbenai, Kretinga uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Dorbianen, Kreis Kröttingen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Darbėnai, Kretinga rajonas, Klaipeda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Darbėnai is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west of Šiauliai, near the Baltic coast. On the eve of the German invasion, there were around 700 Jews living in Darbėnai.

On June 23, 1941, German forces occupied the town. On the same day, Lithuanian nationalists seized control of the local administration and formed a militia. Both these organizations later were subordinated to Hans Gewecke, the Gebietskommissar Schaulen-Land. Shortly after the Germans arrived, a fire broke out, and the Lithuanians blamed it on the Jews. In the ensuing chaos, Darbėnai's rabbi was beaten to death. After order was restored, the local administration introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures: Jews were required to perform forced labor and to wear the Star of David. The Jews were constantly beaten and harassed by local antisemites who also stole their property.

On June 29, the local Lithuanian militia rounded up 144 Jewish males aged 16 and older and shot them in the nearby woods. The remaining women and children were confined on the grounds of the old synagogue with little food or water and under hot and unsanitary conditions, guarded by members of the militia. On August 15, 1941, the chief of police in Darbėnai reported that he was holding 400 Jewish women and children in his "ghetto" and sought authority to hire contract policemen to guard it.[1]

This improvised ghetto was liquidated during the course of two further Aktions conducted during August and September. On August 24, 300 women and children were shot in the woods on the edge of town. On September 22 (Rosh Hashanah), the remaining prisoners were shot at the same site.[2] According to the testimony of a Jewish survivor, R.A. Šateliene, the local police (militia) played an active role in the Rosh Hashanah massacre.

When the Soviet authorities exhumed the mass graves in November 1944 following the German retreat, they found iron bars and wooden clubs that had been used to murder the Jews. Two memorials mark the site where the Jews of Darbėnai were murdered. The site is located on the edge of the forest, about 100 meters (328 feet) from the road, in the direction of Lazdininkai.

SOURCES Additional information on the fate of the Jews of Darbėnai during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Hitleriniai Žudikai Kretingoje* (Vilnius, 1960), pp. 36–40; and "Darbenai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 209.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Darbėnai can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-422); LCVA (R 1665-2-36); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. LCVA, R 1665-2-36, report of the chief of police in Darbėnai, August 15, 1941.
2. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 395.

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DARSŪNIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Darsūniškis (Yiddish: Darshunishok), village, Trakai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Darsūniškis/Darsunishkis, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Darsunischkis, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Darsūniškis, Kaišiadorys rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Darsūniškis is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) west-southwest of Wilno. According to the 1923 census, 120 Jews were living in Darsūniškis (14.7 percent of the total population). By June 1941, as a result of out-migration in the 1930s, the Jewish population had decreased significantly.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 24, 1941. Immediately afterwards, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force, which agitated against the Jewish population and implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Valuable items were confiscated from the Jews, and the Jews were prohibited from engaging in trade or other relations with non-Jews.

On August 7, 1941, the head of the Kaunas district ordered all Jews to be moved into ghettos by August 15.[1] Possibly in compliance with this order, or perhaps before this, all the Jews from Darsūniškis and neighboring villages, including those of Kruonis (Yiddish: Karon) and Pakuonis (Yiddish: Pakun), were resettled into a ghetto. The Jews were required to perform forced labor and were severely beaten by the Lithuanian guards.[2]

On August 15, 1941, the first killings took place; dozens of Jewish men were shot in the nearby Komenduliai Forest.[3] On August 28, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, Einsatzkommando 3 shot 99 prisoners: 10 men, 69 women, and 20 children.[4] The killings were carried out in the Jewish cemetery in Darsūniškis. Some of the victims were reportedly buried alive. In 1991, a monument was placed at the site of the shooting.

SOURCES Information on the elimination of the Jews in Darsūniškis can be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); and "Darsuniskis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 212–214. The ghetto in Darsūniškis is also mentioned 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), p. 295; and *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 368.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 290–291.
2. "Darsuniskis," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 213–214.
3. Ibid.
4. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

DAUGIELISZKI

Pre-1939: Daugieliszki (Yiddish: Daugelishok), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Novye Dovgelishki, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1940–1941: Naujasis Daugėliškis, Sventsiany uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Daugielischki, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Naujasis Daugėliškis, Ignalina rajonas, Utena apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Daugieliszki, composed of two parts, new and old Daugieliszki, is located about 98 kilometers (61 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1930, there were 175 Jews living in Daugieliszki, out of a total population of 350.

On the outbreak of war in September 1939, the Jews organized a self-defense force, which protected Jewish homes from being looted by hostile Christian peasants, until the arrival of the Red Army in the second half of the month.[1] Daugieliszki was initially part of the Belorussian SSR, but in 1940 it was transferred to the Lithuanian SSR.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, a few Jews fled with the Soviet forces. Others, especially the elderly, remained behind, not wanting to abandon their property. In the area, a Lithuanian partisan squad was formed, which soon started arresting suspected Communists, Komsomol members, and Soviet activists. According to Soviet postwar investigations, the Lithuanian partisans escorted 16 of the arrested Jews a few kilometers outside the village in the direction of Ignalino and then shot them. The yizkor book reports that among those shot were the parents of some of the younger Jews, who had fled with the Soviets.[2] In charge of the Lithuanian activists in Daugieliszki was Kazimierz Ziber.

The remaining Jews were then placed into a small ghetto in Daugieliszki.[3] Very little is known about conditions in the ghetto, as no survivor accounts have been located. At the end of September, probably on September 27, 1941, the local police and former Lithuanian partisans, all under the command of Juozas Reinys, assembled the Jews from the Daugieliszki ghetto and escorted them to an overcrowded barracks at the military camp (firing range), also known as the Poligon transit camp, located 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) outside Nowe Święciany.

The Jews were held in the Poligon camp for more than a week under atrocious conditions, together with thousands of Jews brought there from other places in the region. Disease broke out due to the overcrowding, and the Jews were forced to surrender their remaining valuables, supposedly as a ransom to save their lives.[4] Then on October 7–8, 1941, most of the Jews assembled in the Poligon camp were shot a short distance away in ditches prepared in the Baranower Forest.

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The mass shooting was conducted by the German Security Police and the men of the Ypatingas Burys Lithuanian killing squad, assisted by 120 local Lithuanian policemen and former partisans. According to the report of Karl Jäger, the commander of Einsatzkommando 3, the 3,726 Jewish victims included 1,169 men, 1,840 women, and 717 children.[5] Other sources, however, indicate that as many as 6,000 to 8,000 people may have been killed at the site.[6]

During the war, the Jewish houses in Daugieliszki were burned down, leaving almost no trace of the village. Several Jews from Daugieliszki served with distinction in the Red Army and the Soviet partisans, including a few who died in battle.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1170–1184; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 99–100; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6. The ghetto in Daugieliszki is mentioned also in: Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 154; and 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), p. 298.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Daugieliszki can be found in the following archives: LCVA; LYA (K 1-58-34823/3 and K 1-58-886/3); and RGVA (500-1-25).

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NOTES

1. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, pp. 1170, 1184.
2. LYA, K 1-58-34823/3, pp. 16 and verso, interrogation of D. Kuricka, May 12, 1945, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate," p. 99; Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, pp. 1172, 1184. This source indicates 18 victims.
3. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, p. 1172.
4. "Poligon in Yor 1941," in ibid., p. 5.
5. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941. This report gives October 9, 1941, as the date of the killing, but some other sources indicate it occurred on October 7–8, 1941.
6. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, p. 1376, gives the figure of 8,000 victims at the Poligon camp. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," uses the phrase "at least 5,000."

DUKSZTY

Pre-1939: Dukszty (Yiddish: Duksht), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Dūkštas, Zarasai apskritis, Lithuania SSR; 1940–1941: Dūkštas/Dukshtas, Zarasai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Dukschty, Kreis Ossersee, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Dūkštas, Ignalina rajonas, Utena apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Dukszty is located about 115 kilometers (72 miles) northeast of Wilno. Around 650 Jews were living in Dukszty on the outbreak of World War II, comprising two thirds of the population. Between September 1939 and June 1941, the inhabitants of the village witnessed two regime changes, as the region was first transferred from Polish to Lithuanian control in the fall of 1939, then came under Soviet rule in June 1940.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, in late June 1941, the Soviet authorities soon abandoned the village, and local Lithuanians began to plunder Jewish shops. German armed forces occupied Dukszty in early July 1941. A German commandant was officially in charge, but in practice local Lithuanians, led by Antoni Umbraz, the former owner of a bakery and a restaurant, seized control of local affairs. A few days after the Germans' arrival, the Lithuanians began to terrorize the Jews, murdering a number of them brutally in public. Large "contributions" were also demanded from the Jewish community, which soon exhausted nearly all its financial reserves.

At the end of August, the Jews were driven from their homes into two separate ghettos, being allowed to take with them only a very limited amount of their property. The more propertied Jews were put in a ghetto on the peninsula in Disner Lake, known as "Ostrov"; the rest were placed in the Jewish bathhouse and surrounding houses, known as "Azshutoviner." The Jews were completely isolated, and any contact with non-Jews was punishable by death. However, the Jews received help from some local inhabitants of Russian nationality, who brought food to them in the ghettos by various means. Every day men and women from the ghettos were escorted on foot several kilometers outside the village to work on the railway line.[1]

In early September, all the remaining Jews, with the exception of a few craftsmen, such as cobblers, were removed from the ghettos and incarcerated on the Antonove estate, about 3 kilometers (2 miles) outside of Dukszty. Here they were accommodated more or less in an open field, exposed to the wind and rain for nearly three weeks. They continued to be taken every day to the same work. The Lithuanian guards closely watched the Jewish workers, but some were still able to barter their remaining possessions for food with non-Jews, bribing the guards if necessary to bring it to their families on the Antonove estate. Living conditions for the craftsmen still in the village were somewhat less harsh.

On the evening of September 21, 1941, 16 Lithuanians arrived at the Antonove estate and informed the Jews that they would be moved to better conditions. The sick and small children were put on carts, and the remaining Jews were driven on foot, all to the north in the direction of Zarasai, without a specific destination being disclosed. After a Lithuanian guard murdered a newborn baby who was crying on one of the carts, one Jew attacked the guard, trying to strangle him. However, he was soon overpowered and shot by three other guards.

In the Degutsh Forest, about halfway to Zarasai, the Jews of Dukszty arrived at a collection point for the Jews from several places in the region. On the morning of September 22, the Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators separated the children from their parents in a field with machine guns

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set up in each of the corners. From the description of a local forester, who observed events from a distance, the Jews were all shot as they attempted to run, mowed down by the machine guns. The craftsmen and their families from Dukszty were probably also included in the "last march" of the Dukszty Jews. At the end of the war, only one surviving Jewish family returned to live in the village.[2]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Dukszty during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1328–1334; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 182.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 1330.
2. Ibid., pp. 1331–1334.

DUSETOS

Pre-1940: Dusetos (Yiddish: Dusiat), town, Zarasai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Zarasai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Ossersee, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Zarasai rajonas, Utena apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Dusetos is located 126 kilometers (78 miles) north-northeast of Wilno, on the Svėtė River not far from Lake Dusetos, for which the town was named. According to the 1923 census, 704 Jews were living in the town. As a result of out-migration in the 1920s and 1930s, the number of Jews in the town decreased significantly, to around 500 by 1939.

After Lithuania was annexed by the USSR in 1940, a Soviet regime was imposed. Private property was nationalized. Workers in various fields were organized into cooperatives (*artels*). The language of instruction in Jewish schools was changed from Hebrew to Yiddish. Zionist groups were disbanded, and Hebrew-language books were banished from the library.[1]

When the German army invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jews fled from Dusetos into the Russian interior, alongside the retreating Red Army. Others, however, did not make it and were forced to return. Armed Lithuanian activists seized control of the town even before the arrival of the Germans. They greeted the advancing German troops with shouts of joy and white flowers on June 25, 1941. The Lithuanian activists established a local administration and police force. Local antisemites subjected the Jews to robbery, assault, and other forms of public denigration. Jews were also prohibited from walking in public places or having any relations with local non-Jews.

In early July 1941, all the Jews were driven out of their homes into an improvised ghetto "beyond the bridge." They were crammed into a number of houses from which the non-Jews had been evacuated, and there was great overcrowding. Each family was allocated one loaf of bread per day, and no one was permitted to leave the ghetto. This soon resulted in severe hunger among the Jews. Some were able to sneak out undetected and gather a few vegetables from the gardens of their former homes or from local Lithuanians to whom they had given property for safekeeping. Others, however, were not so lucky and were shot by the Lithuanian guards as they tried to cross the bridge or flee to the forest. The inmates of the ghetto suffered greatly at the hands of their Lithuanian captors. The vacated Jewish houses and property were seized by Lithuanians from the town and its vicinity. Over the course of several weeks, with little direct German supervision, the Lithuanian activists chased Jews with beatings and subjected them to forced labor in the town and on the farms.[2]

On August 26, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, forces of Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by the Lithuanian police, escorted the Jews of Dusetos—the elderly and children on wagons and the others on foot—to the woods near the village of Diagučiai, a few kilometers to the southeast of Dusetos. There the Germans and their collaborators shot them, together with the Jews of Zarasai, and buried them in a long ditch, which had been dug by the Jewish victims themselves. A monument stands today at the site of the shootings. After the war, one of the local Lithuanian collaborators, Kuzmis, was tried and sentenced by the Soviet authorities.[3]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Dusetos can be found in the following publications: Sara Weiss-Slep, ed., *Ayara Hayeta B'Lita; Dusiat B'Rei Hazichronot* (Tel Aviv: Society of Former Residents of Dusiat, 1969) (translations of part of this yizkor book are available at jewishgen.org); and Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 204–207.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Dusetos can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 70 SU/15); LYA; USHMM (RG-50.473*0028-29); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Weiss-Slep, *Ayara Hayeta B'Lita; Dusiat*, p. 207.
2. Ibid., pp. 207, 320, 359–360.
3. Ibid., pp. 207, 359–360; USHMM, RG-50.473*0029, testimony of Jonas Baura; BA-BL, R 70 SU/15, Jägerbericht, December 1, 1941.

ERŽVILKAS

Pre-1940: Eržvilkas (Yiddish: Erzhvilik), town, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Eržvilkas/Erzhvilkas, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Erschwilki, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991:

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Eržvilkas, Jurbarkas rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Eržvilkas is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) north-northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, Eržvilkas had a Jewish community of 222. Emigration in the 1930s reduced the Jewish population, and in mid-1941 there were only around 150 Jews living in Eržvilkas.

German forces occupied the small town on June 23, 1941. Many Jews fled the town at the time of the invasion. On their return a few days later, most found that their homes had been robbed. Immediately after the capture of Eržvilkas, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a partisan detachment. The new authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. All the Jews' valuables were confiscated. They were assigned to perform various types of forced labor, and they were subjected to humiliation and beatings by local antisemites. Jews were forbidden to appear in public places and to maintain relationships of any kind with other Lithuanians.

According to Alan Goldstein, a Jewish child survivor, shortly after the Germans arrived, all the Jews were herded initially into the synagogue and were told to pack their things. The Jews were then resettled to another street where the baths were located. Here about four houses were converted into a ghetto. Goldstein remembers the presence of the Germans in the town but recalls that it was the Lithuanian police who did all the dirty work.[1]

The ghetto was liquidated in mid-September 1941. The Jews were instructed to prepare for a three-day journey and were then taken out to the Griblauskis Forest, where they were shot. Goldstein's family received a tip-off from the wife of the chief of the Lithuanian police and were able to flee into the countryside in time.[2] There were 22 Jews from Eržvilkas who survived, hidden by Lithuanians.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Eržvilkas during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 157–158; 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), pp. 368–369; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 195.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Eržvilkas can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-427); LCVA; LYA; VHF (# 44072); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 44072, testimony of Alan Goldstein, born 1935.
2. Ibid.

GARGŽDAI

Pre-1940: Gargždai (Yiddish: Gorzd), town, Kretinga apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Gargždai/Gargzhdai, Kretinga uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Garsden, Kreis Kröttingen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Gargždai, Klaipeda rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

The town of Gargždai is located roughly 200 kilometers (124 miles) northwest of Kaunas.

In 1939, Gargždai's Jewish community experienced a downturn when Germany annexed the Memel district, cutting off the town's strong economic ties with that region. As a result, some Jews, mostly younger members of the community, migrated to Kaunas in search of work, and the population declined from the 1923 figure of 1,049. On the eve of the German invasion in 1941, the community's population was estimated to be about 500, including some refugees from the neighboring Memel district.

German troops of the 61st Infantry Division captured Gargždai on June 22, 1941, following a brief but fierce battle with resisting People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) troops, which resulted in much of the town catching fire. Over the following 24 hours, men of the German Grenzpolizei (Border Police) in Memel, assisted by German customs officials, rounded up much of the town's population and selected out the male Jews, together with a few non-Jews suspected of being Communists. The other non-Jews were released, but the Jewish women and children were confined to a barn 300 meters (328 yards) east of the town. At this time, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and established a militia or "partisan" force. It appears that the Lithuanian auxiliaries did play some role in the arrest of the Jews. Both groups of Jews were then held captive for another day with little food and water.[1]

These arrests were conducted on instructions from the State Police office (Stapostelle) in Tilsit, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, which had received authorization from the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin on June 23 and 24 to conduct "pacification Aktions" against Jews and Communists inside a 25-kilometer-wide (15.5-mile-wide) strip of occupied Lithuania.

On June 24, 1941, a German detachment of the Stapostelle Tilsit, led by Böhme and reinforced by about 25 men of the Schutzpolizei from the Memel district, arrived in Gargždai in a number of vehicles. The male Jews were then escorted to an antitank ditch and forced to broaden and deepen it. Once they had completed this task, they were led in groups to the edge of the ditch and shot by members of the Schutzpolizei operating under Böhme's command. Some of the German policemen from the Memel area even knew the victims personally. One Jew called out to his former friend and neighbor, "Gustav, aim well!" After the shooting, some German policemen moved among the bodies, delivering the final blow to any survivors. After all 201 prisoners (including one woman, the wife of a Soviet commissar) had been shot,

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the unit was distributed a ration of schnapps and retired to eat lunch.[2]

After the mass shooting, the surviving women and children were imprisoned in empty storehouses on the Aneliškiai Manor. This "ghetto" existed for slightly more than two months, during which time the adult women were required to work on forced labor projects. The children were so hungry that they had to pull up grass to eat.

At the beginning of August 1941, local Lithuanian officials in the Kretinga district met with Gestapo officials to discuss the situation of the remaining Jews. Gestapo official Behrendt recommended that the Lithuanians should murder the Jewish women and children, as they could not perform useful work and were "useless mouths." The Lithuanians wanted to obtain approval from the Lithuanian administration in Kaunas. After the chief of police in Kaunas replied that the decision was to be left to the local officials, plans were made for the Lithuanian forces to kill the remaining women and children in September 1941.[3]

The ghetto was liquidated between September 14 and 16, when the Lithuanian police and partisans wearing white armbands convoyed the remaining 200 women and children to the Vėžaitinė Forest, 11 kilometers (7 miles) outside the town, and shot them there. Some sources mention that the Lithuanians were drunk during the Aktion and that some of the victims, probably the children, were bludgeoned to death. According to the account in the yizkor book, the children were shot first and then the women two days later. The Aktion was conducted by Lithuanians under the command of Ildefonsas Lukauskas. In the postwar evidence of Bronnius Salyklis, no mention is made of Germans being present. Only one prisoner, Rachel Yomi, survived the mass shooting and was later hidden by a Lithuanian family. Following the liquidation of the ghetto, the Jewish cemetery was destroyed, along with the Jewish homes. The empty lots were used as farmland by residents of Gargždai.[4]

After the war, the Jewish community was not reconstituted in the town, and only a memorial to the victims remains to mark their former existence. On August 29, 1958, a court in Ulm, Germany, sentenced eight men to various terms of imprisonment for their participation in the murder of the Jews in Gargždai and other similar Aktions in the region during the summer of 1941. On February 5, 1963, a court in Dortmund, Germany, sentenced another former official of the Stapo Tilsit, Wilhelm B.W. Gerke, to three years and six months in prison for participating in the anti-Jewish Aktions on the Lithuanian border between June and September 1941.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Gargždai during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Y. Alperovitz, ed., *Sefer Gorzd (Lita); ayara be-hayeha u-be-hilayona* (Tel Aviv: Gorzd Society, 1980); "Gargzdai," in *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuanian Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 194–196; and "Gargzdai," Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 187–191.

Publications on the murder of the male Jews of Gargždai on June 24, 1941, include Jochen Tauber, "Garsden, 24. Juni 1941," *Annaberger Annalen*, no. 5 (1997): 117–134; Jürgen Matthäus, "Jenseits der Grenze: Die ersten Massenerschiessungen von Juden in Litauen (Juni–August 1941)," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, no. 44 (1996): 101–117; Konrad Kwiet, "Rehearsing for Murder: The Beginning of the Final Solution in Lithuania in June 1941," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12:1 (Spring 1998): 3–26; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976-2010), vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, and vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 547.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Gargždai can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/2582-2615 and 14079-80); GARF (7021-94-422); RGVA (500-1-758); VHF (# 2514); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov, Michael McConnell, and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *JuNS-V*, vol. 15 (1976), Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 53–61, 210–211, and vol. 19, (1978) Lfd. Nr. 547, p. 13.
2. RGVA, 500-1-758, p. 2; *JuNS-V*, vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 53–61.
3. *JuNS-V*, vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 200–201.
4. Alperovitz, *Sefer Gorzd (Lita)*, English section, p. 38.

GARLIAVA

Pre-1940: Garliava (Yiddish: Gudleva), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Godlewo, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Garliava, Kaunas rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Garliava was originally located a few kilometers south of the city of Kaunas; later it was incorporated into the city as a suburb. According to the 1923 census, there were 311 Jews living there. Owing to the migration of a number of Jews abroad in the years before World War II, the Jewish population declined.

German armed forces occupied the city on June 24, 1941. Immediately afterwards, three Lithuanian partisan units were formed in the Garliava area, and they recruited approximately 120 men. Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with the Star of David and were ordered to perform compulsory labor. They were also subjected to lootings and beatings by local antisemites and were prohibited from walking on the sidewalks or having any relations with the other Lithuanians.

On August 7, 1941, the Kaunas District governor issued an order calling for the resettlement of Jews into ghettos by August 15.[1] The Jews were also registered, and on August 12, 1941, the head of the Garliava Rural District reported to the Kaunas District governor that there were 285 Jews there.[2] Shortly after this, in mid-August 1941, local policemen and

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partisans forced the Jews of Garliava and neighboring villages into the local synagogue, where they were confined for about two weeks in a form of "synagogue ghetto." Almost nothing is known about the conditions for the Jews in the synagogue, but clearly the sleeping and living arrangements were appalling.

On the morning of the liquidation Aktion, policemen and partisans drove several dozen Jewish men to a site close to the village of Rinkunai (just to the east of Garliava) and ordered them to dig a trench. When the Jews realized its purpose, they refused to carry out the work. The policemen then brought a group of Lithuanians from Garliava, who dug a ditch 60 meters long by 2 meters wide and 1.5 meters deep (197 by 7 by 5 feet).[3]

Men of the 3rd Company of the 1st (13th) Lithuanian Police Battalion arrived in Garliava in trucks on that day under the command of officers B. Norkus, J. Barzda, and A. Dagys. Local policemen and partisans drove the Jews out of the synagogue and escorted them to the prepared trench. The Jews were forced to surrender their possessions and remove their clothes and shoes. The Jewish men were shot first. They were lined up on the edge of the trench and shot from behind at a distance of several meters.[4] The mass shooting started in the afternoon and was completed by nightfall. By torchlight, men of the 3rd Company finished off some of the Jews who had only been wounded. Afterwards they returned to Garliava and drank alcohol in a pub before leaving for their barracks.[5]

According to the report of Karl Jäger, who was in charge of Einsatzkommando 3, the 247 Jews of Garliava (73 men, 113 women, and 61 children) were shot on a day between August 28 and September 2, 1941.[6] The witnesses do not mention the presence of any Germans, and it appears that the shootings were carried out by local policemen, partisans, and the men of the 3rd Company.

For their participation in the murder of the Jews in Garliava and other places in Lithuania, eight former policemen of the 3rd Company were sentenced to life in prison after court proceedings in Kaunas from September 27 to October 4, 1962.[7]

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Garliava can be found in the following publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in D. Gaunt, P.A. Levine, and L. Palosuo, eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus*, *Estonia*, *Latvia*, *Lithuania* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 283–312, here pp. 301–303; and Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 185–186.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Garliava during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 1534-1-193); LYA (K 1-58-47337/3); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA (O-3/3217 and 3239).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

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1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965), pp. 290–291.
2. LCVA, R 1534-1-193, p. 17, letter by the head of Garliava Rural District to the Kaunas District governor, August 12, 1941.
3. LYA, K 1-58-47337/3, vol. 8, pp. 26–28, interrogation of J. Ivanauskas, March 20, 1962.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 36–38, interrogation of J. Vosyius, April 10, 1961.
5. Ibid., pp. 310–315, interrogation of J. Palubinskas, October 12, 1961.
6. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941 (the report spells it as Carliava).
7. *Sovetskaia Litva* (Vilnius), October 4, 1962.

GUDOGAJ

Pre-1939: Gudogaj, *village*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Gudogai*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gudogaj*, *initially Rayon Aschmena*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien*, *then from April 1*, *1942*, *Kreis Aschmena*, *Gebiet Wilna-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Gudagai*, *Astravets raen*, *Hrodno voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Gudogaj is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-southeast of Wilno. Very little information is available regarding the fate of the Jewish population in Gudogaj during the Holocaust. However, evidence of a ghetto there exists in the form of a census of Jews and Jewish laborers conducted by the Arbeitsamt (labor office) for Gebiet Wilna-Land in October 1942. According to this report, there were 104 Jewish men, women, and children at that time in the Gudogaj ghetto, of which 64 were deployed for labor tasks there.[1] The nature of this small ghetto may have been such that it was more of a labor camp, like the remnant ghetto in nearby Ostrowiec, but it appears also to have included the families of the workers.

Jewish survivor Julius Bastowski also mentions the existence of a ghetto in Gudogaj. He reports that the Jews were required to perform forced labor and that he observed trains passing through Gudogaj, which had a small railway station. The trains were packed with people jammed tightly together. The trains came from the southeast and were headed for Wilno. People on the trains were dying, and corpses were thrown out from the trains. Bastowski and parts of his family were assisted in obtaining false papers, and he managed to survive until the arrival of the Red Army in 1944.[2]

In October 1942, the German authorities in Generalkommissariat Litauen ordered the liquidation of the small ghettos in the region to the east of Wilno, concentrating their inhabitants in four ghettos: Oszmiana, Święciany, Michaliszki, and Soly. According to the diary of Kazimierz Sakowicz, Hirsh Berkowski, a Jew from Gudogaj, was among those murdered at Paneriai in April 1943.[3] Presumably some of the Jews from Gudogaj were transferred to Oszmiana in the fall of 1942 or thereafter and shared the fate of the Jews in the other ghettos of the region, some of whom were sent to Paneriai to be shot

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at the time of the Oszmiana ghetto's liquidation in late March and early April 1943.[4]

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Gudogaj is mentioned in the following publication: Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 325 (spelled here as Gugadei).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 626-1-211); and VHF (# 1804, Julius Bastowski).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. LCVA, R 626-1-211, p. 18, list of ghettos in Kreis Aschmena, October 1942.
2. VHF, # 1804, testimony of Julius Bastowski. Unfortunately this testimony is difficult to understand, so some reliance has been placed on the notes prepared by VHF indexers.
3. Kazimierz Sakowicz, *Ponary Diary, 1941–1943: A Bystander's Account of Mass Murder* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 79.
4. Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982), pp. 359–362. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 231, also mentions the murder of the Jews from "Gudagei" together with those from the Oszmiana ghetto but dates this erroneously in May 1943.

HODUCISZKI

Pre-1939: Hoduciszki (Yiddish: Haydutsishok), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Godutishki, Vileika oblast'; Belorussian SSR; 1940–1941: Adutiškis/Adutishkis, Sventsiany uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Hoduciszki, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Adutiškis, Švenčionys rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Hoduciszki is located 97 kilometers (60 miles) east-northeast of Wilno. In 1921, there were 875 Jews living in Hoduciszki. By mid-1941, this number had probably declined somewhat.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, in late June 1941, a number of Jews attempted to flee from Hoduciszki, but they were prevented from escaping by Lithuanian collaborators of the Nazis. German armed forces occupied the village on July 1–2, 1941. As soon as the Germans arrived, the Lithuanian militia murdered around 200 Jews. A number of Jews from nearby villages also fled towards Hoduciszki, but some of these people were intercepted and killed.

In July 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. At this time a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Hoduciszki, which was required to provide a number of Jews daily for forced labor. In addition, the German authorities required Jews to wear markings bearing the Star of David and banned them from going outside the village limits.

In August 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Hoduciszki became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land within Generalkommissariat Litauen. On August 15, 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Hoduciszki. This timing roughly coincided with an order issued by Gebietskommissar Horst Wulff, on August 18, 1941, for the marking of the Jews and their confinement within ghettos and another order, issued by the police chief in Święciany, in mid-August, preparing for the transfer of the Jews of the Święciany subdistrict to the barracks near Nowe Święciany, about 10 kilometers (6 miles) northwest of Święciany, and the confiscation of their property.[1] The Jews of Hoduciszki were ordered to vacate their homes within two hours and were resettled into the run-down houses on Vidžių Street. Local Lithuanians then plundered the vacated Jewish houses. The overcrowding in the Hoduciszki ghetto was unbearable. Lithuanian policemen guarded its entrance.[2]

The village of Stojaciszki, located about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Hoduciszki, was also subject to German regulations issued in Hoduciszki, which the Polish village elder passed on. The Jewish inhabitants in Stojaciszki became increasingly nervous by August 1941, as refugees from massacres elsewhere in Lithuania began to arrive there. On September 19, two policemen arrived from Hoduciszki to register all Jewish property. Then on September 26, four armed Lithuanian civilians informed the Jewish representative, Yisroel Gantovnik, that the Jews would all have to move to Nowe Święciany.[3] Apparently, the roughly 300 Jews from Stojaciszki were then brought briefly into the Hoduciszki ghetto at the end of September.

In late September 1941, the German authorities liquidated the Hoduciszki ghetto. The Jews were assembled, and the bulk of them (probably around 1,000 people) were escorted to Nowe Święciany. The sick and elderly Jews were placed on about 50 carts that were provided, and the rest of the Jews had to walk the roughly 40 kilometers (25 miles) on foot, guarded by Lithuanian policemen. A number of skilled craftsmen and their families were left behind in Hoduciszki at this time. On arrival in Nowe Święciany, the Jews were placed in an overcrowded barracks at a military camp (or shooting range) also known as the Poligon transit camp, located about 1.8 kilometers (1 mile) outside the town. During their brief stay in the barracks, the Jews suffered from hunger, thirst, abuse, and murder at the hands of the guards. Then, on or around October 9, 1941, the Jews from Hoduciszki were shot along with many other Jews from the region, who also had been assembled in these barracks.

A number of Jews managed to escape at the time of the roundup, during the transfer from Hoduciszki to Nowe Święciany, or possibly also from among the skilled workers that remained in Hoduciszki thereafter. On October 14, 1941, the head of Kreis Schwentschionys reported that the police in Hoduciszki had shot 19 Jews who had tried to escape.[4] Some of the Jews who escaped successfully from the Hoduciszki ghetto subsequently joined the anti-Nazi partisans, while others ended up in various camps and ghettos. Only a small

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number managed to survive until the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Hoduciszki during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Hoduciszki," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 277–280; "Adutishkis," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaiia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 27; and Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, *Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners*, *1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here p. 104.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; GARF (7021-94-435); LCVA (e.g., R 685-5-4, R 1548-1-3); LYA (K 1-8-194); and YVA (e.g., O-71/169.1).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. LCVA, R 685-5-4, p. 1, order of Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, August 18, 1941; and LYA, K 1-8-194, p. 280, protocol of B. Gruzdys—both as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," pp. 88–89.
2. Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 104; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, pp. 277–280.
3. YVA, O-71/169.1, pp. 253–272, testimony of Zalman Yofe (born 1907), recorded by L. Koniuchovsky in April 1948, as cited by Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.
4. LCVA, R 1548-1-3, p. 522, letter by head of Kreis Schwentschionys to Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, October 14, 1941, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 104.

HOLSZANY

Pre-1939: Holszany (Yiddish: Olshan), *village*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Gol'shany*, *Oshmiany raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Holschany*, *intially Rayon Aschmena*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien*, *then from April 1*, *1942*, *Kreis Aschmena*, *Gebiet Wilna-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Hal'shany*, *Ashmiany raen*, *Hrodna voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Holszany is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) southeast of Wilno. In 1921, there were about 800 Jews living in Holszany.[1]

German soldiers on motorcycles occupied the village on June 26, 1941, four days after their invasion of the USSR. A group of Jews tried to flee with the retreating Soviet forces, but the internal Soviet border with the Belorussian SSR remained closed, and most had to turn back. As soon as the Germans arrived, local peasants from the surrounding villages came to Holszany and started to loot the Soviet shops. German troops passing through also robbed Jewish homes and vandalized the synagogue, beating up a rabbi from another town whom they caught there.[2]

In the summer of 1941, a German military administration was in charge of the region. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Holszany was part of Rayon Aschmena, which initially was included in Gebiet Wilejka within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. From April 1, 1942, until the occupation ended in early June 1944, Holszany was part of Gebiet Wilna-Land, within Generalkommissariat Litauen.

Upon the Germans' arrival, local non-Jews, mostly Polish, were recruited to form an auxiliary police force, initially headed by a brutal antisemite named Gan, which implemented the Germans' anti-Jewish measures. One policeman, named Petrusevich, was subsequently shot by the Germans for raping young Jewish girls.[3]

As recalled by survivor Selma Dunn, the Jews were required to make yellow patches in the form of a Star of David, which she embroidered onto the front and back of her clothing.[4] In addition, Jews were not permitted to use the sidewalks, and they were banned from having any relations with non-Jews. From the start, the local police drove Jewish men, women, and youths to perform forced labor, which included the humiliating job of removing the grass from between the cobblestones on the streets. Other tasks included road repairs, felling trees, harvesting potatoes, and clearing snow in winter.

The Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Rabbi Reuven Chadash, which registered the Jews and had to ensure that all the German demands and regulations were met. It also took over the task of assigning Jews to forced labor. To assist it in collecting items such as linen, clothing, and soap, which German officials in Oszmiana requested, the Judenrat recruited a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) from among the Jewish youths. If the Jews could not find the required items, they purchased them illegally from non-Jews, as the Germans threatened to kill a number of Jews if their demands were not met.[5]

At the end of the summer or in the fall of 1941, probably around September, the *wójt* (local administrator) in Holszany passed on to the Judenrat German orders for the Jews to move into a ghetto.[6] Dunn recalls that the Jews were forced into the houses around the synagogue, from which non-Jews were evicted. The Jews were permitted to take with them only what they could carry in their hands. Her family shared a small house with another family. The ghetto was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and was guarded by the local police.[7]

By the fall of 1941, a number of refugees from the massacres in Lithuania had arrived in Holszany, and some local Jews understood the likely fate that awaited them. For example, some Holszany Jews who had moved to Oszmiana were executed there in November 1941, on the orders of the head of the Gendarmerie, for not being properly registered.[8] The repeated German demands quickly impoverished the Jews; eventually they could no longer celebrate the Sabbath with a

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special meal. The Jews, however, received some moral support from the local Polish Catholic priest, Chamski, who spoke out in his sermons against the murders of the Jews.[9] In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews were also required to surrender their fur items of clothing for the use of the German army. The Jews were able to sneak through the wire and barter their remaining possessions with local non-Jews for food, as some of the local policemen occasionally turned a blind eye.

On April 1, 1942, the Germans transferred a strip of territory including most of Rayon Aschmena from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Gebiet Wilna-Land. At the same time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and local police. Knowing the fate of the majority of the Jews in Lithuania, the Holszany Jews feared for their lives. It was probably around this time that Rabbi Reuven Chadash took a group of around 150 Jews to the ghetto in Wołożyn, which remained within Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, although the precise details of this transfer remain unknown. Unfortunately the Holszany Jews in Wołożyn were nearly all murdered in a brutal Aktion there on May 10, 1942.[10]

On May 13, 1942, the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, issued instructions concerning the ghettoization of the Jews, which stressed that if any Jews left the ghetto illegally, stern reprisals would be taken against those Jews who remained.[11] Despite the desire to escape, most Jews were concerned not to give the Germans any reason to liquidate the ghetto.

In the summer of 1942, around 200 young people from Holszany were sent to various forced labor camps, especially to the camp in Žiežmariai in Lithuania. Dunn was in the second transport to Žiežmariai, where she joined her sister, only about two weeks after the first transport left.[12] According to Nechama Schneider, also sent to Žiežmariai, the transfer took place in trucks, and she spent one night on her way in the Oszmiana synagogue, where Jews from other ghettos were probably added to the transport.[13]

At the end of August 1942, according to a German Labor Office census, there were 450 Jews remaining in the Holszany ghetto, of whom 210 (133 men and 77 women) were assigned to specific labor tasks. Among the various labor assignments, there were 31 Jews performing forestry work, 15 men employed at the sawmill, 25 working on an estate, 24 cleaning the streets, 20 craftsmen, and 6 Jewish policemen.[14]

The ghetto was liquidated in October 1942, when the remaining Jews in the Holszany ghetto were resettled to the Oszmiana ghetto, which now came under the administration of the Wilno ghetto, where the Judenrat was headed by Jacob Gens.[15] When the Oszmiana ghetto was liquidated in late March and early April 1943, the Jews of Holszany shared the fate of all the Jews collected there. Those Jews deemed unfit for work were deported to Ponary and shot, while those able to work were moved to various labor camps in Lithuania.[16]

Of the roughly 800 Jews living in pre-war Holszany, only about 30 are known to have survived, mostly from among the youths sent to the Žiežmariai camp. After the village was liberated in 1944, several Jewish families returned, but by the 1950s they had moved to Poland and then from there to Israel or the United States.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Holszany during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Shepsl Kaplan, "In di yorn fun der deytsher yidnoysrotung," in *Lebn un umkum fun Olshan* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Olshan in Israel, 1965), pp. 169–190; M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kahilat Oshmana* (Tel Aviv: Oshmaner Organization in Israel and Oshmaner Society in the USA, 1969); "Gol'shany," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 323; 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), p. 523; and "Holszany," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 283–286.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3626); GARF (7021-89-12); LCVA (e.g., R 626-1-211); VHF (e.g., # 6073, 13915, 28552, and 45832); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, p. 283.
2. Kaplan, "In di yorn," pp. 170–171.
3. Ibid., p. 173.
4. VHF, # 28552, testimony of Selma Dunn.
5. Ibid.; Kaplan, "In di yorn," pp. 171–176; VHF, # 13915, testimony of Rita York.
6. AŻIH, 301/3626, testimony of Idel Kozłowski, dates it around two months after the arrival of the Germans.
7. VHF, # 28552.
8. Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 563. This volume, however, does not include an entry for the Holszany ghetto.
9. Kaplan, "In di yorn," pp. 175–177.
10. Eliezer Leoni, ed., *Wolozin: The Book of the City and of the Etz Hayyim Yeshiva* (Tel Aviv: Wolozhin Landsleit Associations, 1970), p. 537.
11. Anordnung Betr.: Ghettoisierung der Juden, issued by Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, May 13, 1942, reproduced in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), p. 130.
12. VHF, # 28552.
13. Ibid., # 45832, testimony of Nechama Schneider.
14. LCVA, R 626-1-211, pp. 18, 28, list of ghettos in Kreis Aschmena, n.d., and list of Jews working in the Holszany ghetto, August 28, 1942.
15. Ibid., p. 18, list of ghettos in Kreis Aschmena, n.d., includes the comment that by October 31, 1942, the smaller

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ghettos had been liquidated and the Jews accommodated in the Oschmiana ghetto.

16. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, pp. 285–286; and Kaplan, "In di yorn," pp. 186–190.

IGNALINO

Pre-1939: Ignalino (Yiddish: Ignaline), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Ignalina, Švenčionys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Ignalina/Ignalino, Sventsiany uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Ignalina, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: rajonas center, Utena apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Ignalino is located 84 kilometers (52 miles) north-northeast of Wilno. In 1925, there were 593 Jews living in Ignalino out of a total population of 773. On the outbreak of war in 1939, there were approximately 800 Jews residing there.[1]

Between September 1939 and June 1941, the inhabitants of Ignalino witnessed two regime changes, as the region was first transferred from Polish to Lithuanian control in the fall of 1939, then came under Soviet rule in June 1940. At the start of the German invasion in June 1941, very few Jews managed to flee the village. German armed forces occupied the town at the end of June.

In the first days of the German-Soviet war, a Lithuanian partisan squad of 20 to 30 men, headed by Jonas Liutkevičius, was formed in the area, which subsequently became an auxiliary police unit. The Lithuanian partisans, who wore white armbands, participated in the widespread plunder of Jewish property. The partisans also soon started to arrest Communists and Jews. Most of those arrested were taken into the forest near Lake Ilgio, where they were shot and buried. According to the research of Arūnas Bubnys, based on Soviet trial records, the partisans shot 14 Red Army soldiers and 26 Communist activists in late June 1941, then another group of 30 men and women, most of them Jews, in the first or second week of July. Soviet postwar exhumations uncovered four mass graves, containing the bodies of 32 civilians and 25 soldiers. During July 1941, in the area around Ignalino, a group of 10 Jewish men, women, and children was murdered in the village of Maksimonys and another 10 between the lakes of Mekšrinis and Pelėdinis.[2]

In early July 1941, units of the German army passed through the village, humiliating the Jews; but they soon moved on to the east. According to the recollections of Jewish survivor Tevye Solomyak, a new Lithuanian local administration, headed by Izidorius Tijūlenis, assisted by police chief Vladas Žilėnas and other partisans, administered Ignalino on behalf of the Germans. The new authorities issued a series of anti-Jewish regulations. Jews were ordered to wear yellow patches, they were prohibited from using the sidewalks or having any contacts with non-Jews, and they were confined to the village. Within a few weeks a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was appointed, which included Dovid Soloveytzik, Ele Gilinsky, Gershon Kideshman, and Ruven Kagan among its members.[3] The Jews were also required to perform forced labor, including especially degrading tasks during which they were beaten by the Lithuanian guards.

In August 1941, authority in the region was officially transferred to the German civil administration, and Ignalino became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land, within Generalkommissariat Litauen. On August 18, 1941, Gebietskommissar Horst Wulff issued an order for the confinement of Jews within ghettos; another order, issued by the police chief in Święciany, in mid-August, instructed the local authorities to prepare for the transfer of the Jews of the Święciany subdistrict to the barracks near Nowe Święciany, about 10 kilometers (6 miles) northwest of Święciany, and for the confiscation of their property.[4]

According to the research of Christoph Dieckmann, based mainly on the testimony of Tevye Solomyak, on September 5, the Jews of Ignalino were moved into an open ghetto, which was located on Gavėnų Street (later Ateities Street), one of the poorest sections of town. The Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto for only one hour each day other than for forced labor. The Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, and there was very little food for the Jews, many of whom worked repairing the railway lines.[5] Estimates of the number of Jews in the ghetto vary between 400 and 1,200, but probably there were around 700 Jews living there. Even after the move into the ghetto, the Lithuanians continued to plunder the impoverished Jews; on one occasion, aged Rabbi Aaron Hyatt was beaten severely by a pillaging Lithuanian.[6]

During September, reports of the mass murders in other Lithuanian towns started to arrive from Utena, Ligmainai, and Dukszty. Allegedly the Judenrat was warned on September 20, 1941, that something terrible was about to happen. However, the Judenrat did not pass on this warning throughout the ghetto, for fear of spreading panic.[7] Shortly before September 26, the Jews had to pay a "contribution" of 21,000 rubles to the Lithuanian authorities. By now armed Lithuanian partisans were guarding the ghetto perimeter to prevent any escapes. It is estimated that about 80 Jews, including the families of some Judenrat members, managed to flee just before or during the ghetto's liquidation, mainly to other ghettos in neighboring Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[8]

In late September 1941, the Germans liquidated the Ignalino ghetto. Uniformed Germans and armed Lithuanian policemen entered the ghetto to assemble the Jews at a central point. During the roundup some Lithuanians acted with great cruelty, killing a small child and raping a woman. The assembled Jews were then escorted to an overcrowded barracks at the military camp (firing range), also known as the Poligon transit camp, near Nowe Święciany. Carts driven by local peasants were used to transport the old, sick, and children, while the remainder had to walk. On October 9, 1941, after being held in the Poligon camp for more than a week under atrocious conditions, most of the Jews from Ignalino were shot, along with other Jews who had been collected in these barracks. Only a small group of craftsmen was selected just before the shooting and moved to the Święciany ghetto.[9]

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Some details regarding the misappropriation of Jewish property in Ignalino emerge from a letter of complaint by three former Lithuanian partisans (who probably had been cheated of their share):

> The police in Ignalino and the former town mayor, Tijūlenis, as well as the present mayor, Albertas Olejunas, seized many objects of Jewish property for themselves. Police personnel and the two mayors hid these things with their relatives and friends in the villages. . . . We know that the police have the following in their possession: 220 gold rings, 55 gold watches, 35 sofas in good condition, 45 cabinets, 180 beds including mattresses, 45 cows, some 50 fur coats, and 250 tanned hides. In addition, there are many items that have been sorted, including clothing, shoes, etc. Only one tenth of the Jewish property was sold to the local residents when the Jews were liquidated.[10]

A subsequent investigation by German Gendarmes, however, did not result in the punishment of the Lithuanian officials assigned the task of collecting, administering, and selling off Jewish property in Ignalino.[11]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Ignalino during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 100–101; and "Ignalino," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 114–117.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Ignalino can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-435); LCVA (e.g., R 685-5-4, R 613-1-62); LYA (K 1-58-20526/3; K 1-8-194); and YVA (e.g., O-71/169.1).

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. YVA, O-71/169.1, pp. 145–191, testimony of Tevye Solomyak (born 1900) given to Leyb Koniuchovsky in February 1948.
2. LYA, K 1-58-20526/3, pp. 15 and verso, 48, 56–58, 141–142. There are some inevitable discrepancies between the witness testimonies and the exhumation findings, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 100.
3. YVA, O-71/169.1, pp. 145–191.
4. LCVA, R 685-5-4, p. 1, order of Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, August 18, 1941; and LYA, K 1-8-194, p. 280, protocol of B. Gruzdys—both as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," pp. 88–89.
5. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6; see also Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 101.
6. Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 101, cites 400 to 700. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, pp. 116–117, estimates 1,200, including a number of refugees.
7. YVA, O-71/169.1, p. 153.
8. Ibid., pp. 156–170.
9. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, pp. 116–117.
10. LCVA, R 613-1-62, p. 211, letter to Kreislandwirtschaftsführer Josef Beck in Święciany, January 22, 1942.
11. See Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 101.

JONAVA

Pre-1940: Jonava (Yiddish: Yanova), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Jonava/Ionava, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Jonava, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: rajonas center, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Jonava is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) northeast of Kaunas on the banks of the Neris River. After the partition of Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union in September 1939, a number of Jewish refugees arrived in Jonava, including members of the yeshiva in Kleck. The Jewish population in the town in 1940 was 3,000.

German forces captured the town by June 26, 1941. Several hundred Jews fled with the Red Army as it retreated. Of those who fled, several subsequently were forced into the Daugavpils ghetto in Latvia after being overtaken by the rapid German advance.[1] A number of houses were destroyed by the German bombardment of Jonava as the Red Army attempted to block the German advance across the Neris. Around 2,500 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation. The destruction forced Jewish families to share the few remaining houses, and some homeless Jews moved into the synagogue and the Bet Midrash. About 150 Jews from Jonava moved to the Jewish village "Der Alter Gostinetz," 8 kilometers (5 miles) away, where they performed agricultural work.[2]

Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a municipal administration and a militia unit ("partisans") of around 50 men, under the command of Vladas Kulvicas, which soon began to act against the Jews. On the pretext of looking for weapons, armed Lithuanian partisans would break into Jewish houses and steal the best items for themselves. The partisans drove young and old Jews to perform forced labor, cleaning the streets, during which they beat the Jews brutally. Lithuanian activists also forcibly took some of the remaining Jewish businesses, including a bakery, which now served only non-Jews.[3] During the third week of the occupation, the local authorities issued an order that Jews had to wear yellow patches.

According to the account of Efraim Zilberman, a few days later the head of the Lithuanian partisans summoned Rabbi

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Ginsburg and demanded that the Jews pay a large sum of money within three days. If this demand were met, the partisan chief promised that "there would be no shootings of Jews and that a ghetto would be created."[4] The Jews of Jonava, however, soon established that they were unable to pay the ransom, mainly because most of the wealthier Jews had been deported to the east by the Bolsheviks just a few days before the German invasion. When the rabbi told this to the partisan leader, he was taken hostage together with a number of other Jews and severely beaten. Then he was escorted to Kaunas by two Lithuanian partisans to obtain the ransom with the help of the Jews of Kaunas. In this manner, the money was raised and the arrested Jews were then released.[5]

This respite lasted only a few days. Soon afterwards, the Lithuanian partisans rounded up around 500 young Jewish men, saying they would be taken for forced labor. Instead they were escorted only about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the town in the direction of Ukmergė, where they were shot in the Giraitė Forest. According to German documentation, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, with the participation of Lithuanian partisans, shot 497 Jewish men and 55 Jewish women—altogether 552 victims—in Jonava, on August 14, 1941.[6] A few Jewish men managed to escape at the time of the shooting, but all but one of them were subsequently recaptured and killed.[7]

After this Aktion, the Jewish population in Jonava consisted almost entirely of women, children, and elderly men. Expecting another Aktion, some families went to hide in the forests or with Christians in the surrounding villages. When the partisan chief learned of this, he put up posters warning Christians not to hide Jews and offering a reward of pork or sugar equivalent to the weight of any Jew turned in. On August 23–24, the Jews of Jonava paid a "contribution" to the authorities of 120,000 rubles.[8]

About two weeks after the first Aktion, the remaining Jews in the town, together with the rabbi, were escorted to the same place in the Giraitė Forest, where large ditches had been prepared. Five Jews from among the 150 or so living in the Jewish village of Alter Gostinetz were also brought to the killing site. According to the report of Einsatzkommando 3, it was responsible (together with Lithuanian auxiliaries) for the shooting of 1,556 Jews (112 men, 1,200 women, and 244 children) near Jonava between August 28 and September 2, 1941.[9] Participating in the mass shooting were 16 members of the Lithuanian "self-defense" squad (as the militia had been renamed) from Jonava, under the command of Jonas Jurevičius, who had replaced Kulvicas.

The remaining Jews living in Alter Gostinetz were spared on this occasion, as their labor was still required to bring in the harvest. In early September, however, they all were transferred to a former barracks in Jonava, where they were kept under close guard by the partisans. At this time the staff of the Lithuanian partisans issued a proclamation that any Jews who returned to the barracks from hiding would not be harmed and informed the remaining Jews that they would soon be transferred to the Kaunas ghetto. As a result, some Jews emerged from hiding or were turned out by Christians, who said they were unable to help them anymore.[10] Thus the barracks in Jonava served as a form of "remnant ghetto," used by the authorities to tempt Jews out of hiding before their transfer to Kaunas.

On October 3, 1941, the Lithuanian guards took away any remaining valuables from the Jews in the barracks and announced that they would be sent to Kaunas the next day. The 180 Jews assembled there spent a sleepless night, still uncertain of their fate. On October 4, they were marched to Kaunas under close guard, arriving just too late to be included in the Aktion conducted against the "small ghetto" in Kaunas on that day, in which 1,845 Jews were shot. Instead, they were put into the Kaunas ghetto. Many of them were murdered, however, in the "large Aktion" conducted by the German police and their Lithuanian auxiliaries on October 28, 1941, when some 10,000 Jews from the Kaunas ghetto deemed "unfit for labor" were shot at Fort IX.[11]

In 1944, the Germans took about 50 Jewish Police from the Kaunas ghetto to the Giraitė Forest near Jonava and forced them to exhume and burn the corpses from the mass grave there. Afterwards these men, too, were shot.[12] Only a few Jews from Jonava in the Kaunas ghetto managed to survive until the end of the war.

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jewish community of Jonava during the Holocaust include the following: Shimon Noi, ed., *Sefer Yanovah*: *Le-hantsa hat zikhram shel Yehude ha-ayarah she-ne.herevah ba-Shoah* (Tel Aviv: Jonava Society, 1979); Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in D. Gaunt, P.A. Levine, and L. Palosuo, eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus*, *Estonia*, *Latvia*, *Lithuania* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 283–312, here pp. 294–299; and Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 282–285.

Relevant documentation, including the testimonies of survivors and eyewitnesses, can be found in the following archives: LCVA (e.g., R 1534-186, p. 11); LYA (e.g., K 1-58-47536/3); MA (D4/711); RGVA (500-1-25); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1345 and 1358; O-22/49; and M-9/15(6)).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. For a description of the flight from Jonava, see Jesaiah Ivensky (Sidney Iwens), "My Years of Agony," in Noi, *Sefer Yanovah*, pp. 15–17. See also by the same author, Sidney Iwens, *How Dark the Heavens* (New York: Shengold, 1990).
2. Efraim Zilberman, "Aufn groysn masnkhever," in Noi, *Sefer Yanovah*, p. 373. This article is reproduced from "Joneve," in *Fun letstn khurbn*, no. 10 (December 1947): 64–69.
3. Reizl David (Rashkes), "Der anfang fun khurbn," in Noi, *Sefer Yanovah*, p. 383.
4. Zilberman, "Aufn groysn masnkhever," p. 373.
5. Ibid., pp. 373–374.
6. Ibid., p. 374—this source dates the first Aktion in early August. Also see RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

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7. LYA, K 1-58-47536/3, vol. 2, pp. 183ff., testimony of Nachumas Bliumbergas, October 30, 1945, the only survivor from the group of fugitives, as cited by Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province," p. 296.

8. Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province," p. 297.

9. Zilberman, "Aufn groysn masnkhever," p. 374—this source dates the second Aktion on August 13, 1941. Also see RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

10. Zilberman, "Aufn groysn masnkhever," p. 374.

11. Ibid., p. 375; Ivensky, "My Years of Agony," p. 17; and YVA, M-1/E/1345.

12. Zilberman, "Aufn groysn masnkhever," p. 375.

JONIŠKĖLIS

Pre-1940: Joniškėlis (Yiddish: Yanishkel), town, Biržai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Joniškėlis/Ionishkelis, Birzhai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Johanischkehl, Kreis Birsen, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Joniškėlis, Pasvalys rajonas, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Joniškėlis is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) north-northwest of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, there were 162 Jews (28 percent of the population) living in the small town. By 1940, the 210 Jews of Joniškėlis represented 21 percent of the population.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 27, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which began introducing anti-Jewish measures. All the Jews' valuables were confiscated; they were assigned to various types of forced labor, during which the local antisemites subjected them to humiliation, mockery, and beatings; and they were forbidden to appear in public places and maintain relationships of any kind with other Lithuanians. Lithuanian activists also killed a number of Jews. Dr. Lichtenstein, the head of the Jewish community, tried to intervene, but his best efforts could do little to stop the beatings and killings.

In July 1941, all the town's Jews were moved into a ghetto, for which 10 houses were set aside.[2] The ghetto was liquidated on August 19, 1941, when all the Jews—some 200 people—were resettled into the Pasvalys ghetto, located in the synagogue there.[3] They were shot on August 26, 1941, in the nearby Žadeikiai Forest, along with the other Jews gathered in the Pasvalys ghetto.

Only three Jews of Joniškėlis are known to have survived the occupation, having received shelter from local Lithuanian peasants.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Joniškėlis during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Joniškėlis," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 321–323; 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), p. 577; and "Ionishkelis," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Rossiikaia Akademia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi-fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), p. 511.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Joniškėlis can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-441); LCVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 321.

2. "Joniškėlis," in Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*.

3. Report of the Biržai District Commission, May 26, 1945, published in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 116.

JONIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Joniškis (Yiddish: Yanishok), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Joniškis/Ionishkis, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Joniskis/Janischken, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Joniškis, rajonas center, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Joniškis is located 39 kilometers (24 miles) north-northeast of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 978 Jews living in Joniškis. By June 1941, as a result of out-migration in the 1930s, the Jewish population had declined to around 700 people.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941. Soon afterwards, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration, headed by Mayor Antanas Gedivilas, and a police unit, headed by Juozas Sutkus. The police unit recruited 104 men, of which 54 were armed.[1] The local administration and police started their activities by arresting Jews and alleged Soviet sympathizers.

On July 11, 1941, the local Lithuanian Committee for Jewish Affairs, with Juozas Tininis as its head, announced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Among them was an order requiring that Joniškis Jews return from the villages. Other regulations included the compulsory wearing of the Star of David, a ban on Jews using the sidewalks, and a prohibition on Jews employing Aryans. Jews also were required to perform forced labor in agriculture and public works. On July 18, the Committee for Jewish Affairs demanded a "contribution" of 20,000 rubles from the Jews, which was to be paid to the local Lithuanian Activists' Front by the next day.[2] The contribution was actually paid on July 24.

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In mid-July 1941, the Committee for Jewish Affairs examined the question of transferring the Jews to a separate quarter (a ghetto). It proposed putting some of the Jews in the synagogues and also housing the others on Dariaus, Girėno, and Pašvitinio Streets or transferring Jews to Žagarė. The same meeting prepared measures for the transfer of Jewish-owned farms to Lithuanians.[3] A few days later, some Jews were forced to live in the synagogues, and the remainder were relocated to a group of houses adjoining the market square. This ghetto area was guarded by the local police.

The German Security Police in Šiauliai put pressure on the head of the police in Joniškis, Sutkus, to complete the murder of the Jews. At some time in August 1941, two Gestapo officials from Šiauliai, accompanied by other Germans, arrived in Joniškis to organize the murder of the local Jewish men. Sutkus then ordered the local policemen to arrest around 150 Jewish men from the synagogue. These men were put on trucks and taken to a site 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside Joniškis in the Vilkiaušis Forest, where a large ditch had been prepared. The men were ordered to undress and had to surrender their valuables. The Jews were then shot by the Lithuanian policemen (wearing white armbands) under German supervision.[4] After the Aktion, the clothes of the murdered Jews were brought back to Joniškis, and the participants in the Aktion gathered at the local beer garden to celebrate with alcohol. Sutkus thanked his men for their "good work and sacrifices for the benefit of the Homeland."[5]

On August 24–29, 1941, another 150 Jews were transferred from Joniškis to Žagarė, where they were murdered with the Jews of the Žagarė ghetto on October 2, 1941.[6] The remaining 355 Jews in Joniškis, consisting mainly of the elderly, women, and children, were killed at the end of August or in September 1941 by a Lithuanian Self-Defense squad that arrived from outside the town.[7]

A number of Lithuanian collaborators, who were active in Joniškis, were tried by the Soviet authorities after the war. Among them were Antanas Gedivilas and Juozas Sutkus, who were tried in 1947.

SOURCES The main published source used for preparing this entry is "Joniškis," by Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 242–243. Additional information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Joniškis can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 231, 240, 252, 403; "Joniškis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 339–340; and Michael MacQueen, "Lithuanian Collaboration in the 'Final Solution': Motivations and Case Studies," in *Lithuania and the Jews: The Holocaust Chapter; Symposium Presentations* (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies [2004]; first printing in July 2005), p. 8.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF; LVOA (3377-55-150); and LYA (46599/3; 1356/3; K 1-46-1257).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. LYA, 46599/3, vol. 5, pp. 342–344.
2. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 240.
3. Minutes of the Joniškis Committee for Jewish Affairs, not later than July 18, 1941, LYA, 46599/3, vol. 5, p. 18.
4. Ibid., 46599/3, vol. 1, pp. 307–313; K 1-46-1257, pp. 2–3; Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 403.
5. LYA, 46599/3, vol. 3, pp. 63–64, testimony of J. Diržinskas, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews," p. 243. See also MacQueen, "Lithuanian Collaboration," p. 8.
6. Mayor of the town of Joniškis to the mayor of the town of Žagarė, September 1, 1941, in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 252.
7. Ibid. Details of these murders can be found in the investigation of Zubrevičius, Brinklis, and others (LYA, 1356/3); verdict in the cases of Kakliauskas, Sutkus, and Ožalas, August 3, 1961 (LYA, 46599/3); statement of the former policeman Jonas Ožalas, January 25, 1961 (LVOA, 3377-55-150).

JURBARKAS

Pre-1940: Jurbarkas (Yiddish: Yurburg), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Jurbarkas/Iurbarkus, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Georgenburg, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Jurbarkas, rajonas center, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Jurbarkas is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) west-northwest of Kaunas and 120 kilometers (75 miles) west of Wilno. A census conducted in 1940 recorded a population of 4,439, of whom 1,319 (29.7 percent) were Jews, although other sources put the number of Jews at about 2,000 or more.[1]

Following the annexation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union in 1940, all large companies and banks were taken over by the state, and Jewish cultural and political organizations were banned. In mid-June 1941, the Soviets deported at least 60 people from Jurbarkas, including several Jewish families (almost half of those deported).[2]

In 1941, the town was only 10 kilometers (6 miles) from the border with Germany. On the morning of the German invasion of Lithuania, June 22, the German army marched into the town. A local government was established immediately. The German military commandant (Ortskommandant), Hauptmann Baar, announced that the mayor had to obey his orders and that acts of sabotage and plundering would be punishable

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by death. Officials who had served in the interwar Lithuanian Republic returned to their previous posts. Jurgis Gepneris again became mayor, and Mykolas Levickas became chief of police, serving until the middle of July, when he resigned to direct the local branch of the Lithuanian Nationalist Party. Levickas organized a regular police force, but an auxiliary police company (Lithuanian partisans) was also established for self-defense purposes.[3]

Jurbarkas lay within the border region of Lithuania assigned to the Tilsit Gestapo. Among those agents of the German SD who operated in Jurbarkas were Grigalavicius, Voldemaras Kriauza, Richardas Sperbergas, Oskaras Sefleris, and Karstenis.[4] The Germans organized the massacres of the Jews, but the direct responsibility of the local Lithuanian perpetrators is not in doubt. German SS men began killing individual Jews during the first days of the occupation.

The first massacre of Jews occurred on July 3, when a group of about 40 men from the Security Police in Tilsit arrived in town and, together with local Lithuanian policemen, began to round up Jewish men from their houses and workplaces on the basis of lists prepared beforehand. A column of more than 300 people was assembled, including about 70 Lithuanians believed to have supported the Soviets. They were escorted to the Jewish cemetery, shot, and buried.[5]

After the July 3 Aktion, Kriminalsekretär Carsten of the Gestapo in Tilsit put the policeman Urbonas in charge of guarding the surviving Jews: the families of the men who had been shot and about 50 male Jews who had been kept alive as workers and their families. From the second day of the occupation, Jews had been compelled to perform various work tasks. For example, Jewish women had to sew and repair German uniforms.[6]

According to eyewitnesses, the second series of mass killings took place at the end of July and the beginning of August. First, 45 men over the age of 50 were shot along with other Jews from neighboring places. At this time the Jews in Jurbarkas were also ordered to tear down the historic wooden synagogue, and Jewish books and pictures were burned, as well as a bust of Stalin. The Jews also were ordered to dance and sing while Germans photographed the spectacle.[7] Then, on August 1, 105 older women and children were marched in the direction of Smalininkai, where they were shot and buried in pits.[8]

In mid-August 1941, the Gebietskommissar in Šiauliai ordered the establishment of Jewish ghettos in the larger towns of the district, but in Jurbarkas such "ghettos" existed well before this order was given.[9] In Jurbarkas, the term *ghetto* was used to mean a few buildings where Jews were held under guard. According to postwar testimony by Levickas (chief of the police), "after the first shootings in June, mass arrests were carried out by a group of the police and the auxiliary police. The arrested Jewish men were transferred into the ghetto. . . . I think that there were two ghettos, both in Dariaus and Gireno Streets, being guarded by police and auxiliary police."[10]

Further testimony from a member of the Jurbarkas police states:

> The Jews with their children and the elderly were placed in the ghetto, which was a building surrounded by barbed wire. . . . There the Jews lived under prison conditions. The diet was poor, consisting of cabbage soup and a little bread. They were driven to work under guard and had to clean rubbish from the houses and the streets and do other disgusting and difficult work, with food being scarce.[11]

On August 21, there were still 684 Jews in the Jurbarkas ghetto, of whom 64 were engaged in forced labor.[12] From September 4 to 6, those Jews deemed unfit for work, about 400 women and children, were driven into the yard of the "Talmud-Torah," which served as the women's ghetto. They were then escorted to pits near Kalnėnai and murdered in cruel circumstances by Lithuanian police under German direction. On September 12, only 272 Jews were still alive in Jurbarkas, including 73 who were working.[13] These Jews were murdered shortly afterwards by a small killing squad from Kaunas, again assisted by the local police.[14]

In a letter dated October 6, the mayor informed the Lithuanian Office of Statistics in Kaunas that "on October 1 of this year there were no more Jews within the borders of the town of Jurbarkas, and such is the situation today."[15] Local Lithuanians profited from the murder of their neighbors. In Jurbarkas, 208 houses had lost their owners and inhabitants.[16] The names of 76 survivors from Jurbarkas have been documented.

SOURCES The main sources for this entry include an essay on the Holocaust in Jurbarkas by Christoph Dieckmann, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011); and also the useful B.A. thesis submitted at the University of Vilnius in 1997 by Ruta Puisyte titled "Holocaust in Jurbarkas: The Mass Extermination of Jews of Jurbarkas in the Provinces of Lithuania during the German Nazi Occupation," available in English at jewishgen.org, which is also linked to the English translation of the Yurburg yizkor book, edited by Zevulun Poran, *Sefer HaZikaron LeKehilath Yurburg-Lita* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Former Residents of Yurburg, 1991).

Other publications specifically on Jurbarkas include the following: Chayim Jofe, *Jewish Life and Death: Jurbarkas* (Vilnius, 1996); "The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Yurburg," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 295–297; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 285–289; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 324–329; and an article on the murder of the Jews of Jurbarkas by Antanas Salynas, "Nuzudytu veles budi," *Kauno Diena*, August 7–8, September 23, 1996.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Jurbarkas can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L; LCVA (R 1753-1-3, R 1753-3-4, 12, 13); LG-Ulm; LYA (B.85/3, B.14142/3, B.16816); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. On December 26, 1940, 1,319 Jews were counted in the town; see LCVA, R 1753-3-13, p. 28. Also see Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 324–329.

2. See LCVA, R 1753-1-3, p. 212, and 1753-3-13, p. 22; Puisyte, "Holocaust in Jurbarkas," pp. 23–24.

3. Bekanntmachung des Ortskommandanten, June 24, 1941, LCVA, R 1753-3-12. After the war Levickas was tried and convicted by a Soviet military tribunal; see LYA, B.14142/3.

4. Transcript of the interrogation of Gepneris, August 22, 1945, LYA, B.85/3, p. 16.

5. BA-BL, R 58/214, p. 123, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR no. 19, July 11, 1941, records that 322 people, including 5 women, were shot; interrogation of Hans-Joachim Böhme, December 18, 1956, LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57 (Fischer-Schweder case), vol. 7, p. 1564.

6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 203–204 (LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict of August 29, 1958); Poran, *Sefer HaZikaron*, pp. 117–122, 404–405.

7. Puisyte, "Holocaust in Jurbarkas."

8. Poran, *Sefer HaZikaron*, p. 406.

9. LCVA, R 1753-3-4, pp. 36–37, order of the Gebietskommissar in Šiauliai, August 14, 1941, which reached Jurbarkas only on August 27, 1941.

10. Transcript of the interrogation of Mykolas Levickas, November 24, 1948, LYA, B.14142/3, pp. 47–48.

11. Transcript of the confrontation of P. Kairaitis with the witness J. Keturauskas, June 21, 1948, ibid., B.16816, pp. 69–70.

12. Reply of Gepneris on August 21, 1941, to the letter from the head of the district in Raseiniai, August 16, 1941, LCVA, R 1753-3-13, p. 22.

13. Poran, *Sefer HaZikaron*, pp. 392, 406–407. In the report of Einsatzkommando 3 on shootings carried out up to December 1, 1941, 412 victims were recorded for Jurbarkas; see BA-BL, R 70 Sowjetunion 15, p. 90. See also LCVA, R 1753-3-13, p. 58, letter of Gepneris to Kreischef in Raseiniai, September 12, 1941, which indicates that not all Jews had been shot by this date.

14. Puisyte, "Holocaust in Jurbarkas," appendix 3, lists the names of 31 local collaborators who participated in the murder of the Jews of Jurbarkas.

15. LCVA, R 1753-3-13, p. 148.

16. Ibid., R 1753-1-3, p. 3.

KAIŠIADORYS

Pre-1940: Kaišiadorys (Yiddish: Koshedar), town, Trakai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kaišiadorys/Kaishadoris, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Koschedaren, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kaišiadorys, Kaunas rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kaišiadorys is located about 39 kilometers (24 miles) northwest of Troki (Trakai). According to the 1923 census, 596 Jews were residing in Kaišiadorys (31 percent of the total). The Jewish population fluctuated during the 1920s and 1930s due to emigration. By mid-1941, the number of Jews in the town had declined somewhat. Under Soviet occupation in 1940–1941, a number of Jewish businesses were nationalized and Jewish organizations dissolved.

German armed forces entered the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately following the Germans' arrival, Lithuanian nationalists organized a local administration under the leadership of Povilas Gabe and an auxiliary police unit under Antanas Paškauskas. The new local authorities soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. The Jews of Kaišiadorys were ordered to wear a Star of David on their outer clothing, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat), consisting of six members under the leadership of Aronas Jofanas, was established. The Jewish population was forced to perform a variety of labor tasks. While doing these unpleasant and arduous tasks, the Jews faced derision, humiliation, and beatings at the hands of local antisemites. In addition, Jews were forbidden to appear in public places or have any kind of direct contact with non-Jews.

During the first days of the German occupation, Lithuanian partisans murdered four local Jews. Shortly afterwards, local police auxiliaries maintained that they had "found" some machine guns and ammunition in the Bet Midrash and arrested the rabbi and the *shochet* (ritual slaughterer). The local police then chased the two men through the streets of the town, beating them until elderly Rabbi David-Aharon Yaffe died.[1]

On August 10, 1941, all the Jews of Kaišiadorys were resettled into an improvised ghetto, which consisted of a large grain storage building near the railway station that had been built under Soviet rule. A total of 105 Jewish families (375 people) were forced to live in the ghetto. Jews were taken out of the ghetto every day for forced labor, working in the town, digging peat, or performing agricultural work for local farmers. Lithuanian auxiliaries, assigned to guard the ghetto, beat and robbed the Jewish inmates.

On August 17, 1941, additional Jews from Žasliai (263 men and 85 women) and from Žiežmariai (193 men and 89 women) were transferred to the Kaišiadorys ghetto. These individuals were primarily male Jews older than 14 and Jewish women, who were accused of having worked for the Soviet authorities in 1940–1941.[2] The overcrowding in the ghetto and the lack of food and medication led to the outbreak of disease among the ghetto inmates. Noting the deteriorating situation in the ghetto, the head of the Kaunas police department, Reivitis, asked SS-Obersturmführer Joachim Hamann to remove the Jews to prevent the spread of disease to the local non-Jewish community.[3]

On August 26, 1941, the German authorities liquidated the Kaišiadorys ghetto, killing a total of 1,911 Jews in a major Aktion.[4] The shootings were conducted by members of Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by members of the Lithuanian auxiliary police. The killing took place in the Strošiūnai Forest about 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside the town. The German authorities subsequently shot one Lithuanian for giving shelter to a Jewish family who had evaded the mass killing.

Between 1943 and 1944, a labor camp existed in Kaišiadorys (Koschedaren), which was also a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp.

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SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Kaišiadorys during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Kaisiadorys," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Kaisiadorys," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 571–573; and Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, "Kaišiadorys," *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje/Voruta (Trakai)*, no. 9 (2003): 531.

Documents on the persecution and destruction of the Jews in Kaišiadorys can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-431); LVA; RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA (M-1/E/247).

Alexander Kruglov and Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/247; Latvytė-Gustaitienė, "Kaišiadorys."
2. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, "Kaišiadorys."
3. See the letter of the head of the police in Kaunas, Reivitis, August 23, 1941, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 216.
4. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106, report of Einsatzkommando 3, September 10, 1941. It is likely that this number also includes the many Jewish women and children who had remained initially in Žasliai and Žiežmariai.

KALTINĖNAI

Pre-1940: Kaltinėnai (Yiddish: Koltenian), village, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kaltinėnai/Kaltinenai, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kaltinenai, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kaltinėnai, Šilalė rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kaltinėnai is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) south-southeast of Telšiai. The census of 1923 reported 130 Jews residing in Kaltinėnai, constituting about 20 percent of the total population. In 1940, about 15 or 20 Jewish families remained in the village.

German forces occupied Kaltinėnai shortly after they invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941. At the end of June, Lithuanian partisans and SS men from Heydekrug (Šilutė) arrived in Kaltinėnai and arrested all the Jewish men over the age of 15. These men were transported by truck to a labor camp in Heydekrug. At the camp, the Jews, together with other Jewish men from the region, were forced to work from sunrise until late in the evening. A number of these Jewish prisoners were shot after only four or five weeks, and the others remained as forced laborers for more than three years. Their rations consisted of 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread and half a liter (half a quart) of watery soup per day. In the winter, they were forced to load trains. Some of these Jews ultimately ended up in the concentration camp system, passing through Auschwitz II-Birkenau in 1943. From there a group was sent to clean up the area of the Warsaw ghetto.

On September 4, 1941, the remaining Jews in Kaltinėnai, mostly women and children, were isolated in an improvised ghetto located in an alley with the worst housing conditions.[1] The women and children were engaged primarily in agricultural work. On September 16, 1941, they were all taken to the Tūbinės Forest and murdered there along with Jews from the surrounding villages.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kaltinėnai can be found in the following publications: "Kaltinėnai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 596–597; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.2.

Martin Dean

NOTE

1. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

KAMAJAI

Pre-1940: Kamajai (Yiddish: Kamei), village, Rokiškis apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kamajai/Kamaiai, Rokishkis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kamajai, Kreis Rokischken, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Rokiškis rajonas, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kamajai is located about 70 kilometers (43 miles) east-northeast of Panevėžys. In 1923, there were 336 Jews living in Kamajai, comprising 53 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Kamajai on June 26, 1941. A number of Jews attempted to escape to the Soviet Union, but many became trapped in Rokiškis and shared the fate of the Jews there. In the interim period, before the arrival of the Germans, Lithuanian nationalists took revenge on Jews for the repression of Lithuanians under Soviet rule; several Jews were murdered, and others were beaten or had their property ransacked. The savagery against the Jews continued under German occupation. Jews were evicted from their homes and imprisoned in the large synagogue without regular provision of food or water.

A few weeks later all the Jewish men were sent to Rokiškis, where they were held briefly under even worse conditions. The women and children were sent to the nearby village of Obeliai. All the remaining Kamajai Jews were murdered between August 15 and August 27, 1941, together with other Jews from nearby towns and villages. The men were shot first in the Velniaduobė Woods, 5 kilometers (3 miles) north of Rokiškis. The women and children were shot later near the village of Antanašė, 5 kilometers (3 miles) south of Obeliai. The shootings were conducted by units of Rollkommando Hamann, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian partisans.[1]

After the liberation, only a few Jews returned to Kamajai. Most of those who survived had managed to escape to the Soviet Union in time.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kamajai can be found in the following publications:

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Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 604; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 198–199; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 280.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LYA and RGVA (500-1-25).

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NOTE

1. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 111–112; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 503; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 288–289.

KAUNAS

Pre-1940: Kaunas (Yiddish: Kovne), city, apskritis center and provisional capital, Lithuania; 1940–1941: uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kauen, city and Kreis center, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kaunas, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Kaunas is located 100 kilometers (62.5 miles) west-northwest of Wilno. Prior to the war, roughly 40,000 Jews lived in Kaunas—about one quarter of the city's population. The Soviet occupation of Lithuania in the summer of 1940 aggravated antisemitic sentiments in the country. Soviet repressive and economic measures affected the Jews just as much as, if not more than, non-Jewish Lithuanians.

Two days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, on the evening of June 24, 1941, the 2nd Corps, part of the 16th Army in Army Group North (General von Leeb) occupied Kaunas. Security Police and SD units charged with "special tasks" followed on the heels of the Wehrmacht; when the leader of Einsatzgruppe A, SS-Brigadegeneral Dr. Walter Stahlecker, reached the city about one day later, anti-Jewish violence was already in full swing. As elsewhere in Lithuania, nationalists took advantage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops to instigate pogroms against Jewish men. In Kaunas, one of the best-documented pogroms took place at the Lietukis garage, where Jews were beaten to death in front of German and Lithuanian spectators.

Jews are gathered at an assembly point in the Kaunas ghetto during a deportation Aktion, probably to Estonia, October 26, 1943.
USHMM WS #10687, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

Stahlecker's unit swiftly channeled uncoordinated violence into organized terror and transformed bands of Lithuanian collaborators into regular auxiliary police units that helped kill Jews in old forts (Forts IV, VII, and IX) outside the city. SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, leader of Einsatzkommando 3—a subunit of Einsatzgruppe A—based in Kaunas, reported that 4,000 Jews had been killed in pogroms prior to his arrival in early July. With the consolidation of German rule, the death toll in Lithuania rose to more than 136,000 Jewish men, women, and children by December 1941. More than any other killing site in or around Kaunas, Fort IX became synonymous with German genocidal policies; the Germans murdered an estimated 50,000 people there, including Jews deported from other countries, during the war. By late 1941, except for the surviving Jews in the few remaining ghettos, the "Jewish question" in the region was already regarded as solved.[1]

Following the model that the Germans first adopted in occupied Poland in late 1939, the Nazi authorities in the major cities of Kaunas and Wilno, as well as in a number of other localities, registered, marked, and resettled the Jews into ghettos to work for the German war effort.[2] To organize the relocation of the 35,000 Jews in Kaunas to the designated area known as Slobodka in Yiddish, or Vilijampolė in Lithuanian, a part of town north of the Neris River that some 8,000 people (both Jews and Christians) had previously occupied, a Jewish committee was formed in early July 1941, headed by the well-known physician Elchanan Elkes (born 1879). This committee provided the nucleus for the Jewish Council of Elders (Ältestenrat) that was officially established on August 8, 1941. Despite protests by the committee about the lack of all vital preconditions (such as plumbing, sewers, and adequate housing) for the mass resettlement into Slobodka, the Lithuanian auxiliary city administration ordered on July 10, 1941, that the relocation had to be completed by August 15, the day on which the ghetto would be sealed off.[3]

The newly appointed German civil administration under Hans Cramer (former mayor of Dachau) as Stadtkommissar officially confirmed the Lithuanian mayor's resettlement order on July 31, 1941, and assumed authority over the emerging ghetto, while security matters remained in the hands of Jäger's police forces. A succession of German units and their Lithuanian helpers not only controlled the outer fence and the gates of the ghetto but, in January 1942, also set up a guard post within the ghetto. (The ghetto was guarded first by the 3rd Company of Reserve Police Battalion 11, followed by the 4th Company of an NSKK [Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps, a motorized unit of the Nazi Party] detachment and from late August 1942 by Schutzpolizei from Vienna together with Lithuanian auxiliary policemen.)[4] For less than

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Group portrait of staff from the Bikur Holim Jewish hospital in Kaunas, 1933. Seated at center is Dr. Elchanan Elkes, later chairman of the Kaunas Jewish Council of Elders.
USHMM WS #10191, COURTESY OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE LITHUANIAN JEWS IN ISRAEL

two months after its enclosure, the ghetto consisted of two separate areas: the "large ghetto" alongside the Neris River and the "small ghetto" to the west, connected by a wooden footbridge. Until its transformation into a concentration camp in the fall of 1943, the ghetto was reduced in size several times; simultaneously, the living space officially allocated to each ghetto inmate shrank dramatically.[5]

Elkes and his Ältestenrat met for the first time on August 17, 1941, before the Germans initiated a series of mass executions that claimed the lives of almost half the Jewish population in Kaunas. In an atmosphere dominated by confusion, fear, and desperation, the disparate gathering of men that formed the Jewish Council established a range of institutions designed to reconcile the irreconcilable: to alleviate the plight of the ghetto inmates, on the one hand, and to fulfill German demands, on the other. In 1942, the council supervised through its secretariat (headed by Avraham Golub [later Tory]) the work of the ghetto police and offices for health, labor, economics, food supply, housing, and welfare; there was also a fire brigade, a paint and sign workshop, a pharmacy, a hospital, a statistics office, and at times, a court, as well as education and residents' records offices.[6] (After August 1942, the Ältestenrat consisted of Elkes as chairman, his deputy Leib Garfunkel, Jacob Goldberg, and Avraham Golub as secretary.)[7]

Invariably, the administration of shortages and hardship affected some groups—the old, the young, the poor, and those without connections to the ghetto leadership—more than others. The Ältestenrat and its agencies, most notably the ghetto Jewish Police, could not avoid becoming key instruments for the implementation of German policies. In the eyes of most ghetto inmates, however, Elkes's personal integrity remained untarnished at the time as well as after the war, in contrast to the experience of certain other major ghettos in Eastern Europe. Avoiding the abuse of its powers, the Ältestenrat tried to uphold minimal legal standards and to appeal to the sense of duty of those administering its decisions. Perhaps the most symbolic measure taken by the Ältestenrat with a view towards fostering a sense of collective identity was the swearing in of the police on November 1, 1942; roughly one week after the Jewish Police had rounded up those Jews who were to be deported to Riga.[8]

Another aspect specific to the Kaunas Ältestenrat was its support for the underground inside and outside the ghetto. Resistance groups had emerged in the ghetto shortly after its closure and by early 1942 had consolidated along Zionist and leftist lines. Under the circumstances, contacts had to be highly clandestine to prevent the Ältestenrat from being implicated in resistance activities by the Germans; yet Elkes as well as his deputy Garfunkel became members of the Zionist umbrella organization "Matzok," and even the Jewish Police supported underground activities. The Ältestenrat also tried to document the ghetto history by secretly compiling evidence of German atrocities. Organized resistance efforts focused less on preparing a mass uprising in the ghetto than on preparing the way into hiding for as many Jews as possible. In the summer of 1943, the underground established close ties with resistance groups outside the ghetto, especially in the forests, that helped hundreds of Jews to escape from the ghetto.[9]

As in other ghettos, in Kaunas work was perceived as the key prerequisite for collective survival: all men aged 16 to 57 and women 17 to 46 performed forced labor. Jews worked in ghetto workshops (established in December 1941) or, more frequently, outside in construction brigades. Several thousand Jews left the ghetto every day for the city and its surroundings, one of the most notorious assignments being the Aleksotas airfield construction site, with almost 3,500 laborers in the spring of 1942. Elkes and his men tried to rotate assignments to this brigade by alternating with people from other less-exhausting details; at the same time, the daily quota of workers set by the Germans had to be met.[10]

Against all odds, ghetto inmates tried to eke out a living and to uphold hope for survival. The Jewish Council added to the official starvation rations by cultivating gardens or smuggling in food; often transgressing the limits of its functions as defined by the Germans, it created facilities to educate children and to prevent the already appalling health conditions from further deteriorating and tried to preserve a minimum of cultural life, for example, through concerts by the police orchestra and observing religious holidays as well as through exhibitions of art created in the ghetto.[11] For a few weeks in the summer of 1942, there was even room for a unique pastime when the Jews were permitted to bathe in the Neris River.[12]

It is estimated that of the roughly 40,000 Jewish inhabitants of Kaunas, only 2,000 survived the war. Most of the victims were killed in mass executions in the first six months of the German occupation; ghettoization itself went hand in hand with the extermination of those regarded as either dangerous or useless. Three days after the ghetto was enclosed, 711 Jews were shot as members of the "intelligentsia"; on September 26, 1941, Jäger's men murdered 1,608 more ghetto inmates, among them 615 women and 581 children, in an Aktion legitimized as a reprisal for an alleged attack on a German police officer.[13]

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A musical performance in the Kaunas ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #10920, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

On October 4, 1941, 1,845 Jews, including 818 children, were killed during the liquidation of the "small ghetto."

At the end of October, the ghetto went through what survivors remember as the "large Aktion": on October 28, German police selected from among the ghetto population assembled in Demokratu Square roughly 10,000 victims as "unfit for labor," almost half of them children. An estimated 30 people died from exhaustion on the assembly square; those who had tried to hide were killed in their houses, the 10,000 "unfit" were escorted to Fort IX, where they were shot into mass graves one day later. According to Jäger, some 15,000 "work Jews" (*Arbeitsjuden*) and their families were left alive for the time being.[14] Not only in scale but also in the manner of their conduct, these mass murders set a precedent; they incorporated elements that later became standard features of the "Final Solution" all across Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe. The expansion of the killings to include women and children on a massive scale and the "selection" of the "unfit," as performed during the "large Aktion" in the Kaunas ghetto, resembled the procedure adopted much later at the "Rampe" in the Auschwitz II-Birkenau killing center.

In Kaunas, a so-called quiet period followed the organized carnage of the second half of 1941: a time span of almost two years in which the brutal and often deadly "normalcy" of ghetto life replaced the mass killings of ghetto inmates. In this phase, everyday persecution took the form of countless German orders, for example, stipulating that Jews caught trying to smuggle food would be shot, or of assaults on the ghetto inmates.[15] At the same time, Kaunas remained the site of mass killings: in November 1941, almost 5,000 deported German Jews bypassed the ghetto and went straight to the killing fields at Fort IX; other transports from the west followed.[16] Bitter cold, starvation, disease, and desperation continuously drained the life of the ghetto inmates; for the period between June 1942 and July 1943, the Ältestenrat reported an average monthly death rate of roughly 20 people.[17]

The separation of tasks that the Germans enforced after the establishment of the Kaunas ghetto—with Jäger's office in charge of security matters, the Stadtkommissariat regulating the ghetto administration, and the Ältestenrat as executor of German demands—remained in place until the summer of 1942, when the civil administration and the Security Police curtailed the functions of Elkes's council. The civil administration took over the management of the large ghetto workshops in mid-June 1942; less than two months later, an identification card was introduced for all ghetto inhabitants. In early July 1942, the Security Police gave additional powers to its collaborators Joseph Serebrovitz (aka Caspi) and Benno Lipzer vis-à-vis the Ältestenrat and supported "clandestine agents" in the ghetto.[18]

In a seemingly "stable" situation, characterized, in the words of Avraham Tory, by "'normal' arrests, various persecutions, and excesses," the determination of the Germans to finish what they had started became visible in a number of incidents: the deportation of several hundred ghetto Jews to work in Riga in late October 1942; the public hanging of Nahum Meck in November 1942 for smuggling, accompanied by the arrest of three members of the Ältestenrat; and the execution of several dozen Jews in the "Stalingrad Aktion" of February 1943.[19] As planned by Jäger and Stahlecker as early as the summer of 1941, pregnancies and births in the ghetto were officially prohibited in July 1942; whoever violated this order was threatened with the death penalty.[20]

In the spring of 1943, following mass executions in other ghettos in Lithuania, organized efforts to escape from the Kaunas ghetto to the forests intensified, with the help of the Ältestenrat.[21] Simultaneously, German persecution increased as a result of Himmler's order of mid-June 1943 to transform all ghettos in Reichskommissariat Ostland into concentration camps. In Kaunas, the transition from ghetto to concentration camp was extended over several months. The formal transfer of authority to the SS under concentration camp commander Wilhelm Göcke took place on September 15, 1943. For information about this transition and the period of the concentration camp, readers are referred to the entry in Volume I of this series (**Kauen Main Camp,** pp. 848–852).

While survivors of the Kaunas ghetto played a major role after 1945 in collecting testimonies on German crimes in Lithuania,[22] it took decades until the history of the ghetto received appropriate attention in public memory. Until the early 1990s, the official Soviet commemoration of Nazi crimes and the sentencing of Nazi collaborators dominated perceptions in Lithuania. Lithuanians felt more reluctant to deal with the issue, but since the country became independent in 1991, discussion of Lithuania's role in the Holocaust has been more critical.[23]

The efforts to bring the perpetrators to justice remained haphazard, as many successfully escaped their responsibility. Karl Jäger committed suicide in June 1959 when German prosecutors started investigating the wartime activities of his unit in Kaunas. Against Helmut Rauca, a former member of Jäger's Security Police office who supervised the "selection" of ghetto inmates during the "large Aktion," investigations were initiated in his new homeland, Canada, as well as in Ger-

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many, where he died in custody in 1983. The U.S. Department of Justice has conducted several denaturalization proceedings since the 1970s against former members of Lithuanian auxiliary police units. Together with the archival documentation and survivor testimonies available, partly in published form, the material generated in the course of postwar investigations provides unique insights into the history of the Kaunas ghetto.

SOURCES Among the most significant published source editions are the following: Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998); Solly Ganor, *Light One Candle: A Survivor's Tale from Lithuania to Jerusalem* (New York: Kodansha International, 1995); Reinhard Kaiser and Margarete Holzman, eds., *"Dies Kind soll leben." Die Aufzeichnungen der Helene Holzman 1941–1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling, 2000); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, ed., *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970); Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Of the many secondary works related to the Kaunas ghetto, the following are recommended for further reading: Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss, eds., *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin: Metropol, 1999); Christoph Dieckmann, "Das Ghetto und das Vernichtungslager in Kaunas 1941–1944," in Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann, eds., *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998), pp. 439–471; Dov Levin, *Fighting Back: Lithuanian Jewry's Armed Resistance to the Nazis, 1941–1945* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985); Dina Porat, "The Holocaust in Lithuania: Some Unique Aspects," in David Cesarani, ed., *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 159–174; and U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, ed., *Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1998). For a more comprehensive listing of secondary works, see "Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto: An Annotated Bibliography," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12:1 (1998): 119–138.

Documentation on the history of the Kaunas ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 207 AR-Z 14/58); LCVA (collections R 973 and R 1390: documents on the history of the Kaunas ghetto; R 731 and R 972: Security Police and SD in Lithuania [copies also available at USHMM]; LVVA (1026-1-3); LYA; USHMM (Acc.1995.A.989: Esther Lurie collection; "Tory collection of German laws," acquired for the Museum's Kaunas ghetto exhibition; and many oral testimonies); and YVA (B/12-4: Kovne Ghetto).

Jürgen Matthäus

NOTES

1. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 8, June 30, 1941, N-Document NO-4543; "Gesamtaufstellung der im Bereiche des Ek 3 bis jetzt durchgeführten Exekutionen," September 10, 1941; "Gesamtaufstellung der im Bereich des Ek 3 bis zum 1. Dezember 1941 durchgeführten Exekutionen," December 1, 1941; "Exekutionen bis zum 1. Februar 1942 durch das Ek 3," February 9, 1942, RGVA, 500-1-25 (microfilm copy at USHMM, RG-11.001M, reel 183).

2. Tory's *Surviving* offers the most complete account of the history of the Kaunas ghetto.

3. Order no. 15 by the Lithuanian military commander and mayor (Bobelis/Palciauskas), July 10, 1941, published in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Documents Accuse*, pp. 133–134; memorandum by Jewish Committee, July 5, 1941, YVA, B/12-4, folder 109, printed in Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 29–30.

4. See Tory collection of German laws (entry for August 30, 1942), USHMM; Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 67, 97–98, 114, 403–407.

5. For reductions in ghetto size and allocated living space per person, see LCVA, R 1390-3-25, pp. 2ff.; and the documents of the secret ghetto archive printed in USHMM, *Hidden History*, pp. 151–154.

6. See USHMM, *Hidden History*, pp. 77–110; LCVA, R 973-3-4 (entry for August 17, 1941), R 973-2-7, pp. 84, 87.

7. See Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 103–104, 123.

8. See ibid., pp. 148–150; USHMM, *Hidden History*, pp. 34–35.

9. See USHMM, *Hidden History*, pp. 38–39.

10. Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 74, 81–86, 89–90.

11. See LCVA, R 973-2-40 (monthly reports by Ältestenrat).

12. Tory collection of German laws (entry for July 7, 1942), USHMM.

13. See Tory, *Surviving*, p. 38.

14. Fragmentary report by Einsatzkommando 3 regarding Jews, n.d. (early 1942), LVVA, 1026-1-3, pp. 268–273, excerpts published in Benz, Kwiet, and Matthäus, *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland,"* pp. 174–176; investigative report by the prosecutor's office (Oberstaatsanwaltschaft) at Landgericht Frankfurt, November 16, 1965, BA-L, ZStL, 207 AR-Z 14/58, pp. 432–434.

15. For reports on daily violence in the ghetto, see, e.g., LCVA, R 973-2-47, pp. 12–13 (rape, October 11, 1941); R 973-2-32, pp. 102–103 (raid on ghetto by Lithuanians, December 12–13, 1941); R 973-2-46, pp. 118–120 (murder, January 8, 1942).

16. As for many other places of deportation in the east, no complete listing exists of all transports from the west to Kaunas. In January 1942, the Kaunas ghetto Ältestenrat prepared for the arrival of German Jews (see ibid., R 973-2-33, p. 620; R 1390-3-7, p. 6); the deportees never entered the ghetto but were shot at Fort IX.

17. Monthly reports of the Ältestenrat in ibid., R 973-2-40; based on these reports, see the compilation of deaths, births, marriages, and divorces in Benz, Kwiet, and Matthäus, *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland,"* p. 220.

18. See Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 97–105, 120–122, 127–129, 165.

19. Ibid., pp. 148, 153–156, 189–196 (quote: 189).

20. Compilation of German orders, USHMM; YVA, B/12-4; Tory, *Surviving*, p. 114. See also LCVA, R 1390-3-15, p. 7.

21. On the flow of information from Vilnius and other sites of mass execution, see Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 273–292.

22. See Israel Kaplan, ed., *Fun letstn Khurbn: Tsaytshrift far geshikhte fun yidishn lebn beysn natsi-rezhim* (Munich: Central Historical Commission at the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone, 1946–1948).

23. Memorials were created at Fort IX and on the site of the former ghetto; files on Soviet war crimes investigations against Lithuanian collaborators are kept at LYA (see also USHMM, RG-26.004M).

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KĖDAINIAI

Pre-1940: Kėdainiai (Yiddish: Keidan), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kėdainiai/Kedainiai, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kedahnen, Kreis center, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kėdainiai, rajonas center, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kėdainiai is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Kaunas. In 1923, the Jewish population was 2,499. On the eve of the German invasion, there were about 2,500 Jews in Kėdainiai.[1]

German forces captured Kėdainiai on June 24, 1941. In the short time available, some younger Jews tried to flee into the Soviet interior, but most were forced back by the rapid German advance or lost their lives on the roads. At least 2 Jews were murdered in the first days of the occupation, as Lithuanian "hooligans" went on a rampage. Immediately, local Lithuanian nationalists, including many from the educated middle class, formed a town administration. The local mayor was a man named Povilios, and a police force was established under the command of Vincas Mimavičius. At the end of June 1941, 30 Lithuanian partisans arrested about 100 Jews who were accused of being Communists and having collaborated with the Soviets. The partisans marched them through town in their underwear to the Babenai Forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, where they shot them.[2]

The new Lithuanian administration implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with yellow Stars of David, were ordered to perform forced labor, and were not permitted to maintain any relations with non-Jews. Local antisemites beat and plundered the Jews with impunity. Forced labor tasks included sorting out bombs left behind by the Soviets at the airfield, under close supervision by the Lithuanian police. About 10 Jews were killed during this work.[3]

On July 23, 1941, a second Aktion was carried out in Kėdainiai. On that day, Germans from Einsatzkommando 3 and Lithuanian policemen arrested 95 Jews (83 men and 12 women), as well as 15 Russian and 15 Lithuanian Communists.[4] They transported the prisoners on six trucks about 10 kilometers (6 miles) into the Taučiūnai Forest and then shot them. In return for a large sum, a local Lithuanian informed the remaining Jews of the fate of those arrested, but initially their relatives were reluctant to believe that it was true.[5]

At the start of August 1941, on the order of Dočkus, the head of the Kėdainiai district, Mayor Povilios established a ghetto in the town. He instructed the Jewish leaders that the remaining Jews in Kėdainiai had to vacate their homes within 24 hours and move onto Smilgia Street to the synagogue; this area, together with the surrounding lanes up to Gaidiminiu Street, was surrounded with barbed wire.[6] On August 14, 1941, Jews from the village of Žeimiai were resettled into the ghetto.[7] On the same day, 200 Jews were also resettled there from the village of Šėta. Others were brought in from Josvaniai. Overcrowding in the ghetto was severe, and almost all food reserves were used up. The inmates of the ghetto suffered from hunger and outbreaks of typhus. Povilios ordered the Jews in the ghetto to pay a "contribution" of 100 rubles per head, threatening to destroy the community if the sum was not paid. People gave up their last rubles to meet this demand.[8] Some Jewish youths wanted to flee to the forests and hide, but the community leaders urged them not to, lest they should endanger the entire community.

On August 16, 1941, on the orders of the director of the police department in Kaunas, all men over the age of 15 in the ghetto were rounded up. Women who allegedly "in the years of the Russian occupation worked for the Bolsheviks and at the present time continued with the same kind of insolent work" were also seized.[9] In total, 730 men and 183 women were arrested and imprisoned in the barn of the Kėdainiai School of Technology, under close guard. The men were held separately from the women. Among the men were 19 students from the Mir Yeshiva who had arrived in 1939–1940 and had not managed to escape.[10] The prisoners were held under terrible conditions, with almost no food and water for 13 days. The Lithuanian guards deprived them of their last few possessions. Each day they were transported to various forced labor tasks.[11]

On August 27, 1941, district head Dočkus called a meeting to coordinate the destruction of the Jews. About 150 Lithuanians attended, including municipal employees, 20 technology students, 20 railroad workers, and Lithuanian partisans. A German officer addressed the group, saying that it was necessary to help Germany destroy its enemies: the Jews of Kėdainiai. A former bank clerk, Kungys, then spoke, also calling on the assembled Lithuanian patriots to help destroy the Jews, accusing them of having helped the Bolsheviks bring Soviet rule to Lithuania.[12] Those attending the meeting were then assigned to three separate groups: one for escorting the Jews, one for guarding the ghetto, and a third for taking care of the site of the shooting. Volunteer shooters came forward from among the crowd.

The next day, forces of Einsatzkommando 3, Lithuanian policemen, and other local personnel assembled and were issued ammunition. Not everyone from the meeting the previous day chose to show up. First, the sick and the elderly were transported on trucks to the killing site in a ravine 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) northwest of the city, on the road to Dotnuva near the Smilga stream. Here, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) threw the old people into the pit like sacks before they were fired on. The Jewish men were escorted from the Technology School on foot and were made to undress at the pits. During the shooting of the men, there were several individual acts of resistance. One Jew, Zadok Schlapoberskii, a former officer in the Lithuanian army, managed to grab a pistol from a Lithuanian guard and wounded the German commandant as they grappled with each other, falling into the pit. Other Lithuanian guards jumped in and bayoneted Schlapoberskii, but not before he wounded a Lithuanian, Aleksas Cižas, sufficiently to kill him. Two other Jews were shot as they attempted to flee.[13]

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Last to be shot were the women and children; some children were merely tossed into the pit to be buried alive. To cover the screams of the victims, the Lithuanians revved the engines of their vehicles. The shooting lasted until evening, and the murderers had brought with them large quantities of vodka and beer. Present at the site was Mayor Povilios, the high school principal, and a young Catholic priest.[14] Among those who participated directly in the shooting were a restaurant owner, students from the College of Technology, railroad employees, and the manager of the power station. At the end, the Soviet POWs spread lime over the grave, and Police Chief Kurkitis gave his men permission to return home. In total, the few Germans present and their Lithuanian collaborators shot 2,076 people (710 men, 767 women, and 599 children).[15]

Local Lithuanians saw piles of tefillin and even baby's comforters next to the bloody grave site just after the massacre. They observed the ground moving over the following days as gas escaped from the grave. Locals looted the empty ghetto.[16] The more valuable property was taken by the Germans and the police, with less valuable property being sold to the local population at fixed prices. Only three Jews from the Kėdainiai ghetto, Chaim Ronder, Shmuel Smulasky, and Benzel Berger, are known to have survived the massacre by escaping from the ghetto or successfully hiding. They then managed to hide with local farmers before joining the Soviet partisans later in the war.[17]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kėdainiai during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: David Volpe, "Keydan," *Fun letstn khurbn*, no. 10 (December 1948): 48–56—a Hebrew version is in Yosef Krust, ed., *Kaidan: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Kaidan be-Yisrael, be-hishtatfutam shel yotse Kaidan be-Derom-Afrikah uve-Artsot-he-Berit, 1977), pp. 229–233, and an English version in David E. Wolpe, *I and My World: Autobiography* (Johannesburg: Dov-Tov, 1997), pp. v–x; *A Jew in the Forest* (New York, 1955); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 345; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 199–202; "Kedainiai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 581–589; "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," published on the Web at jewishgen.org; and Arūnas Bubnys, "Mazieji Lietuvos Zydu Getai Ir Laikinos Izoliaviavimo Stoyvyklos 1941–1943 Metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 168–169.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kėdainiai during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA (R 683-2-2); LYA (33777-55-156); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-50.473*102 and 103); and YVA (e.g., O-53/21, M-1/E/1415 and 1568).

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NOTES

1. Volpe, "Keydan," p. 49.
2. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 581–589; Volpe, "Keydan," p. 49; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 290.
3. Volpe, "Keydan," p. 50.
4. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 110, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 10, 1941; Volpe, "Keydan," p. 51.
5. Bronstein *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 345.
6. Testimony of Chaim Ronderis, October 7, 1957, in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944)*, vol. 2 pp. 136–137; and Volpe, "Keydan," p. 51.
7. LCVA, R 683-2-2, p. 20, report of the head of the police force in Žeimiai, August 15, 1941.
8. Testimony of Chaim Ronderis, October 7, 1957; Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 345.
9. Citation from the order of V. Reivitis, the director of the police department, August 14, 1941, in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, eds., *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 159.
10. Report of the head of the police force in Kėdainiai, August 17, 1941, in ibid., p. 215; Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 202.
11. Bronstein *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 345; and "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available via jewishgen.org.
12. LYA, 33777-55-156, pp. 112–113, testimony of Edvardas Miceika to the KGB, July 14, 1945, as cited by Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, pp. 290–291.
13. "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns"; and Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 291.
14. Wolpe, *I and My World*, pp. viii–ix.
15. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 112, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
16. USHMM, RG-50.473*102 and 103.
17. "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns."

KELMĖ

Pre-1940: Kelmė (Yiddish: Kelm), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kelmė/Kel'me, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kelme, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kelmė, rajonas center, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kelmė is located 100 kilometers (62.5 miles) northwest of Kaunas. In 1940, there were 2,000 Jews living in Kelmė.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941, and the majority of the Jewish homes burned down during the fighting. A number of Jews fled the town to the east, and those Jews who lost their homes were accommodated in the few remaining Jewish houses, as well as on several Jewish farms near the town.

A few days after the occupation of the town, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration. The mayor was a Lithuanian named Cesnys, and the chief of police was a man

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named Barkauskas (or possibly Kurkauskas).[1] On or just before July 1, all the Jews were required to gather in the marketplace and listen to a virulent antisemitic address by the authorities, which insisted that "all Jews should be imprisoned in camps, since they were responsible for the war." Then on July 1, 1941, the town administration ordered the Jews to wear yellow Stars of David, and the able-bodied men were separated from the women.

The Jewish women, children, and elderly people who were still in the town were resettled to seven Jewish-owned farms scattered in the countryside around the town, which formed a kind of rural ghetto. According to Haya Roz, "[T]he Jews in these farms lived relatively freely and worked on the farms in the area. There were no guards, but they were forbidden to leave the farm. One boy was shot by Lithuanians for going from one farm to another."[2] Another survivor, Jaakov Zak, noted that there were no guards around the farms, but the Lithuanians would come and rob the Jews.[3]

At the same time, the able-bodied men were moved to a camp in the granary of Zunda Lunts, which was closely guarded by the Lithuanians. Under armed Lithuanian escort, the men were sent out from there daily to perform various labor tasks, including cleaning the town and clearing away rubble. For their labors, the Jews received one cup of coffee with a piece of bread in the morning and evening and a bowl of watery soup with a little grain at midday. While working, the Jews were humiliated and beaten by the Lithuanian guards and by local antisemites. On one occasion, 11 Jews whose poor health kept them from working were shot dead in the Jewish cemetery. In addition to this group murder, individual killings of Jews also took place.[4] The Jewish farm owners were not taken to the granary of Zunda Lunts. They were ordered to keep running their farms and to provide work for the Jews from the granary.

On July 29, 1941, the first large-scale Aktion took place in Kelmė. On July 28, Lithuanian guards assembled all the Jews from the various farms at the Grušewskis farm and conducted a selection there. Then some of the women and children were sent back to the farms. On July 29, most of the Jews from the Lunts granary, apart from 36 who were left alive,[5] were also taken to a gravel quarry near the Grušewskis farm, where they were shot together with those women and children who had been kept at the Grušewskis farm overnight. According to the estimate of Haya Roz, about 1,200 Jews were shot altogether. Jaakov Zak notes also that several groups of Jews were shot throughout the day and that he learned from two Lithuanian students that all the Jews from Vaiguva and a great part of the Jews from the Jewish-owned farms had been shot to death. Zak was taken to sort out the belongings of the murdered Jews and recognized the clothes of his father, uncle, and other relatives.[6]

On August 22, 1941, a second Aktion was carried out in Kelmė. The remaining Jewish women, children, and elderly from the farms, along with the few Jewish workers still at the Lunts granary, were taken to the gravel quarry near the Grušewskis farm and shot there by the Lithuanians.[7]

A number of Jews managed to escape from the farms before the second Aktion and sought refuge with local peasants. Only a few Jews survived, as many people were betrayed by the peasants or were caught by the Lithuanian policemen and partisans.[8] When the Germans were driven from Kelmė in 1944, only 15 of the Jews who came under German occupation were known to be alive.

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jews of Kelmė can be found in the following publications: "Kelme," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 10 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), p. 902; Idah Markus-Kerbelnik and Bat-Sheva Levitan-Kerbelnik, eds., *Kelm—'Ets Karut* (Tel Aviv, 1993)—an English translation is available on jewishgen.org; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 598–604; and *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 350–352.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: USHMM (RG-50.120*0105); VHF (e.g., # 24630); and YVA (O-71/46, 48).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-71/46, testimony of Jaakov Zak, 1948; O-71/48, testimony of Haya Roz, 1948.
2. Ibid., O-71/48.
3. Ibid., O-71/46.
4. Ibid.; "The End of the Road for the Jews of Kelmė," in Markus-Kerbelnik and Levitan-Kerbelnik, *Kelm—'Ets Karut*, pp. 47–63.
5. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 400.
6. Markus-Kerbelnik and Levitan-Kerbelnik, *Kelm—'Ets Karut*, pp. 47–63. YVA, O-71/48, estimates the number of victims on July 29 at 1,200. Also see O-71/46. Soviet sources indicate that after the occupation 483 corpses of men, women, and children were found in a mass grave 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) north of Kelmė; see Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 598–604.
7. Markus-Kerbelnik and Levitan-Kerbelnik, *Kelm—'Ets Karut*, pp. 47–63.
8. YVA, O-71/46.

KIEMIELISZKI

Pre-1939: Kiemieliszki (Yiddish: Kimelishok), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kemelishki, Ostrovets raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kiemieliszki, initially Rayon Swir, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Swir, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kamelishki, Astravets raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

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Kiemieliszki is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Wilno. On the eve of World War II, there were 27 Jewish families residing in the village.

German forces occupied the village at the end of June 1941. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Kiemieliszki. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kiemieliszki was initially incorporated into Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Kiemieliszki. Jews marked their clothing with the Star of David, were forced into heavy labor, and were prohibited from leaving the village. The Jewish population was also subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local auxiliary police, which initially consisted mainly of local inhabitants of Belorussian and Polish ethnicity.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in Kiemieliszki. It was organized by the head of the local police, Ivan Lazugo, and the head of the local administration, Boleslav Legovec. It consisted of several houses, which were enclosed by a fence and guarded by the local police. Jews left the ghetto daily to perform forced labor.[1]

The number of Jews in the ghetto increased steadily in the fall and winter of 1941–1942, as survivors of the massacres in nearby places, including Niemenczyn and Podbrodzie, made their way there, as it was one of the few ghettos remaining in the area. Despite the strict rules against accepting newcomers, the Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Brumberg, did its best to accommodate the arrivals and provide them with shelter and work.[2] In early 1942, a number of Jewish youths were rounded up and taken away for forced labor.

On April 1, 1942, the region including Kiemieliszki was transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen and now became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land. At this time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and police.[3] Among the restrictions imposed officially on the Jews living in the ghettos in this region were a curfew from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. and a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews.[4]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on October 24, 1942, when a Security Police detachment from Wilno, with the assistance of local police, shot more than 350 Jews in the forest about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the village, including a number of Jews brought in from other places at this time.[5] On October 27, 1942, the head of the Judenrat in Wilno, Jacob Gens, reported that the Germans had liquidated the ghettos in Bystrzyca and Kiemieliszki during the previous week. He regretted that no Jewish Police from the Wilno ghetto had been present, as "all the Jews were shot there without any distinction."[6] According to one report, however, some of the Jews may have been transferred to the ghetto in Michaliszki.[7] After the ghetto's liquidation, former Jewish houses were sold to local inhabitants for building material.

A few Jews from Kiemieliszki managed to flee the ghetto and survived in hiding with non-Jews in the region. Among them were Bronia Wluka, who escaped from the ghetto and lived on the Aryan side, and Hadassah Rozen, who narrowly escaped being shot when a non-Jew, who knew her from the Kiemieliszki ghetto, denounced her.[8]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and destruction of the Jews in Kiemieliszki can be found in these publications: Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), pp. 164–166; Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 115–116; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 312–313; "Kiemieliszki," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 552–554; Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim veshalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1389–1390; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Gosudarstvennyi komitet po arkhivam i deloproizdvodstvu Respubliki Belarus', 2001), p. 119.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: MA (D.1357); NARB (845-1-63, pp. 39, 44); USHMM (RG-50.473*0082); VHF (# 8796); YIVO (RG-104 I, no. 611); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, pp. 115–116.
2. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, pp. 1389–1390.
3. USHMM, RG-50.473*0082, testimony of Antoni Witold Rakowski.
4. Anordnung Betr.: Ghettoisierung der Juden, issued by Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, May 13, 1942, reproduced in Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, p. 130.
5. NARB, 845-1-63, pp. 39, 44.
6. See Jacob Gens's words at the meeting of the Judenrat in Vilnius on October 27, 1942, MA, D.1357, published in I. Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 254.
7. YIVO, RG-104 I, no. 611, report of Shmuel Kalmanovich, as cited by Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.8.1.
8. VHF, # 8796, testimony of Bronia Wluka; Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, pp. 164–166.

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KRAKĖS

Pre-1940: Krakės (Yiddish: Krok), town, Kėdainiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Krakės/Krakes, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Krakes, Kreis Kedahnen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Krakės, Kėdainiai rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Krakės is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) north-northwest of Kaunas. According to census data, there were 659 Jews living in Krakės in 1923; in 1930 the Jewish population numbered 550, or 165 families. By June 1941, emigration during the 1930s had further reduced the number of Jews, most of whom lived in the center of town.

German military forces entered Krakės soon after the start of the German invasion, probably on June 23, 1941, the same day that nearby Kėdainiai was captured.[1] Before the Germans arrived, local Lithuanians, the so-called activists, seized power within the community and arrested a number of Jews and alleged Communists. Some of those taken into custody were transferred to Kėdainiai and never seen again. Initial measures taken against the Jewish population included abuse, torture, and shootings, which were carried out mainly in the Jewish cemetery. The town's doctor, Dr. Alperovitch, was among those murdered at this time.[2]

Witnesses told postwar investigators that the situation calmed down somewhat once the main German forces had passed through Krakės. But in the wake of the German troops, Lithuanian activists carried out the first systematic measures against the Jews. They forced Jews to wear the yellow Star of David on their outer clothing and banned Jews from using the sidewalks. Property and valuables belonging to Jews were seized and often sold to the local population. The activists also carried out the first killings.

A few weeks after the German occupation of Krakės, probably in the first half of August, a ghetto was established in the town on a single street. A wooden fence about 2.5 meters (8.2 feet) high, topped with barbed wire, surrounded the ghetto area, and Lithuanian activists or members of the local police guarded the perimeter. The Jews suffered from overcrowding, with 10 people sharing a single room. The witnesses also remembered that some of the local Lithuanian residents aided the ghetto population, providing them with food in spite of the orders forbidding them all contact with the Jews.[3] The Jewish men and some women capable of work were soon separated from the others in the ghetto and taken to a building described in some sources as a monastery situated on the edge of the town. These Jews performed a variety of work tasks on a short-term basis.[4] *Pinkas ha-kehilot* indicates that in August the Jews of Dotnuva, probably around 100 people, were also sent to the monastery near Krakės, which was used as a ghetto.

The ghetto existed for approximately one month. According to an August 17, 1941, letter from the chief of the local police, A. Kuviotkus, a total of 452 Jews were residing in the Krakės ghetto at that time: 337 men and 115 women. The number of people held in the ghetto had increased considerably by the end of August 1941, as Jews from Kėdainiai, Ariogala, Baisogala, Gudžiūnai, Grinkiškis, Pociūnėliai, Dotnuva, and other nearby villages were moved into it.[5]

In the middle of August 1941, the 3rd Company of the 13th Lithuanian Self-Defense Battalion, consisting of approximately 30 armed men under the command of Juozas Bardza, arrived in Krakės. The battalion brought with it a note in German, stating that it was tasked with murdering all the Jewish inhabitants of the town. Precinct Police Chief Teodoras Kerza then selected a site for the killings in the Peštinukai Forest, 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) outside Krakės, and ordered local inhabitants to prepare large pits there about 2 or 3 meters (6.6 to 9.8 feet) wide. The members of the battalion carried out the mass shooting on September 2, 1941, assisted by six members of the local Lithuanian auxiliary police and 10 to 12 Lithuanian activists, who were also issued with weapons. The Jews were marched from the ghetto to the killing site, suffering brutal beatings from the Lithuanian guards on the way. On nearing the pits, the victims had to undress to their underwear and enter the pits, lying down on top of the bodies of the previous victims, in groups of 20 to 25. The Lithuanians then shot them from the edge of the pits. A number of Jews tried to escape, but most were shot by the guards, with only a few successfully evading their pursuers. The elderly and children were taken from the ghetto in trucks and were killed at the same spot after the Jews brought from the monastery had been shot.[6] Only one or two accounts mention the presence of a German official at the killing site; but there is no doubt about the participation of a number of Lithuanian policemen and activists from Krakės and its vicinity.[7]

The number of Jewish victims is not mentioned specifically by eyewitnesses, but it is likely that the ghetto liquidation was the incident reported by Karl Jäger in his report dated December 1, 1941. Jäger noted that between August 28 and September 2, 1941, a total of 1,125 Jews (448 men, 476 women, and 201 children) were shot in Krakės.[8] After the murders, the participants got drunk in celebration, having traded the clothes of the victims with local people for home brew.[9] A primary school teacher made a speech giving thanks for the "cleansing" of the settlement of its Jewish population. The remaining valuables belonging to the local Jewish population were gathered in one house in the former ghetto and distributed among the killers or sold to locals.[10]

For participation in the murder of Jews in Krakės, as well as in other localities in Lithuania, eight former policemen of the 3rd Company, Lithuanian Police Battalion 13, were sentenced to death at a trial held in Kaunas between September 27 and October 4, 1962.

SOURCES Additional information can be found in these publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "Mazieji Lietuvos Zydu Getai ir Laikinos Izoliaviavimo Stoyvyklos 1941–1943 Metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 293–295; "Krakes

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(Krok)," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 352, available in English on the Web at jewishgen.org; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 208–209, 613–615; and "The Jews of Krakes," published on the Web at shtetlinks.jewishgen.org.

Information about the fate of the Jews of Krakės during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-421); LCVA; LYA (3377-55-60); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (50.473*0032-38, testimonies of Vytautas Racickas, Gėnė Rackienė, Valerija Krilienė, Antanas Petrauskas, Janina Kaupienė, and Stanislava Gaucienė); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Bubnys, "Mazieji Lietuvos Zydu Getai," p. 168.
2. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 613; and "The Jews of Krakes," which includes the "memories" of several local inhabitants, including Ona Rekstiene.
3. USHMM, RG-50.473*0032, statement of Vytautas Racickas. See also "The Jews of Krakes," memories of A. Jubauskas.
4. See USHMM RG-50.473*0035, statement of Antanas Petrauskas; and Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 294.
5. "Krakes (Krok)," in Bronstein, *Yahudat Lita*, vol. 4, p. 352.
6. Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, pp. 293–295.
7. Ibid.; USHMM, RG-50.473*0034, statement of Valerija Krilienė, cassette 2; "The Jews of Krakes."
8. LYA, 3377-55-60, p. 18; and RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
9. Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 293.
10. "The Jews of Krakes," memories of Ona Rekstiene.

KRAŽIAI

Pre-1940: Kražiai (Yiddish: Krozsh), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kražiai/Krazhai, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kraziai, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kražiai, Kelmė rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kražiai is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) northwest of Raseiniai. In 1923, there were 660 Jews residing in Kražiai.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941. Right after the arrival of German troops, Lithuanian nationalists set up a local administration and organized an auxiliary police force. In Kražiai the head of the local police was named Jurevičius, and the leader of the partisan headquarters was Vytautas Sakalauskas. These new local authorities soon launched a series of measures against the Jewish population. All Jews who had fled the town and taken refuge in the nearby villages were ordered to return to Kražiai. Next, the Jews, numbering about 400, were concentrated and held in local storage buildings and in horse stables. Soon after their confinement in these facilities, Jews brought from the surrounding villages were placed with them. A short time later, all these individuals were assembled on the town's market square. They had to surrender all the valuables they were carrying. Then the victims were escorted to the Siuksta Manor about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Kražiai and locked in a large storage barn. This barn, surrounded and guarded by armed Lithuanians, became a ghetto. Those Jews who were able to work were taken from the barn-ghetto each day, guarded by Lithuanians, and forced to perform heavy manual labor.

On July 22, 1941, a small squad of about 12 German policemen, assisted by around 80 Lithuanian partisans, carried out an Aktion. They transported on trucks about 250 to 300 Jews, consisting of most of the adults over the age of 14, to the Kuprė Forest about 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) east of Kražiai on the pretext of a forced labor assignment. In the forest, the Germans and Lithuanian partisans shot the Jews into a predug trench. The Germans tried to ensure that all the Lithuanians took part in the shooting; two who refused were beaten but suffered no further punishment. Jonas Vladička testified that with the help of Sakalauskas he was able to get his fiancée, Lėja Aronaitė, out of the ghetto.[1]

Following this killing, about 60 to 80 Jewish children and five adults remained alive in the barn-ghetto. About two weeks later, local Lithuanian women came to the barn to take home the children of particular Jewish friends, informing the Jews that the children's parents had already been murdered. However, Rabbi Kramerman, who was among the remaining adults, intervened and ensured that all but two sisters were returned, as the Lithuanian women intended to convert the children to Catholicism.[2] According to the account written by Antanas Jonynas, "The Hill," some of the Jewish children in the barn suffered from dysentery, but the Jewish doctor in Kražiai, who also had been spared from the initial Aktion, was not permitted to treat them.[3]

Among the children in the barn was Yoseph Ben-Yaakov, who recalled that some time after the first Aktion, "[a]ll of a sudden there were guards again. Two days later security was reinforced. We were guarded by Lithuanian partisans. . . . I understood that something bad was about to happen." In response Yoseph went and hid in a pile of hay in the attic of a nearby barn. After three days he emerged and sought refuge with Lithuanian acquaintances of his father.[4]

In the meantime, on September 2, 1941, the remaining Jewish children and adults were taken out to the Medžiokalnis Forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) northwest of Kražiai and were shot. Only a few of the youths managed to escape.

One of the Lithuanians who allegedly participated in the killing of the Jews, Bronius Kaminskas, went to the United States as a refugee after the war.[5] A number of others were tried by the Soviet authorities.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kražiai can be found in the following publications:

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B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 401; "Kraziai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 607–608; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 367.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LYA (3377-55-2, pp. 9, 22, 24, 26, 48); and MA (A.401). A short story by Antanas Jonynas, "The Hill," was published in the Soviet Union in 1966. It is reportedly based on real events surrounding the murder of the Jews of Kražiai. An English translation of the story is located at USHMM (Acc.2006.22).

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NOTES

1. LYA, 3377-55-2, pp. 9, 22, 24, 26, 48, as cited by Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 279.
2. MA, A.401, testimony of Yoseph Ben-Yaakov, as cited by Efraim Zuroff, *Occupation Nazi-Hunter: The Continuing Search for Perpetrators of the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 1994), pp. 102–103.
3. This detail is reported by Antanas Jonynas, "The Hill," (USHMM, Acc.2006.22). According to this source, the Jewish doctor was murdered some time later.
4. MA, A.401, as cited by Zuroff, *Occupation Nazi-Hunter*, pp. 102–103.
5. David S. Wyman, *The World Reacts to the Holocaust* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 351.

KREKENAVA

Pre-1940: Krekenava (Yiddish: Krakinove), village, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Panevėžys/Panevezhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Ponewesch, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: town, Panevėžys rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Krekenava is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, there were 527 Jews living in Krekenava, comprising half of the total population. By mid-1941, emigration, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, had somewhat reduced the size of the village's Jewish community.

At the onset of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, many Jews attempted to flee from Krekenava in a convoy of horse-driven wagons, but they were stopped by Lithuanian nationalist activists in Panevėžys and forced to turn back. German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Lithuanian activists immediately formed a local authority and a police force, which began their work by introducing a series of anti-Jewish measures.

First, the young Jewish men were arrested and jailed; a few days later they were taken from the jail and divided into two groups. Each group was taken to a separate site outside the village, where they were forced to dig their own graves and then shot. The Lithuanian activists also arrested a group of young Jewish women; in the jail they were subjected to gang rape and then murdered.

The remaining Jewish men were assembled in the Bet Midrash by Lithuanian activists. They were kept there under close guard without any food or water. One of the Jews attacked a Lithuanian guard with a knife, when the guard prevented him from leaving the Bet Midrash. After a few days the Jewish men were taken outside the village on the pretext of a work assignment breaking rocks for road construction and then shot. In total, about 200 people were shot near the village in the summer of 1941.[1]

The remaining Jewish women, children, and old people in the village were herded into the synagogue and a few neighboring houses, which the Lithuanian activists declared a ghetto. Hungry and thirsty, they remained in this ghetto until July 27, 1941, when they were told they could take their most valuable possessions with them, as they would soon be transferred to another camp. They were then loaded onto carts and escorted off in the direction of Panevėžys. The Jewish women and children were killed in the Pajuostė Forest, 8 kilometers (5 miles) west of Panevėžys, probably sometime later in August 1941. In the meantime they were apparently kept in a makeshift camp at the Pajuostė airfield, left without even the few possessions they had loaded onto the carts, which had been stolen on their arrival. They were shot together with other Jews from the Panevėžys ghetto and region. The report of Einsatzkommando 3, prepared by SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, noted that 7,525 Jews (including 4,602 Jewish women and 1,312 Jewish children) were shot at Panevėžys on August 23, 1941. These figures probably include the remaining Jewish women and children from Krekenava.[2]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jewish community of Krekenava during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Krekenava," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 354–355; "Krakenava," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 621ff.; 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), p. 676; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 368.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Krekenava can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 70 SU/15); GARF (7021-94-426); LCVA; and YVA (M-9/15[6], O-3/3034).

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1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentų rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 400.

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2. Report by Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, BA-BL, R 70 SU/15.

KRETINGA

Pre-1940: Kretinga, town and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kröttingen, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kretinga, rajonas center, Klaipėda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kretinga is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west-southwest of Šiauliai. In mid-June 1941, there were about 700 local Jews in Kretinga. Including Jewish refugees, mainly from Klaipėda following its annexation by Germany in 1939, there were approximately 1,000 Jews in Kretinga at the time of the German invasion.

Kretinga lay within the zone (extending 25 kilometers [15.5 miles] behind the former Lithuanian-German border) that was subjected to "cleansing operations" against Jews and other suspected enemies, conducted by the head of the Staatspolizei (Stapo) office in Tilsit, SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, during the first days of the occupation.[1]

German armed forces occupied Kretinga on June 22, 1941, without encountering any serious resistance. Immediately on the capture of the town, Lithuanian nationalists set up a local administration and police force. The so-called Lithuanian activists included the following individuals: the head of the district, Šedviatas; the mayor of the town, Piktučys; the head of the security police, Pranas Lukys (alias Jakys); the chief of police, Petrauskas; and other leading activists such as Petras Janušaitas and Brother Aloyzas.[2]

Measures were taken against the Jewish population during the first days of the occupation. All adult men (older than 14 years) were ordered to gather at the town's market square. Soon most of the non-Jews were released, but Lithuanian auxiliaries and German police beat the Jews brutally and made them kiss their boots. Local Lithuanians flocked to the square and demanded that those arrested be hanged for having collaborated with the Soviets. At the end of the day, most of the Jews were locked in the synagogue. Others were taken to the local prison.[3]

On the next day (either June 25 or 26),[4] forces of Stapo Tilsit, joined by others from Stapo Memel (Klaipėda), including members of the Schutzpolizei, traveled to Kretinga. Before their arrival, around 150 Jewish men had been escorted from the synagogue and herded into a fenced-in part of the square near the ruins of the Russian Orthodox Church, where they were held along with about 60 non-Jewish prisoners. German and Lithuanian police also searched the town for Jews in hiding. By afternoon, they had found about 30 more Jews, who were brought to the square. About half of the non-Jews were released by Böhme, who was in charge of the Aktion, after consulting with the local security police chief, Pranas Lukys. Then the Stapo forces, reinforced by Lithuanian police and about 20 soldiers of the local garrison (Ortskommandantur), conveyed all the victims by truck out of town to a place close to the estate of Pryšmančiai. At this site, the Jews were forced to dig trenches while being beaten heavily by their guards. Before the execution, more of the Lithuanian (non-Jewish) prisoners were released. The Jews were then forced to line up in groups of 10, and 20 members of the Schutzpolizei from Tilsit shot them from behind into the completed trenches. Each group was informed that they were being shot in punishment for crimes committed against the Wehrmacht (two soldiers had been killed by snipers in Kretinga shortly after the capture of the town). In total, the Germans killed 214 persons (mostly Jews and including one woman). The Lithuanian activists served as guards during this Aktion, but the Germans did the shooting.[5]

During the following night, a fire broke out in the local synagogue and spread to neighboring buildings of the town. The Germans and Lithuanians immediately accused the remaining Jews of starting the fire as an act of revenge. These few hundred Jews (mainly women and children) were arrested and taken to Pryšmančiai, where they were herded into a stable guarded by Lithuanian police (Litauischer Ordnungsdienst).[6] This became a de facto ghetto for the Jews, where they were held for more than two months.

Following the fire in Kretinga, the police chief in nearby Palanga received a call from Kretinga, ordering him to arrest all the Jews to prevent a repetition of the arson there. Over the following days, the Germans and Lithuanians arrested 78 more people and shot them near Pryšmančiai. Male Jews who had been hiding or were rounded up in the surrounding villages were taken to the prison in Kretinga, where they were abused and humiliated before being shot in turn after a few days or weeks. Between July 11 and 18, a further 120 men were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Kretinga.[7]

In early August, a meeting was held at the office of the Lithuanian head of the Kretinga district. Local Lithuanians met with several Gestapo officers to discuss the situation of the remaining Jews, among other issues. The Gestapo recommended that the Lithuanians should murder the Jewish women and children, as they were not worth feeding because they were unable to perform useful forced labor. The Lithuanians wanted to obtain confirmation from the Lithuanian administration in Kaunas first. The reply came the next day from the chief of police in Kaunas, saying that no decision had been made to murder the women and children, but this decision was to be left to the local officials. Plans were then made for the Lithuanian forces to kill the remaining women and children in early September 1941.

In mid-August 1941, the wives and children of 15 Jewish men who had been shot in early July—at least 20 people—were shot by the Lithuanian policemen.[8] The remaining Jewish women, children, and elderly confined at Pryšmančiai had been informed that their male relatives had been taken away to a separate labor camp. At the beginning of September, these Jews were told that now they would be able to join the men. They were taken to a nearby threshing hall, supposedly for a medical examination. As they left the hall, they

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were attacked with iron bars, knives, and bayonets by drunken members of the Lithuanian auxiliary police. Some Germans stood by and photographed this gruesome scene. Those Jews who survived the attacks were shot, and all the victims were buried in a mass grave. The number of Jews taken from the barn in Pryšmančiai and murdered in early September 1941 was approximately 120.

In 1961, the German court in Tübingen, Germany, convicted and sentenced two former members of Stapo Tilsit, named Wiechert and Schulz, for taking part in the killings on June 26, 1941. Pranas Lukys was sentenced to five years in prison by the German court in Ulm in 1960.[9]

SOURCES Information on the murder of the Jews in Kretinga can be found in the following publications: *Hitleriniai žudikai Kretingoje*: *Faktai kaltina* (Vilnius, 1960); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 396; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 353–354—a translation can be found in Joseph Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 98–100; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuanian Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995); "Kretinga," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 617–621; "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," published at jewishgen.org; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976–1979), vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, vol. 16, Lfd. Nr. 499, vol. 17, Lfd. Nr. 509 and 521, and vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 547; and Konrad Kwiet, "Rehearsing for Murder: The Beginning of the Final Solution in Lithuania in June 1941," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12:1 (Spring 1998): 3–26.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kretinga during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (B 162/2582-2615); LCVA; LYA (3377-55-107); RGVA (500-1-758); and USHMM.

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1. RGVA, 500-1-758, p. 2, report of Stapo Tilsit, July 1, 1941, published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 372–375.
2. Urteil LG-Tüb, gegen Wiechert und Schulz, May 10, 1961, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (1977) Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 343–344.
3. Ibid.
4. RGVA, 500-1-758, p. 2, report of Stapo Tilsit, July 1, 1941, dates the Aktion on June 25, 1941. Other sources date it on June 26, 1941.
5. Ibid.; *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (1977) Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 343–346.
6. RGVA, 500-1-758, p. 2, report of Stapo Tilsit, July 1, 1941; and LG-Ulm, Urteil gegen Böhme u.a., August 29, 1958, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 15 (1976) Lfd. Nr. 465.
7. The 78 victims include 15 Jewish men shot in early July with the participation of Lukys; see *JuNS-V*, vol. 16 (1976) Lfd. Nr. 499, pp. 816–817. Also see BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 19, July 11, 1941.
8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 16 (1976) Lfd. Nr. 499, p. 818.
9. Urteil LG-Tüb, gegen Wiechert und Schulz, May 10, 1961, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (1977) Lfd Nr. 509; Urteil LG-Ulm, gegen Lukys and Schmidt-Hammer, November 3, 1960, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 16 (1976) Lfd. Nr. 499.

KREWO

Pre-1939: Krewo (Yiddish: Kreve), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Krevo, Oshmiany raion, then Smorgon' raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krewo, initially Rayon Smorgonie, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Aschmene, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kreva, Smargon' raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krewo is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west-northwest of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, there were about 150 Jewish families living in the village.

In August 1939, several young Jewish men were mobilized into the Polish army just before the German invasion. On September 17, 1939, the Red Army occupied Krewo, which by the end of the year had been incorporated into the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities nationalized all large businesses and closed down smaller enterprises. All workers were employed in cooperatives or worked for the state. There were shortages of goods, and people had to line up for basic necessities.[1]

German forces occupied the village on June 25, 1941. Initially a German military administration was in control of the area. Soon after the Germans' arrival, all Jews were assembled and ordered to select a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Germans introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures: all Jews had to wear yellow badges on their chests and backs; Jews were prohibited from using the sidewalks and visiting the market; and they were forbidden to leave the village or to have any dealings with the non-Jewish population.[2]

On July 25, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Krewo. Eight people accused of being Soviet activists were arrested and shot.[3]

The Germans also imposed forced labor on all Jewish adults of working age and on boys over the age of 12. The men worked cutting wood and building roads. Women did laundry and cleaned German homes and offices. On the way to work, Jews were beaten mercilessly by local policemen. A number of Jews worked daily at a German airfield run by the Luftwaffe, outside of town.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Krewo was initially incorporated into Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Then from April 1, 1942, until the end of the Nazi occupation in 1944, Krewo was part of Gebiet Wilna-Land in Generalkommissariat Litauen.

By October 1941, the Jews of Krewo had been resettled into a ghetto in a run-down part of town on Bogdanover Street, from the area of the castle up to the market.[4] Farmers from the surrounding area plundered those houses that the

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Jews vacated. According to one survivor, the ghetto remained unfenced,[5] but Jews were only permitted to leave for work, provided they had work passes. Local policemen counted the Jews as they left and returned to the ghetto in work columns each day.[6] There was severe overcrowding in the ghetto, and a number of Jews had to live in cold and uncomfortable conditions in the synagogue. Shortages of food and the unsanitary living arrangements resulted in the spread of infectious disease. However, the Judenrat tried to share the burdens as best it could; for example, refugees from other towns, who had been robbed of all their possessions by the local police, were assigned to eat with a different family every evening.[7]

Those employed outside the ghetto risked their lives by bartering possessions with local farmers for food and smuggling it into the ghetto. The German authorities periodically imposed "contributions" of money and goods on the Judenrat. In January 1942, the Germans rounded up a group of male Jews and escorted them out of town; they were never heard from again. In 1942, there were also assignments of Jews to forced labor camps, especially of young Jews to the forced labor camp in Žiežmariai run by the Organisation Todt, which involved the construction of a road between Kaunas and Wilno.[8]

According to German reports from the late summer of 1942, there were 447 Jews living in the Krewo ghetto, of whom 143 (102 men and 41 women) were deployed for work at various workplaces. Sixty-eight men and 26 women worked for the Wehrmacht (probably a Luftwaffe detachment), 10 men worked cleaning streets, and 8 men worked as artisans. The list also includes 3 men as ghetto guards and 3 working for the Judenrat (probably its members). Others include a female nurse and a female hairdresser, 2 men in the town bakery, and 2 men and 2 women in the dairy.[9]

In early October 1942, just after the High Holidays, the remaining Jews in the Krewo ghetto were transferred to the Oszmiana ghetto. Some of the Jews transferred to Oszmiana were subsequently murdered by a Lithuanian killing squad on October 24, 1942, in an Aktion directed against the elderly and the sick. When the Oszmiana ghetto was liquidated in March 1943, some Jews were sent to the Wilno ghetto, others were sent to the Ponary killing site to be shot, and a number were permitted to join relatives in labor camps in Lithuania, including the camp at Žiežmariai.[10] A few Jews managed to escape from the Krewo and Oszmiana ghettos and join the partisans. Most of the known survivors, however, passed through the Žiežmariai camp.

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jews of Krewo can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 565–567; and M. Gelbert, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Oshminah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Oshminah be-Yisrael, 1969).

Documents regarding the fate of the Jews of Krewo during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-15); IPN (SWKsz 28); LCVA (R 626-1-211); NARB; VHF (e.g., # 4991, 7295, 16340, 18162, 46855, and 50668); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.002*21; RG-22.002M, reel 24); and YVA.

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1. VHF, # 18162, testimony of Syma Freund.
2. Gelbert, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Oshminah*, [English section] p. 61; and VHF, # 18162.
3. GARF, 7021-89-15, p. 80. VHF, # 7295, testimony of Sonja Milner, mentions that four Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery in the summer of 1941.
4. Gelbert, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Oshminah*, p. 292.
5. VHF, # 46855, testimony of Kalmon Jacobson in response to a direct question; most sources do not mention whether or not the ghetto was fenced.
6. Ibid., # 18162.
7. Ibid., # 4991, testimony of Ann Chinitz; and # 7295.
8. Ibid., # 4991; 7295; 16340, testimony of Leon Cepelewicz; 18162; and 50668, testimony of Naomi Milikowski.
9. LCVA, R 626-1-211, pp. 18, 26–27, list of ghettos in Kreis Aschmena, October 1942, and list of Jews working in the Krewo ghetto, n.d.
10. Gelbert, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Oshminah*, pp. 292, [English section] p. 70; and Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002), pp. 532–534.

KUDIRKOS NAUMIESTIS

Pre-1940: Kudirkos Naumiestis (Yiddish: Naishtat-Shaki), town, Šakiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šakiai/Shakiai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Neustadt, Kreis Schaken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kudirkos Naumiestis, Šakiai rajonas, Mariampolė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kudirkos Naumiestis is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) west-southwest of Kaunas, on the banks of the Šešupė River. On the eve of the German invasion in June 1941, the Jewish community consisted of about 800 people, including a number of Jews expelled from the Suwałki region of Poland in 1939.

On the arrival of German troops on June 22, 1941, a number of individual Jews, including two Jewish barbers, were shot in reprisal for the killing of a German soldier in the town near the barbers' shop. Lithuanian nationalists established a local administration and a militia (police force) who wore white armbands. The policemen were subordinated to regional Lithuanian authorities recognized by the Germans in Kaunas. The new authorities soon imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures. Members of the local militia and other residents seized Jewish property and valuables. The community was also required to fulfill daily labor quotas for construction work and other forms of manual labor. Those working on these projects were often beaten and humiliated by their guards. The town administration also decreed that it was now illegal for Jews to

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have any contact with non-Jews, and Jews were banned from public places.[1]

One evening during the first week of July, members of the Tilsit Gestapo and men from the Border Police (Grenzpolizei) post at Szyrwinty (Schirrwindt), led by SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Hersmann, arrived in Kudirkos Naumiestis. With the assistance of the local militia, the German police rounded up all of the town's Jewish males over the age of 14 and assembled them at the District Council building. There they were ordered to hand over their valuables. Then they were escorted in groups of 50 to the Jewish cemetery, where they were forced to line up at the edge of several pits that Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had dug earlier that day. Members of the Lithuanian militia shot the Jews into the pits; Gestapo men and men of the SD walked among the bodies, finishing off any who were still alive. After the Germans and their collaborators had shot 192 Jews, the murderers attended a banquet organized by the district governor and the mayor of Kudirkos Naumiestis, who had witnessed the executions. A few days after the Aktion, the Lithuanian militia discovered several male Jews in hiding who had evaded the roundup. These unfortunates, 9 in all, were also shot at the Jewish cemetery.[2]

Following the Aktion, Jewish women and teenagers were taken daily to perform public works in the town. On August 23, 1941, the remaining Jews in Kudirkos Naumiestis were relocated into a ghetto established in the most run-down part of town on Bathhouse and Synagogue Streets. Although the ghetto was not surrounded by barbed-wire fencing, it was heavily guarded by Lithuanian militia, and a curfew was imposed from 8:00 P.M. in the evening. Three weeks later, on September 16, 1941, the Lithuanian militia in the town liquidated the ghetto. The Jews were told that they would be sent to East Prussia for labor. Once assembled, the 650 ghetto inmates were loaded into carts and driven to a prepared execution site in the Paražniai Forest, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town, where members of the local militia shot them into pits. On instructions issued by the Gebietskommissar in Kaunas, the property of the Jews was collected. Valuable items were taken by the German administration, while real estate and items of lesser value were administered by the local authorities. The distribution among local Lithuanians was accompanied by fierce disputes over who should get each item.[3]

A few of the Jews of Kudirkos Naumiestis, including Izaokas Glikas and his family, managed to escape from the ghetto prior to the liquidation Aktion. Two acquaintances of the Glikas family who served in the Lithuanian militia tipped them off, and the family went to hide on the militiamen's family farm, even though these men still participated in the ghetto liquidation. From this initial hideout, they subsequently moved on to Lithuanian farmers in more remote locations, who hid them without receiving any payment. Later, owing to security risks, the family was transferred to a Salesian monastery, where they were hidden, along with other Jews from the region, by Antanas Skeltys, the priest in charge. Although a handful of the Jews of Kudirkos Naumiestis managed to survive until liberation, the town's Jewish community was not reconstituted after the war, as the Jews soon moved away.[4]

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jews of Kudirkos Naumiestis can be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465; and Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelius, 2003), pp. 113–116.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jewish community in Kudirkos Naumiestis can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (B 162/2615); LCVA (R 683-2-2); and VHF (# 11411).

Alexander Kruglov and Michael McConnell
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust*, pp. 316–317.

2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 19, July 11, 1941; *JuNS-V*, vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 171–172. On August 29, 1958, LG-Ulm sentenced Hersmann to 15 years' imprisonment for his role in the mass shootings; Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust*, pp. 316–317; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, p. 114.

3. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust*, pp. 316–317; letter from the head of the Šakiai District (V. Karalius) and the head of the police (Vilčinskas) to the head of the Kaunas police department on September 16, 1941, published in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 213–214; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, p. 114.

4. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 115–116.

KUPIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Kupiškis (Yiddish: Kupishok), town, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kupiškis/Kupishkis, Panevėzhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kupischken, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kupiškis, rajonas center, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kupiškis is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Panevėžys. In 1938, there were 1,200 Jews living in the town (42 percent of the population).

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, approximately 40 families were able to flee into the interior of the Soviet Union. Many other Jews also escaped into neighboring villages, awaiting the end of the bombing of the town. In these villages, they were robbed and then sent back to Kupiškis.[1] Around 1,000 Jews remained in Kupiškis at the moment of occupation.

German forces captured the town on June 26, 1941. Some Jews from other places also became trapped in Kupiškis at

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this time. Immediately upon the town's seizure, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force. The head of the police was P. Graizunas, and his deputy was V. Gudialis. The occupying forces appointed Dr. Werner Loew, a recent German immigrant and a teacher in the local high school, to the position of commandant of the town,[2] a position he held until the start of September 1941. During the summer of 1941, Loew organized the annihilation of Communist activists and all the remaining Jews in the town.

On June 28, 1941, 78 Jews and Lithuanians were arrested and shot in a nearby forest, accused of being Communist activists and collaborating with the Soviet authorities.[3] At the start of July 1941, Loew ordered all the Jews to be resettled into a ghetto, which consisted of a few dilapidated houses on Vilnius Street, near the synagogue, and in a large storehouse. The ghetto was fenced off with barbed wire. The overcrowding, hunger, and thirst for the Jews confined within the ghetto were unbearable.[4]

In July and August 1941, all the ghetto inmates were shot by the Lithuanian police, on Loew's orders. The men were killed first, then the women and children, about two weeks later. The shootings were carried out at the Jewish cemetery. (There are 808 people on the list of murdered Jews. This list was compiled in 1946 by the midwife from the Jewish Maternity Hospital in Panevėžys and from several other sources. Further research is being undertaken to determine the exact origins of this list that supposedly names all those residents of Kupiškis who were killed during the summer of 1941. As there are only 808 people listed out of approximately 1,200 known residents, a number of people may have either escaped, been killed in other locations, or just been forgotten in the process of listing the names, which occurred several years after the fact.) The property of the murdered Jews was confiscated, placed in a warehouse, listed, appraised, and then distributed among the local population. Money was passed on to the town's commandant.[5]

The shootings of the Jews were carried out by a special detachment subordinated to the commandant, which was allegedly headed by Lieutenant Antanas Gudialis (aka Gudeliavicius, who fled to Australia after the war). Also reportedly taking an active part in the shootings were Petras Bernotavičius, the adjutant of the town commandant (who migrated to the United States after the war), and Antanas Jokantas (who also escaped to Australia).

One of the first young Jews to offer resistance was I. Gershumet. Others included Ch. Yutin, H. Shoistevnia, Tzundel, and their friends. They rebelled against the Lithuanian students who aided the Nazis. They wounded two students, which only increased the hatred of Jews among the Lithuanians.[6]

A priest named Ragouskas, a teacher in the Kupiškis high school, tried in vain to save some Jews, but Loew and his followers found them. Dr. J. Franzkevich, a doctor in Kupiškis, tried to save Rabbi Pertzovsky's wife and Mrs. Meyerovitz and her children, but they were discovered and killed about six weeks after the other women and children.[7]

Of all the Kupiškis Jews, only a small number survived the war. They consisted mainly of people who had managed to escape into the Soviet interior in time and a few who survived in the ghettos of Wilno and Kaunas.

On September 25–28, 1965, in a trial in Kupiškis, five former policemen were convicted of having taken an active part in murdering the Jews. Jonas Karalius and Stasis Grigas were each sentenced to 15 years in prison, and Kazis Šniukas, Aleksas Malinauskas, and Danelius Kriukas were sentenced to death by shooting. The German investigation of Dr. Werner Loew (born 1912) was closed due to ill health, and he died in 1990. The Australian Special Investigations Unit investigated two suspects between 1988 and 1992 regarding the murders of Jews in Kupiškis in 1941. Both cases were closed due to insufficient evidence.

SOURCES Information about the elimination of the Jews in Kupiškis can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 399–400; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 214–215; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 561–565; Attorney-General's Department, *Report of the Investigations of War Criminals in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1993), pp. 121–124; and "Pages of Testimony from Yad Vashem," by M. Traub and D. Fleishman-Traub, Tel Aviv, available at jewishgen.org.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: ANA (SIU, PU 561 and 562); BA-L; LYA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 214.
2. See V. Khotianovskii, "Ubiitsa zhivet na Mommsenstrasse," *Izvestiia*, September 18, 1967.
3. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 399.
4. Traub and Fleishman-Traub, "Pages of Testimony from Yad Vashem," pp. 1–3; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 564–565; Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 214. There are some discrepancies in the respective descriptions of the ghetto.
5. Khotianovskii, "Ubiitsa zhivet na Mommsenstrasse."
6. Traub and Fleishman-Traub, "Pages of Testimony from Yad Vashem," p. 2.
7. Ibid.; Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 214.

KURŠENAI

Pre-1940: Kuršenai (Yiddish: Kurshan), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kuršenai/Kurshenai, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kurschenen, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kuršenai, Šiauliai rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

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Kuršenai is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) west-northwest of Šiauliai. In 1939, there were around 900 Jews living in the town, out of a total population of 2,892.

Immediately after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, many Jews from Kuršenai tried to escape into Russia. However, only 30 families succeeded, as the Soviet authorities forced many to turn back at the Latvian border. On the night that German forces first arrived in Kuršenai, towards the end of June, they murdered two Jews.

Immediately following the Germans' arrival, a Lithuanian partisan squad was formed in Kuršenai, which was headed by Antanas Petkus and soon comprised 70 men. The Lithuanian partisans arrested alleged Communists and supporters of the Soviet regime. They also ordered the Jews to assemble daily in the marketplace, and from there they assigned the Jews to various forced labor tasks, which included clearing rubble from the streets and interring fallen Soviet troops and dead horses. The forced labor was accompanied by frequent beatings. New regulations forbade the Jews from using the sidewalks and ordered them to wear yellow Stars of David.

In the first half of July, the male Jews were confined within the synagogue and Bet Midrash. In mid-July 1941, the Lithuanian partisans seized around 150 male Jews from the prayer houses and escorted them into the Padarbos Forest, about 3 kilometers (2 miles) outside the town. Together with four Germans, the Lithuanian forces then shot the Jews into a large pit. The shooting lasted about five hours. The pit then was filled in by other local inhabitants, requisitioned for this task by the Germans. The Lithuanian partisans took some of the Jews' clothing for themselves, and some subsequently moved into Jewish houses. After the Aktion, the participants returned to Kuršenai to drink in celebration at the local canteen.[1]

In July, a ghetto was established for the women and children, which was guarded by armed Lithuanian partisans, also known as "white-stripers." The Jews were confined within a small area of a couple of streets, which became very overcrowded. The women could only leave the ghetto for one hour per day to secure food from the locals, who cursed and chased them away from the stores.

After a few weeks the Lithuanian partisans were reorganized into a regular police force, which was headed by Povilas Vidugiris. In August or September 1941, the remaining several hundred Jews, mainly women and children, were transferred to the ghetto in Žagarė on about 50 carts, escorted by the local Lithuanian police. Before the transfer, the local police stripped them of any valuable possessions. Some non-Jews said farewell to their Jewish friends but were forbidden to reveal that they knew the cruel fate of the Jewish men.[2] The Jewish women and children from Kuršenai were all murdered on October 2, 1941, when the Žagarė ghetto was liquidated. Only one Jewish woman and one Jewish man from Kuršenai are known to have survived until the area was recaptured by the Red Army in 1944, having found refuge with sympathetic Lithuanian farmers.

After the war, the Soviet authorities tried and sentenced almost 40 former members of the Lithuanian partisans and local police from Kuršenai.

SOURCES The following published sources contain information on the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Kuršenai: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 569–571; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), p. 244; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 382.

Relevant testimonies can be found in the following archives: LYA (e.g., K 1-58-44084/3, K 1-58-14771/3, K 1-58-42308/3, K 1-46-1261); USHMM (RG-50.473*0041-44); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/56, M-1/E/1566).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.473*0041-44; LYA, K 1-58-44084/3, pp. 65–70, 77, 105–107, and K 1-46-1261, p. 66, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate," p. 244.
2. USHMM, RG-50.473*0041, testimony of Antanas Spulginas.

KVĖDARNA

Pre-1940: Kvėdarna (Yiddish: Khveidan), town, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kvėdarna/Kvedarna, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kvedarna/Kweidannen, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, post-1991: Kvėdarna, Šilalė rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kvėdarna is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) south-southwest of Telšiai. The census of 1923 shows that 394 Jews resided in Kvėdarna. Emigration in the 1930s led to a slight decline in their numbers by June 1941. In mid-1941, 65 Jewish families (approximately 300 individuals) lived in Kvėdarna.

The village of Kvėdarna was occupied by German armed forces on June 22, 1941. A number of Jews attempted to flee at the onset of hostilities, but most were forced to return home within a few days. Lithuanian nationalists quickly established a local administration and an auxiliary police force, which began taking action against the Jewish population. The Jews were required to surrender all their valuables, and they were forced to conduct various types of forced labor. In addition, Jews were banned from appearing in public places and from having any contact with non-Jewish Lithuanians. The killings of Jews began immediately. On the very first day of the German occupation, Lithuanian partisans murdered two Jewish boys, Leibel Schwatz and Rubin Meyer.[1]

On Sunday, June 29, 1941, the first Aktion took place: Lithuanian partisans and 20 SS men from Heydekrug, under the leadership of SS-Untersturmführer Theodor Werner

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Scheu, arrested all male Jews over the age of 15, about 80 individuals. They were held initially on the market square and were jeered by hostile Lithuanians emerging from the church. The rabbi's beard was shorn as an act of humiliation. Then the male Jews were transported by truck to a labor camp in Heydekrug. Eleven elderly Jews who were unable to work were shot by Lithuanian partisans, probably at the Jewish cemetery, on June 30, 1941.[2]

Of those taken to Heydekrug, together with Jews from Laukuva, Švėkšna, and other places, a number were shot after four to five weeks, and the remainder were kept as forced laborers for more than three years. Some of these Jews ultimately ended up in the concentration camp system, passing also through Auschwitz II-Birkenau in 1943. From there a group was sent to clean up the area of the Warsaw ghetto, and only a handful survived until liberation.[3]

The approximately 200 Jewish women and children left behind in the village were forced into a ghetto, for which a single street (Laukuva Street), including the synagogue, was set aside. The ghetto was under the control of local Lithuanian activists, who raped and murdered many of the women. This ghetto was liquidated in September or October 1941, when all its residents were taken by truck to the Tūbinės Forest near Šilalė and were shot by Lithuanian policemen.[4] A number of Jews from the surrounding villages were also murdered in this place.

The Torah scrolls from Kvėdarna were hidden in the home of the priest, Milimas, and returned to the few survivors after the war.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kvėdarna can be found in the following publications: "Kvėdarna," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 295; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 384; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 17 and 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976-2010), Lfd. Nr. 511 and Lfd. Nr. 579.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF; LCVA; and YVA. The testimony of Gershon Young (Jung) is also summarized at jewishgen.org.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Testimonies of Motel Druzin (born March 20, 1903), Chaim Nadel (born May 7, 1905), Berel Levit (born May 3, 1917), Gershon Jung (born October 15, 1923), and Rosa Rachmel (born September 13, 1924), in YVA.

2. Ibid.; LG-Aur (Az 17, Ks 1/61), verdict of May 29, 1961, in the case against Struve, Scheu et al., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17, Lfd. Nr. 511, pp. 441–442; and vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 579, p. 309.

3. Testimony of Gershon Young (Jung) from YVA, summarized at jewishgen.org; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 295.

4. Testimonies of Motel Druzin, Chaim Nadel, Berel Levit, Gershon Jung, and Rosa Rachmel, in YVA.

KYBARTAI

Pre-1940: Kybartai (Yiddish: Kibart), town, Vilkaviškis apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kybartai/Kibartai, Vilkavishkis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kibarten, Kreis Wilkowischken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kybartai, Vilkaviškis rajonas, Marijampolė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kybartai is located 79 kilometers (49 miles) west-southwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 1,253 Jews living in the town (20 percent of the total population). In the 1930s, emigration caused a decline in the size of the Jewish population.

German armed forces captured the town on June 22, 1941, the first day of Germany's invasion of the USSR. Consequently, the Jews were unable to evacuate, and almost all of them remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately following the German capture of Kybartai, the Germans freed all the prisoners from the jail, including some who had been accused of resistance to Soviet rule. A few of the released prisoners, together with other Lithuanian nationalists, soon formed a town authority and a local police force. The head of the Lithuanian activists was the veterinarian Zubrickas, who had been among those imprisoned. The chief of police was a man named Vailokaitis.

Initially the German army remained in control of the town and did not take any measures against the Jews. However, soon the local Lithuanian authorities announced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forbidden to leave the town or to change their place of residence. They were dismissed from all positions working for government- and state-run business institutions. They had to hand over any weapons and radios in their possession, and they were forbidden to maintain relationships of any kind with non-Jews. A curfew was enforced for the Jews from 6:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M., and they also were required to wear yellow patches on the front and back of their outer clothes. Murders of the Jews began, primarily of those who had cooperated with the Soviet authorities, during the 1940–1941 Soviet occupation, including members of the Komsomol, a Communist youth organization.[1]

In July 1941, on the orders of the Tilsit Gestapo, members of the Grenzpolizei (Border Police) office in Eydtkau (headed by Kriminalobersekretär Tietz), along with Lithuanian police, arrested all male Jews over the age of 16 and placed them in a barn in the village of Gudkaimis, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) north of the town. A number of Jewish women and Lithuanians accused of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities were also arrested and taken to the same barn. There they stayed for several days without food or water. The guards turned back relatives who attempted to bring them food. On July 10, 1941, the prisoners from the barn were escorted by Lithuanian policemen to a meadow, where they were forced to enlarge existing Soviet antitank ditches. The male Jews then were made to undress, and the Germans took away any valuables from them. The Lithuanian police herded the

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prisoners under severe blows to the ditch, where a squad of German Security Police (Sipo) shot each of them with a bullet fired into the nape of the neck. In total, 185 Jews and 15 other Lithuanians were executed. The shooting was carried out by a detachment of the Sipo and SD based in Tilsit, under the leadership of SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, with the assistance of Lithuanian policemen. After the mass shooting, the participants ate a large dinner together, paid for from the money that had been collected from the victims.[2]

After the execution of all the men, the remaining Jewish women, children, and old people were placed in several red-brick buildings, formerly barracks, which became a ghetto for them. They remained in this ghetto for approximately one month, then they were moved to the Virbalis ghetto, having to leave most of their belongings behind. On September 11, 1941, the Virbalis ghetto was liquidated by shooting all of the inmates.[3]

On August 29, 1958, a court in Ulm, Germany, sentenced several persons, including Hans-Joachim Böhme, to various terms of imprisonment for participation in the execution of Jews in Kybartai, among other places, in July 1941. On October 12, 1961, a court in Dortmund, Germany, sentenced Gerke, another former official of the Tilsit Gestapo, to three years and six months in prison, also for participation in the Kybartai Aktion in July 1941.

After the war, several Lithuanian collaborators were convicted by Soviet courts for the murder of Jews and Communists from Kybartai. One of the last to be tried received a seven-year sentence, as it could only be proven that he had escorted the victims to their deaths.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Kybartai during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 412; "Kybartai," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Yosef Rosin et al., eds., *Sefer HaZikron LeKehillot Kibart Lita* (Haifa: Executive Committee of the Society of Former Residents of Kibart, 1988)—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; and "Kybartai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 575–580.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Kybartai can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/4650, 14163); GARF (7021-94-419); LCVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Rosin et al., "The German Occupation and the Destruction of the Jewish Community," in *Sefer HaZikron LeKehillot Kibart Lita*.

2. Ibid.; see also LG-Ulm, verdict of August 29, 1958, against Fischer-Schweder and others, in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten*, vol. 2, *Einsatzkommando Tilsit: Der Prozess zu Ulm* (Frankfurt/Main, 1966); LG-Dort, verdict of October 12, 1961, against Krumbach, Gerke, and Jahr, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 521; and Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 579–580.

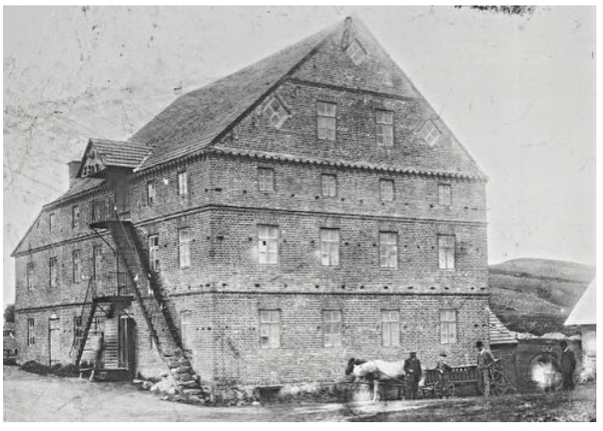
3. Rosin et al., "The German Occupation and the Destruction of the Jewish Community."

LAZDIJAI

Pre-1940: Lazdijai (Yiddish: Lazdei), Seinai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Lazdijai/Lazdiai, Seinai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Lasdien, Kreis center, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Lazdijai, rajonas center, Alytus apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Lazdijai is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) south-southwest of Kaunas. In June 1941, there were about 1,200 Jews living in the town, including around 150 refugees from the Suwałki region.

German forces occupied the town on June 22, 1941, following a heavy bombardment that destroyed two thirds of the houses in Lazdijai. Only 40 Jews were able to flee in time. On June 23, 30 local Lithuanian nationalists formed an administrative committee for the town, which soon implemented a series of anti-Jewish policies. After electing Antanas Aleliūnas as chairman, they thanked the German army and the "greatest leader, Adolf Hitler" by singing the Lithuanian national anthem.[1] On the next day, with the approval of the local German commandant, a Lithuanian police unit was organized, led by Julijonas Geiga. On June 25, 1941, the committee was ordered by the German commandant to resettle "the Jews who were endangering the public order" into two wooden barracks near the church, next to a camp established for the wives and children of Soviet officials, who had been unable to



Pre-war view of a flour mill, owned by the donor's grandfather, in the village of Katkishok outside Lazdijai. This mill later became the killing site for the Jews of Lazdijai.
USHMM WS #62818, COURTESY OF JUDY LUCAS

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evacuate.[2] The Jews were ordered to perform heavy labor. They were subjected to public humiliation and assault by the Lithuanian guards and local antisemites. Germans and Lithuanians threatened the Jews with death if they refused to hand over money, gold and silver, jewelry, watches, and other valuables. Some Jews were arrested as alleged Communists and Komsomol members. These people were escorted to Marijampolė and shot there.[3]

Twelve members of the Lithuanian committee went to Kaunas and returned on July 2 with authority from the Lithuanian provisional government to reorganize the local administration in Lazdijai. Aleliūnas became head of the local branch of Saugumas (the Lithuanian Security Police), and Albinas Karalius became the new head of the Lithuanian police for the Kreis, while the policeman Mikas Radevičius was named head of the Kreis administration in Lazdijai. Among the new anti-Jewish measures was their exclusion from all trade.[4]

On September 15, 1941, all the remaining Jews of Lazdijai were resettled into a ghetto, which consisted of six Red Army barracks on the Katkiškės estate, 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from the town. The ghetto grounds were cordoned off by barbed wire and placed under the watch of armed Lithuanian guards, commanded by Bronius Kazlauskas, who ran the ghetto. Jews were also resettled there from nearby towns and villages, including Veisiejai, Kapčiamiestis, and Rudamina, bringing the total number of inmates to more than 1,600 people. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) made up of representatives of the various communities regulated the internal affairs of the ghetto. It was headed by a man named Astromsky, a pharmacist from Kapčiamiestis, who consulted also closely with Rabbi Gerstein. A Jewish police force was created to maintain order. Each day the men were assigned to forced labor by a Jewish Labor Office. At first the inmates received a daily ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of unsalted bread and 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of potatoes, but the portions gradually diminished, and the Jews suffered from hunger. Only those who could trade personal items for food with local Lithuanians or those who received food for their agricultural work fared a little better.[5]

The ghetto was subordinated to the Lithuanian police chief for the Kreis, Karalius, who issued regulations for the ghetto similar to those applied to German concentration camps. Jews were not permitted to approach within 2 meters (6.6 meters) of the barbed wire, and no contacts were permitted across it. The penalty for leaving the ghetto without permission was death for the offender and his or her entire family.[6]

At the end of October, rumors spread that mass graves were being prepared nearby. Two Jewish women, who worked in the office of the German commandant, had overheard a conversation in which the head official in Marijampolė criticized his colleague in Lazdijai, asking when he was finally going to clear his Kreis of Jews. On Thursday, October 30, 1941, the ghetto was closed, and no one could leave to go to work. A Lithuanian police officer confirmed that pits were being dug and would be ready in a few days. Jews now tried to escape, but some were killed in the attempt.

The Lithuanians surrounded the barracks and boarded up all the windows and doors. The Jews were trapped inside without food or water. In total about 180 Jews managed to escape in these final days, but their chances of surviving in the countryside remained slim.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on November 3, 1941, when the Rollkommando Hamann, assisted by Lithuanian activists and police, shot 1,535 people (485 men, 511 women, and 539 children).[8] The Jews were forced to undress and climb into the pits. The Germans used machine guns, while the Lithuanians employed rifles. Local residents were requisitioned to fill in the pits, being forced to stay out of sight behind a hill during the shooting. The clothes of the murdered Jews were taken back to Lazdijai on wagons.[9]

Of the 180 Jews who escaped, most were killed by local farmers or were captured by the police and put in the Lazdijai jail. Once 35 Jews had been assembled there, they were all taken out and shot in the same mass grave as the others. Two escapees from the Lazdijai ghetto made their way to the Kaunas ghetto in July 1942. Only 8 Jews from the Lazdijai ghetto are known to have survived the war: Riva Gerstein-Michnovski, Zeiv Michnovski, Dov Zeif, Miryam Kuleiski and the sisters Gita and Batsheva Kaufman (all from Lazdijai), as well as Chmilevski (from Veisiejai) and Gedalia Kagan (from Rudamina).[10]

SOURCES Much of the information for this entry is based on the work of Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5. Other relevant publications include "Lazdijai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 349–352; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 303–305, available also in English in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 100–104; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 299.

Documents dealing with the elimination of the Jews in Lazdijai can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-428); LCVA (e.g., R 409-2-5); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 19); and YVA (Koniukhovsky Collection, O-71/131, 132).

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NOTES

1. Protocol no. 1, June 23, 1941, in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 151.

2. Protocols nos. 3 and 4, June 24 and 25, 1941, in Valentinas Brandisauskas, ed., *1941 m. Birzelio sukilimas. Dokumentu rinkinys* (Vilnius: LGGRTC, 2000), pp. 240–243, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

3. GARF, 7021-94-428; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas hakehilot: Lithuania*, p. 351.

4. Brandisauskas, *1941 m.*, pp. 245–247, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

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5. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 351–352.

6. LCVA, R 409-2-5, pp. 33–34, Gettui-Taisyklės, September 22, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

7. Levinson, *The Shoah*, pp. 103–104.

8. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114, report of Einsatzkommando No. 3, December 1, 1941; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965), p. 136; B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 237.

9. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 19, as cited by Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 299.

10. Levinson, *The Shoah*, p. 104; Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 109–110.

LINKUVA

Pre-1940: Linkuva (Yiddish: Linkeve), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Linkuva/Linkovo, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Linkau, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Linkuva, Pakruojis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Linkuva is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) north-northwest of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, there were 625 Jews living in Linkuva. In the 1930s, the number of Jews declined slightly. After the beginning of the war, a certain number of Jewish refugees settled in Linkuva.

German troops captured the town on June 28, 1941. Immediately after its capture, Lithuanian nationalist activists formed a partisan squad in Linkuva, which was headed initially by J. Jakubaitis and Jonas Tinteris. On June 29, 1941, the Lithuanian partisans started to arrest Jews and Communists, taking them to the Linkuva granary, which served as a police jail. Here they were interrogated, and more than 70 were murdered in Linkuva during the first days of the occupation. For example, on June 30, 10 young Jews were selected from the prison and taken to be shot near the Catholic cemetery. During the execution, 1 of them managed to escape.[1] On July 3, 1941, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northeast of Linkuva, 32 more people were shot.[2] On the previous day, July 2, 125 Jews—men, women, and children, both local residents and refugees—were taken to Šiauliai, where 57 men were put in jail. Later, almost all of these men were killed. The women and children were allowed to return to Linkuva. On their return journey, however, as they were passing through the town of Pakruojis, some of them were killed by local Lithuanian activists.[3]

According to the research of historian Arūnas Bubnys, the Linkuva partisan squad was reorganized into an auxiliary police squad in early July 1941, now headed by Lieutenant Petras Beleckas.[4] The Jews who had survived the initial massacres were then locked up in the barns of David Davidson, probably before mid-July, establishing a kind of ghetto.

Accounts of the fate of these remaining Jews differ in the available sources. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, all the remaining Jews were shot on July 23, 1941, when the barn ghetto in Linkuva was liquidated and up to 700 Jews (including some refugees from elsewhere) were shot in the Atkočiūnai Forest.[5]

On the basis of Soviet trials, Bubnys has reconstructed a more detailed version of the ghetto's liquidation. First the Lithuanian auxiliary police brought the Jewish men to the Tsalke farm, outside the town, probably near the village of Veselkiškiai. The next day, on or around July 26, 1941, a small squad of German Security Police, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliaries, shot between 180 and 200 Jewish men into a pit. The Jewish women and children (about 200–300 people) were taken from the ghetto and shot about one month later in the Atkočiūnai Forest. The women were forced to strip naked first, and the Gestapo men finished off with pistols anyone still moving in the pit. After the mass shooting, the executioners returned to Linkuva for a bout of drinking. More valuable possessions collected from the victims, such as gold rings, were taken by the Germans to Šiauliai, while the Jews' clothing was taken by the local policemen for their families.[6] (According to another source, the ghetto in Linkuva was liquidated between August 5 and 7, 1941, by executing about 500 Jews, with 300 women and children shot in the Atkočiūnai Forest, 5 kilometers [3 miles] southeast of Linkuva, and around 200 men shot in the Dovariukai Forest, 4 kilometers [2.5 miles] northeast of Linkuva.)[7]

Only a handful of Jews from Linkuva survived until the end of World War II.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Linkuva during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Linkuva," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 306; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 245–247; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 360–362; and J. Woolf, ed., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Linkuva can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; LYA (e.g., K 1-46-1277 and K 1-58-39421/3); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 306.

2. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 404.

3. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 306.

4. LYA, K 1-58-39421/3, pp. 32–35, 69–70.

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5. See GARF, 7021-94-436, p. 28.
6. Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews," pp. 246–247.
7. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes*, vol. 2, p. 404.

LYGUMAI

Pre-1940: Lygumai (Yiddish: Ligum), village, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Lygumai/Ligumai, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Lygumai, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pakruojis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Lygumai is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) east-northeast of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 240 Jews living in Lygumai, representing 32 percent of its population. In the 1930s, the number of Jews declined to 120.

In the first days of the war, Aleksandras Keniausis, head of the local detachment of Šaulys (marksmen), organized a squad of Lithuanian partisans, which was later reorganized into an auxiliary police detachment.[1] At this time a number of Jews attempted to flee Lygumai, but most were turned back at the Latvian border and forced to return home.

German troops captured the village on June 28, 1941. Immediately after its capture, Lithuanian nationalists seized power in Lygumai and soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. All Jewish refugees were ordered to leave without delay. On the pretext of searching for weapons, Lithuanian activists robbed many Jewish homes. They arrested a number of Jews on a charge of collaboration with the Soviet authorities in 1940–1941 and sent them to Šiauliai, where they were killed. Several Jews were murdered in the nearby Benaraitsiu Forest.

In the second half of July, all the remaining Jews were rounded up and confined at two separate sites. The Jewish men were taken to a farm in the Juknaičiai Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside Lygumai. The women and children were placed in the synagogue. These two sites served as a temporary ghetto for the Jews.

In early August, a squad of about 30 Lithuanian partisans assembled in Lygumai, where they were issued with weapons. They then went to the Juknaičiai Forest, where they escorted the Jewish men to a pit that had been prepared nearby. Under the command of four German officers from Šiauliai, the local partisans, reinforced by a squad of about a dozen men from Linkuva, carried out the shooting of the male Jews. The next day, or according to other sources, a few days later, the women and children from the synagogue were also escorted into the Juknaičiai Forest to be shot.

After each Aktion, the possessions of the victims were brought back to Lygumai on carts, and the participants congregated in the local government building to drink alcohol.[2]

SOURCES This account of the fate of the Jewish community of Lygumai during the Holocaust is based mainly on two publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 228–259, here p. 245; and Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 352–354—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Lygumai can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 104/67); GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; LYA (e.g., K 1-58-P18194-LI and K 1-58-45022/3); and YVA (M-9/15[6], Leyb Koniukhovsky Collection [O-71, file 109]).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. LYA, K 1-58-P18194-LI, p. 16, testimony of J. Barščiauskas, April 4, 1947, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews," p. 245.

2. Available sources diverge somewhat on the precise chronology of events. For example, B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 404, indicates that about 190 Jews were shot in July 1941. The testimony of Nisn Goldes (YVA, Leyb Koniukhovsky Collection, O-71, file 109) also mentions an execution by shooting in July 1941. German investigative sources, i.e., BA-L, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 104/67, Concluding Report, April 26, 1971, p. 10, as cited by Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), p. 297, reports that about 500 Jews were shot on August 1, 1941.

ŁYNTUPY

Pre-1939: Łyntupy (Yiddish: Lyntup), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lyntupy, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: initially Rayon Swir, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Swir, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pastavy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łyntupy is located 76 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1930, there were 70 Jewish families living in Łyntupy.

German armed forces had occupied the town by the start of July 1941. As soon as the Soviets retreated, a Lithuanian, pro-Nazi militia took over and started to persecute the Jews, killing two people.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) exerted authority in the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Łyntupy first was included in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien (Gebiet Wilejka), and in April 1942, it became part of Generalkommissariat Litauen (Gebiet Wilna-Land).

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was introduced in Łyntupy. These included marking the Jews with the Star of David, using them for forced labor, and

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placing a ban on their leaving the town limits. The local auxiliary police robbed and beat the Jews with impunity.

Murders of Jews, singly and in groups, took place intermittently from the start of the occupation. Soviet records indicate that in 1941, 22 Jews were shot in Łyntupy.[1] For example, Lithuanian policemen arrested Rabbi Judkovsky and his family for listening to the radio illegally in the house of the former mayor. They were then taken outside the village and shot.[2] In addition, several Jews were arrested and sent to Wilejka, where they were shot despite bribes paid to the head of the German Gendarmerie in Wilejka.[3]

At some time in the second half of 1941 or in early 1942, all the Jews of Łyntupy were moved into a small, run-down section of town, where a ghetto was established.[4] On May 19, 1942, partisans killed two German Kreislandwirtschaftsführer (agricultural leaders) on the Święciany-Łyntupy road. In retribution, 400 "saboteurs and terrorists"[5] were shot in Łyntupy and the surrounding villages. Soviet sources indicate that Jews may have been among those killed in reprisal, but available Jewish survivor testimony does not mention this event.[6]

According to the child survivor Irene Skibinski, at some point, in the spring or summer of 1942, the ghetto was divided in two, and part of the Jewish population was then resettled to the Święciany ghetto. A census taken by the German authorities, officially dated May 27, 1942, reported that there were 161 Jews residing in Łyntupy.[7] This figure probably represents those that remained in Łyntupy, although it may have been taken just before this transfer.

More than 100 Jewish skilled and essential workers, such as an electrician, together with their families, remained in the town. These people were resettled into three houses in the town center, forming a small remnant ghetto or labor camp. They lived there in very crowded conditions, with four to five families sharing a room. Skibinski recalls that there was no school and a shortage of food. Her brother was able to sneak out and obtain food and medicine for her when she fell ill.[8]

Following a partisan attack on Łyntupy on the night of December 18, 1942, the remnant ghetto/labor camp was liquidated on December 22, 1942, when the 93 remaining inmates were rounded up and shot. Some were shot inside the town and the rest at the mass burial site on the town's southern edge.[9] During the roundup, Skibinski's brother was shot by Lithuanian policemen, but she managed to hide in a cellar with her mother. When they emerged from hiding some time later at night, the doors of the ghetto buildings had already been boarded up. They went to the house of Catholic priest Father Pakalnis, who instructed his housekeeper to hide them in the cellar until things quieted down.[10]

Basia Rudnicka also escaped successfully from the Łyntupy ghetto and found refuge with local people near Święciany. Some Jews from Łyntupy were active in the underground in the Święciany ghetto, where a group of Jews escaped to join the partisans in the spring of 1943.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Łyntupy during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1433–1446—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; "Lyntupy," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 395–397; and Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, *Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners*, *1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 429–431, 640.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of Jews in Łyntupy can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-13); LCVA (e.g., R 685-4-6); VHF (# 38278); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 180.
2. Mordekhai Kentsianski (Max Khenchynski), "Our Shtetl," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, pp. 1433–1446; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, pp. 396–397.
3. Irene Mauber Skibinski, "Through the Eyes of a Child—My Childhood in Lyntupy," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, pp. 1433–1446; see also her more recent testimony, VHF, # 38278.
4. Skibinski, "Through the Eyes of a Child," pp. 1433–1446.
5. LCVA, R 685-4-6, p. 22, Bekanntmachung, Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Wulff, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 250–251.
6. According to Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida*, pp. 180–181, on May 19 and 20, 1942, 61 Jews were shot in a forest northwest of Łyntupy, and 66 were shot on Golubkov Street. This may, however, reflect the destruction of the labor camp in December 1942, due to incorrect dating.
7. Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, p. 640.
8. VHF, # 38278.
9. The date and number of victims are taken from the inscription on the memorial; see Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, p. 429.
10. Skibinski, "Through the Eyes of a Child," pp. 1433–1446; see also VHF, # 38278.

MARIJAMPOLĖ

Pre-1940: Marijampolė (Yiddish: Mariampol), town and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Marijampolė/Mariiampole, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Mariampol, Kreis center, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Marijampolė, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Marijampolė is located about 54 kilometers (34 miles) southwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 2,545 Jews living in the town. By 1940, it is estimated that the

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Flowers and wreaths cover the base of a memorial to Jewish victims in Marijampolė, 1946.
USHMM WS #14816, COURTESY OF SARA TROZKI KOPER

Jewish population had increased to some 2,900, out of a total population of 15,700. This number included about 200 Jewish refugees from the Suwałki region.

After a heavy bombardment, which caused several casualties, German armed forces captured the town on June 23, 1941. The rapid German advance forced most Jews who attempted to flee to turn back to Marijampolė. As recorded by the Kommandant des rückwärtigen Armeegebietes 584, Generalleutnant von Speman, on June 28, 1941: "In Marijampolė the inhabitants formed a local self-defense and police force. Its measures were directed primarily against the Jews."[1] Many Jews were arrested in these first days, and they were subsequently shot in a forest about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town in the direction of Vilkaviškis. Before July 18, five mass shootings were recorded in German reports, shootings that claimed the lives of at least 174 Jewish men, 14 Jewish women, and 15 Communists.[2]

On July 11, the Kreischef (regional head) ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Rabbi Abrom Geleris, which had six members. By mid-July the Kreischef in Marijampolė had instituted a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews had to wear six-pointed Star of David patches on the front and back of their clothing, and they were required to perform various kinds of hard labor, which included clearing up bomb damage for the men and domestic service for the women. Jews were banned from most public places, including parks, restaurants, and libraries, and could only visit stores at certain restricted times.[3]

One day, the Jews were forced to burn the Torah scrolls from the synagogue, and later in July, the Jews were ordered to abandon their homes and gather in the synagogue and several adjacent houses. In this improvised ghetto, the Jews were subjected to robbery, forced labor, and the abuse of women at night. Some men, who were taken out for forced labor, were simply murdered on the outskirts of town.[4] According to an Einsatzgruppen report, on July 25, 1941, another 90 Jewish men and 13 Jewish women were shot.[5]

In August, the Germans forced Jewish youths to dig trenches behind the barracks near the Šešupė River. At the end of August, the Jewish Council was informed by the Lithuanian administration that a large ghetto was going to be established in the cavalry barracks and that the surrounding area would be handed over to the Jews. The German authorities also informed the Jews that they would be permitted to organize the social and economic aspects of their lives as they saw fit in the ghetto, as long as the war continued. This information was designed to allay fears and spreading rumors that the Jews would soon be shot. At the end of August, all the Jews of Marijampolė packed up their belongings and moved into the barracks. On arrival, the men were separated from the women and children and were crammed into the horse stables. Over the next days the men were subjected to physical abuse. Additional Jews were also brought into the barracks ghetto from Kazlų Rūda, Liudvinavas, and other nearby places at this time.[6]

Then on August 30, 1941, the remaining Jews in Kalvarija, probably in excess of 1,000 people, were told they would be transferred to the Marijampolė ghetto. They loaded all their belongings onto wagons, but these were only taken to the local synagogue. Then the Kalvarija Jews were also taken to the cavalry barracks in Marijampolė, which became extremely overcrowded, holding some 5,000 people by now.[7]

The mass shooting of the Jews concentrated in the Marijampolė ghetto was conducted between 10:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. on September 1, 1941. The men were shot first, followed by the women, children, and the elderly and infirm. About 40 German officers and men organized the Aktion at the barracks, while the shooting at the trenches was conducted by 10 to 15 Germans, assisted by 20 to 30 Lithuanian policemen. According to the report of SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, in charge of Einsatzkommando 3, 1,763 Jewish men, 1,812 Jewish women, and 1,404 Jewish children were shot together with 109 mentally ill patients, a German citizen who was married to a Jew, and one Russian. The victims were stripped down to their

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underwear, forced to lie down in the trench in groups, and then shot with machine guns from the side. Many of them were only wounded and buried alive. Three men of Einsatzkommando 3 prevented an escape attempt by killing 38 people who tried to flee down a forest path. Some infants were clubbed or trampled to death. Many of the killers were drunk during the Aktion.[8]

After the war, almost no trace of the former Jewish population remained in the town.

SOURCES Information about the elimination of the Jews in Marijampolė can be found in the following publications: "Marijampole," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 385–391; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 292–293; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 216–218; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214-216); BA-MA (RH 22/362); GARF; LCVA (e.g., R 1361-1-465; R 1361-3-21); LYA (3377-55-108); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 22/362, p. 32, KTB Nr. 2, Korück 584, June 28, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."
2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 11, July 11, 1941; RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
3. LCVA, R 1361-1-465, p. 1; R 1361-3-21, pp. 4, 6, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik." See also Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 385–391.
4. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 385–391.
5. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 54, August 16, 1941 (NO-2849).
6. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 385–391.
7. Ibid., pp. 385-391 and pp. 590–594 (Kalvarija). These sources report some 8,000 Jewish victims gathered in Marijampolė, but German reports put the figure at around 5,000, which is probably more reliable.
8. Ibid., pp. 385–391; RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 112, 116; Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, pp. 292–293; Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, pp. 217–218.

MAŽEIKIAI

Pre-1940: Mažeikiai (Yiddish: Mazheik), town, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Mažeikiai/Mazheikiai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Moscheiken, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Mažeikiai, rajonas center, Telšiai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Mažeikiai is located 74 kilometers (46 miles) northwest of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 771 Jews living in the town. As of 1941, there were around 1,000 Jews residing in Mažeikiai.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. At the start of July 1941, Lithuanian nationalists, headed by a certain Payulis, a former captain in the Lithuanian army, and his deputy Juozas Smauskas, ordered all the Jews to gather in the Bet Midrash. The dentist Dr. Fanya Lampe refused to leave her home, so the Lithuanians killed her and her child. A few days later, the Jews were moved from the Bet Midrash and resettled into a granary. There, Jewish men, over the age of 15, were separated from the women and children. The men remained in the building, while the women and children were resettled to the Psherkshkniai estate, near the village of Tirkšliai. In effect, two ghettos were set up in Mažeikiai, one for the men in the granary and one for the women and children on the Psherkshkniai estate, where the Jewish women and children from Tirkšliai were already concentrated. Able-bodied men were exploited for labor of various kinds in Mažeikiai and its surroundings. The intensive physical labor included loading and unloading trains at the railway station.

On August 3, 1941, all the Jewish men were taken out of the granary and shot near the Jewish cemetery. On August 5, the women and children were resettled into the granary. On August 9, the women and children were also shot near the Jewish cemetery. Along with the Jewish women and children from Mažeikiai, Jews from at least 10 other localities—Akmenė, Seda, Viekšniai, Tirkšliai, Židikai, Pikeliai, Klykoliai, Leckava, Laižuva, and Vegeriai—were also murdered. The total number of victims was around 3,000, buried in at least five separate mass graves. The killings were carried out by the Lithuanian police, under the supervision of the Germans, most likely a detachment of Einsatzkommando 2 from Šiauliai. About 30 non-Jewish Soviet activists, who had been held in the Mažeikiai jail, were also shot along with the Jews. The Lithuanian participants in the shootings were rewarded with Jewish clothing collected at the killing site. After the Aktion, the Lithuanian policemen celebrated their ill-gotten gains with a large meal accompanied by alcohol in Mažeikiai.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Mažeikiai can be found in these publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 309–310—an English translation by Arye Harry Shamir is available at jewishgen.org; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 218–219; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 304–305 (Tirkšliai) and 367–369 (Mažeikiai).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Mažeikiai in the Holocaust can be found in these archives: GARF (7021-94-423, pp. 51–52); LCVA; LYA (3377-55-111); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1555 and 1637; M-1/Q/279).

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MEJSZAGOŁA

Pre-1939: Mejszagoła (Yiddish: Meyshegola), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Maišiagala, Vilnius apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Maišiagala/Maishagala, Vilnius uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Maischiogala, Kreis Wilna, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Maišiagala, Vilnius rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Mejszagoła is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) north-northwest of Wilno. About 700 Jews resided in the village on the eve of World War II.

When the Soviet forces withdrew in late June 1941, local Lithuanians organized a pogrom in Mejszagoła. On the arrival of the Germans, Jewish property was confiscated, including their farms. On German orders, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the village. Jews were required to perform forced labor and were subjected to other restrictions, including the times when they were allowed to purchase food.

The most detailed account of the Mejszagoła ghetto is the testimony by David Rudnik in handwritten Yiddish. He reported that after about one month a ghetto was established in Mejszagoła on small streets that were muddy and dark. At night Germans and Lithuanians entered the ghetto to rob and scare the Jews. They dragged out young Jewish girls and raped them. The Jewish men left the ghetto to perform forced labor working on road repairs, and the women cleaned the homes of local non-Jews. The Jews obtained food from the local farmers.[1]

Living conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with four families sharing a single room. This overcrowding became even worse when Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought into the Mejszagoła ghetto. The Judenrat did not treat the Jews badly but had to collect "contributions" in money, gold, and other items to meet German demands. The Jews also had to surrender all their livestock. The ghetto existed for about two months.[2]

The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos indicates that the Mejszagoła ghetto was liquidated on September 28, 1941, when its inhabitants were taken to the village of Wilanowa, where they were murdered a few days later by Lithuanian and German policemen. In the view of Christoph Dieckmann, however, it is possible that the Jews from the Mejszagoła ghetto were taken to the estate at Veliučionys, near Naujoji Vilnia, where the Soviets had erected a military college. Hundreds of Jews from the region were brought there around September 22 and were shot shortly afterwards. A brief report in *Hurbn Vilne* notes that the Jews of Mejszagoła were taken to Vilianove (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] from Wilno) on September 24 and were shot there within a brief time. It is likely that Wilanowa, Naujoji Vilnia, and Vilianove are all different spellings for the same place.

Rudnik reports that two days before Rosh Hashanah (on September 22 in 1941), on a Sunday, Lithuanian policemen arrived from Wilno and herded all the Jews into the synagogue. Here the Jews were forced to surrender their valuables, including their wedding rings. The Jews were told they would be taken to Wilno. The able-bodied were then marched 15 kilometers (9 miles) on foot to Wilanowa, not far from Podbrzezie,[3] with the children and the elderly transported on trucks. The Jews were brutally beaten with sharp sticks by the Lithuanian police along the route. On arrival the Jews were locked in a barn for three days and nights. About 80 Jewish men, including Rudnik, were taken out to dig a large pit in the forest about 500 meters (547 yards) from the barn.

On Wednesday morning (September 23) the Lithuanian and Polish policemen became drunk and raped the young Jewish girls aged 14 to 18. Then SS men arrived from Wilno and started to take groups of 13 to 15 men to the pit to shoot them. Rudnik was among the first group, which scattered in all directions on a signal. He was 1 of only 3 people who managed to escape from the killing site. The rest of his group was shot trying to escape. After the men, the women and children were forced to undress and were shot into the same pit, some being buried alive. After the Aktion, the Lithuanians auctioned off the Jewish clothing.[4]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 459; 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), p. 807; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6; and Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), p. 133.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Mejszagoła can be found in the following archives: LCVA; LG-Würz (Ks 15/49, case gainst Martin Weiss); and YVA (M-1/E/1689).

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NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/1689 (USHMM, RG-68.095), testimony of David Rudnik.
2. Ibid.
3. It is possible that there was also a ghetto in Podbrzezie, but no detailed information could be found about it for this volume.
4. YVA, M-1/E/1689 (USHMM, RG-68.095), testimony of David Rudnik.

MERKINĖ

Pre-1940: Merkinė (Yiddish: Meretsh), town, Alytus apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Merkinė/Merkine, Olita uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Merken, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Merkinė, Varėna rajonas, Alytus apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Merkinė is located 84 kilometers (52 miles) south-southeast of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 1,430 Jews living in the town. By June 1941, the population had decreased,

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owing to the out-migration of Jews, and stood at fewer than 1,000 people (350 families).

German forces captured the town on June 22, 1941. Merkinė endured severe bombardment, and many Jewish homes were destroyed. A few local Jews attempted to escape, but they were soon forced to return to Merkinė.[1]

Immediately after the seizure of the town, Lithuanian nationalists, led by Matuleitis, the head of the local detachment of Šaulys (marksmen), formed a town administration and a police force, which soon implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with Stars of David, ordered into compulsory labor, and subjected to robbery and assault (including rape) by local antisemites. On June 24, 1941, the first group of Jews was murdered. On the grounds of the Jewish cemetery, Lithuanian partisans shot several Jews whom they accused of being Communists and having collaborated with the Soviet authorities.

According to the account in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry's *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, in early July, the German commandant in Merkinė took 50 Jews hostage in an attempt to force the return of Rav Shtoppel, the town's rabbi, who had gone into hiding. As no one was willing to betray the rabbi's whereabouts, the commandant then threatened to kill all the Jews. When word of this reached the rabbi, he surrendered voluntarily. He was then forced to dance and sing before being brutally killed.[2] Other Jews were taken to the Niemen River and drowned there.

In the first half of July 1941, all the Jews in the town were ordered to resettle into a ghetto. The area around the synagogue, the Bet Midrash, and its courtyard was designated for the ghetto. The men resided in the Bet Midrash, separated from the women and children. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by armed Lithuanian police. A Judenrat with a few members was formed to oversee internal ghetto affairs. Local Lithuanians were permitted to requisition Jews for work. Some selected Jews against whom they had a grudge to take their revenge. From the ghetto, several groups of Jewish men were taken away in the direction of Alytus, then shot.

The Merkinė ghetto remained in existence for about two months. At the end of August, the Jews were made to prepare long trenches in the Jewish cemetery, which allegedly were needed for military purposes. Then a few days later, armed Lithuanians surrounded the ghetto and guarded it closely during the night to prevent anyone from escaping. The next morning, the Jews were driven out of the ghetto to the Jewish cemetery, leaving all their possessions behind.[3]

According to German documentation, the Germans and their collaborators shot the Jews from the Merkinė ghetto on September 10, 1941. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian policemen, shot 854 Jews (223 men, 355 women, and 276 children) in the Jewish cemetery.[4] A few Jewish girls who managed to escape at the time of the roundup were subsequently captured and killed.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and killing of the Jews in Merkinė can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965); Joseph Rosin, "Meretch (Merkine)," available at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/meretch/meretch1a.html; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 311–312; Uri Shefer, ed., *Meretch: Ayara yehudit be-Lita* (Society of Meretch Immigrants in Israel, 1988); "Meretsh," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 219–221; "Merkine," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 392–396; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 459–460.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA; RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, pp. 311–312.
2. Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 221. This incident, however, is not mentioned in the account by Rosin, "Meretch (Merkine)."
3. Rosin, "Meretch (Merkine)," and Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, pp. 311–312, both date the mass shooting on September 8, 1941.
4. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941; Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 1, p. 135; B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 235.

MICHALISZKI

Pre-1939: Michaliszki, town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Mikhalishki, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: initially Michalischki, Kreis Swir, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Mikhalishki, Astravets raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Michaliszki is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1897, the Jewish population of the town was 951, out of a total of 1,224. Before World War II, there were about 800 Jews living there.

German forces captured the town on June 24, 1941. As the Germans arrived, many Jews fled into the forests. The non-Jewish local inhabitants exploited this opportunity to loot Jewish property. In response to a German order, warning that Jews who did not come home by a certain date would be punished, most of the fugitive Jews returned.

In the summer of 1941, the Germans ordered the chairman of the existing Jewish community (gmina) in Michaliszki, Ora Bleicher, to organize a Jewish Council (Judenrat). However, according to Bleicher's account, when it came to an

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election, nobody wanted the position, as they were all afraid of the onerous responsibilities.[1] Nevertheless, a Judenrat was formed, which included the following as members: Yitzhak Świrski (chairman), Josef Chit, Szyjn Miller, Salmun Baruch, Salome Rabinowicz, and Szymon Eystein.

A ghetto was established in Michaliszki by October 1941 on two unpaved streets near the center of town. The spaces between the houses were boarded up with wooden planks, and there was only one exit to the ghetto, guarded internally by the Jewish Police and externally by non-Jewish local policemen. Inside the ghetto, several families had to share a single dwelling.[2] The Jews who performed forced labor left the ghetto area on a daily basis. The Jews worked mostly in the construction or reconstruction of bridges, roads, and railroad tracks, in mills, and in electrical companies. In addition, they had to clear the rubble and snow from the roads. Some Jews were also sent away from the ghetto for a period to cut lumber in the forests.

On April 1, 1942, the region including Michaliszki was transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen and became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land. At this time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and local police. Among the restrictions imposed officially on the Jews living in the ghettos in this region were a curfew from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. and a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews.[3] At the end of May 1942, there were 787 Jews in the Michaliszki ghetto: 363 men and 424 women.[4] In July 1942, a total of 35 prisoners from the Michaliszki ghetto were sent to work in the eastern branch of the Włokiennicze cardboard company.[5]

A document dated November 6, 1942, from the office of the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, noted that Michaliszki had been recognized as a main ghetto, now subordinated to the administration of the Judenrat in Wilno, and that it had two subghettos, one in Łyntupy and a second in Świr.[6] According to one report, some of the Jews capable of work may have been transferred to the Michaliszki ghetto from Kiemieliszki and Bystrzyca when those ghettos were liquidated at the end of October.[7] Other Jews arrived in Michaliszki after fleeing from Aktions in nearby ghettos, including Świr. Among them was Yehoshua Swidler, who was told by the Judenrat on November 7 that he must leave Michaliszki, as German orders barred the absorption of refugees from other towns. However, instead, he was added to the next transport of laborers to the ghetto in Wilno.[8] At the end of 1942, about 500 inmates of the Świr ghetto were transferred to the Michaliszki ghetto. Only 60 "specialized" Jewish workers then remained in Świr.[9]

In a strictly confidential letter dated March 9, 1943, the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land informed the Organisation Todt and the Giesler construction company of an order calling for the transfer of all the Jews working in these companies back to the ghettos in Oszmiana, Świr, Michaliszki, and Święciany by March 22, 1943. He also recommended in this memorandum that no appeal should be made against this order.[10]

In early March 1943, a group of young Jews from the Michaliszki ghetto managed to escape to the forests with the aim of joining the anti-German partisans.[11]

At the end of March, the Germans liquidated the Michaliszki ghetto. H. Kruk records that 400 wagons with Jews and their possessions arrived in Wilno from Michaliszki. They were accommodated temporarily on Strashun and Oszmiana Streets. Then in early April, many of the Michaliszki Jews were added to a train containing other Jews from the region, reputedly headed for Kaunas. Instead, the train went only to Ponary, where all the Jews were shot. The train contained Jews from the ghettos of Soly, Oszmiana, Gudogaj, and Ostrowiec, as well as Michaliszki, about 2,500 in total. Only about 50 Jews from this transport managed to escape. A number of Jews from Michaliszki, however, were selected for labor and remained in the Wilno ghetto or were sent to various labor camps subordinated to it, including the camp at Vievis.[12]

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Michaliszki can be found in these publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 114–115; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.8.1; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 464–465; Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982); and Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002).

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: BA-DH (ZM 1641, A 23); LCVA (R 614-1-736, R 626-l-124, R 677-1-46); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 30396, 35318, 39703); YIVO (RG-104 I, no. 611); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/286).

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/286, testimony of Ore Bleicher, as cited by Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, pp. 252–253.
2. VHF, # 39703, testimony of Martin Kulbak; # 35318, testimony of Abraham Rudnick.
3. Anordnung Betr.: Ghettoisierung der Juden, issued by Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, May 13, 1942, reproduced in Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, p. 130.
4. LCVA, R 743-2-10274, pp. 31 and verso, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 114.
5. LCVA, R 626-l-124, p. 48.
6. Ibid., R 614-1-736, p. 299.
7. YIVO, RG-104 I, no. 611, report of Shmuel Kalmanovich, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.8.1.
8. Yitzhak Siegelman, ed., *Sefer Kobylnik* (Haifa: Va'ad Yozei Kobylnik b'Israel, Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel, 1967), p. 151, as cited by Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 151.

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9. BA-DH, ZM 1641, A 23, p. 129 (the case of Gite Mular); Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 86.
10. LCVA, R 677-1-46, p. 5.
11. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 494.
12. Ibid., p. 534; BA-DH, ZM 1641, A 23, p. 129 (the case of Gite Mular); Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, p. 359; VHF, # 39703, # 35318, and # 30396, testimony of Jack Wysoki.

NAUMIESTIS

Pre-1940: Naumiestis (Yiddish: Neishtot-Tavrig), town, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Naumiestis/Naumestis, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Neustadt, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Žemaičių Naumiestis, Šilute rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Naumiestis is located 150 kilometers (93 miles) west-northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 667 Jews living in Naumiestis, 37 percent of the town's total population. About 120 Jewish families remained in Naumiestis by the time of the Soviet occupation in June 1940.

German forces captured the town on the morning of June 22, 1941, the first day of their invasion of the USSR. Following the killing of 14 German soldiers by gunfire, probably from Soviet stragglers, the Germans arrested a number of Jewish men as hostages, holding them in the Lutheran church. However, after the local Lithuanian priest avowed that the Jews were innocent, the men were released to return home.

Immediately after the occupation of the town, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which, together with the German Ortskommandantur (military commandant's office), introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews had to report daily to the Ortskommandantur, where they were assigned to perform forced labor. The tasks included sweeping the streets, road repairs, work in a German field kitchen, and the burial of fallen soldiers. The Jews were required to wear yellow patches on their clothes and were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks. At the end of June, the Jews were forced to remove the Torah scrolls and even the benches from the synagogue and burn them.

In early July 1941, all the town's Jews were concentrated in a few houses on Pigs Street, a derelict quarter near the Sustis River, which became the ghetto.[1] The Germans and Lithuanians removed five Jewish girls from the ghetto, and they were never heard from again.

The first Aktion took place on July 19, 1941. Initially, all Jewish males older than 14 were assembled at the synagogue. From this group, 27 able-bodied men were selected and put in the barracks. They were subsequently taken to the Heydekrug (Šilute) labor camp. Of the remaining Jewish males, 10 were sent back to the ghetto, while the others, about 70 in all, were shot near Šiaudvyčiai along with more than 100 male Jews brought there from Vainutas. The shooting was carried out by Lithuanian police and members of the 2nd SS-Reitersturm, SS-Reiterstandarte 20. The Reiterstandarte was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Struve; the Reitersturm, by SS-Untersturmführer Theodor Werner Scheu. Other participants in the killing were members of the 2nd SS-Sturmbann, SS-Standarte 105, and two officials of the Tilsit Gestapo.[2]

During the mass shooting, at least one Jew tried to flee, but he was chased down and shot, and his body was also thrown into the mass grave. One of those selected for labor, Esriel Glock, heard the shooting in the distance (about 4 kilometers [2.5 miles] away) and learned from one of the Lithuanian guards what had happened to the other group of men. After a few hours, the SS men returned to the barracks from the shooting site. The forced laborers were then permitted to return home briefly to the ghetto to fetch some additional clothing before they were sent to the Heydekrug camp.[3]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, other Jews from Pajūris, Švėkšna, Veivirženai, Kvėdarna, and Laukuva were also brought to the killing site at Šiaudvyčiai on trucks and were shot there. These were probably male Jews who had been sent initially to the Heydekrug labor camp at the end of June 1941 and after four or five weeks had been deemed unfit, following a medical examination. Apparently these men were shot, probably at Šiaudvyčiai, in the second half of July.[4]

The remaining Jews in the ghetto continued to perform forced labor and suffered from hunger and abuse. The ghetto existed until September 25, 1941, when all the Jews were taken out and shot at the Šiaudvyčiai killing site.

The male forced laborers from Naumiestis were kept at the Heydekrug labor camp until the summer of 1943, when they were sent to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Here, according to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 99 men from the group were sent to the gas chambers, and the remainder were sent in October 1943 to clear out the rubble from the Warsaw ghetto. Of the men originally from Naumiestis, only 7 are believed to have survived the war, some of them being liberated by the U.S. Army in Bavaria, after having been transferred to a Dachau subcamp.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Naumiestis during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Our Town Neishtot* (Israel: Neishtot-Tavrig Natives Committee, 1982); Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 398–401—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; LG-Aur, verdict of June 26, 1964, against Struve et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 579, pp. 318–330; Ruth Leiserowitz, "Grenzregion als Grauzone. Heydekrug—eine Stadt an der Peripherie Ostpreussens," in Christian Pletzing, ed., *Vorposten des Reichs?: Ostpreussen 1933–1945* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2006), pp. 129–149.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Naumiestis can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5394-5399); GARF (7021-94-429); and YVA (Leib Koniuchovsky Collection O-71, files 4, 16; M-1/E/1619).

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NOTES

1. The ghetto is mentioned in LG-Aur, verdict of June 26, 1964, against Struve et al., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 579, p. 319.
2. Ibid., pp. 320–321.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 162/59, vol. 2 (B 162/5395), p. 320, testimony of Esriel Glock, 1961, as cited by Leiserowitz, "Grenzregion als Grauzone," p. 140.
4. YVA, testimony of Gershon Young (Jung) from Kvėdarna, summarized at jewishgen.org, who mentions the disappearance of a number of unfit men after four or five weeks.

NOWE ŚWIĘCIANY

Pre-1939: Nowe Święciany (Yiddish: Nei-Sventzion), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Švenčionėliai, Švenčionys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Švenčionėliai/ Novo-Sventsiany, Sventsiany uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowe Schwentschionys, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Švenčionėliai, Švenčionys rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Nowe Święciany is located about 76 kilometers (47 miles) north-northeast of Wilno. According to unofficial data from July 1940, there were 966 Jews living in the town, comprising 20 percent of the total population.

Following the German invasion of Lithuania, nationalist riflemen (Šaulys) and (Lithuanian) Red Army deserters soon joined forces around Nowe Święciany to form a Lithuanian partisan unit of about 60 men, led by Jonas Kurpis. This force attacked retreating units of the Red Army, and some fleeing Jews were killed in the cross fire.[1] The Lithuanian activists then began to arrest Jews and alleged Communists in Nowe Święciany, shooting a number of them in early July, after the arrival of German forces. Among the Jews murdered were Portnoj (mill owner), Epstein (turpentine factory owner), Gavenda (tradesman), and Dr. Kopelovitch (physician).

Bronius Gruzdys was appointed head of the local police in Nowe Święciany. In July the Jews suffered from looting and abuse at the hands of the Lithuanians. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to organize forced labor detachments. Among the Jews involved on the council were the merchants Berl Guterman, Yeshayohu Katz, and Osher Butshunsky. They assisted the rabbi, who was in charge of setting up the council.[2]

On July 22, 1941, Lithuanian activists arrested and registered 50 Jewish men. These men were then taken to be killed in groups. When the final group arrived at the killing site and saw the graves, some of the Jewish men fled in different directions, and a few, including Fayve Khayet, managed to escape unscathed. Among the victims were also some Jewish refugees who had fled from other towns in Poland in the fall of 1939.[3]

At the end of July 1941 (or in mid-August, according to Khayet), all the town's Jews were moved into a separate quarter (open ghetto) on Kaltanėnų Street. The Jews continued, however, to trade with local non-Jews illegally, despite the strict local regulations limiting their access to markets and stores. The Jews in the ghetto became increasingly resigned and desperate. However, rumors circulating about the murder of entire Jewish communities elsewhere in Lithuania encountered considerable skepticism.[4]

On September 26, 1941, the local police and former Lithuanian partisans surrounded the ghetto, and on the next day they transferred all the Jews (about 300 to 400 people) to an overcrowded barracks at the military camp (firing range), also known as the Poligon transit camp, located 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) outside the town.

The Jews were held in the Poligon camp for more than a week under atrocious conditions, together with thousands of Jews brought there from other towns in the region, including Ignalino and Podbrodzie. On October 6, the men were separated from the women, and on October 7 Fayve Khayet managed to escape, making his way to the enclosed ghetto in the nearby larger town of Święciany.[5] In the meantime, the German Security Police had informed the mayor of Nowe Święciany, Karolis Cicėnas, and the police chief, Gruzdys, that all the Jews were going to be shot, and these officials organized the preparation of large ditches in the vicinity. Then on October 7–8, 1941, the Jews of Nowe Święciany were shot, along with several thousand other Jews from towns in the region, including from Święciany, where a number of craftsmen were selected out and kept alive in a remnant ghetto. The Jews were taken out of the barracks in groups of 50 and transported by truck to the killing site. The Aktion was organized by the German Security Police and implemented by the men of the Ypatingas Burys Lithuanian killing squad commanded by Juozas Šidlauskas, assisted by 120 local Lithuanian policemen and former partisans. According to the report of Karl Jäger, the commander of Einsatzkommando 3, the 3,726 Jewish victims included 1,169 men, 1,840 women, and 717 children.[6] Other sources, however, indicate that as many as 6,000 to 8,000 people may have been killed at the site.[7]

SOURCES Much of the information for this entry comes from Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 83–118, here pp. 94–95; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Nowe Święciany can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 1548-1-1); LYA (K 1-58-P19224); and YVA (O-71/169.1).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-71/169.1, testimony of Fayve Khayet, recorded by L. Koniukhovsky, April 1948, p. 123.
2. Ibid., p. 126.
3. Ibid., p. 129. This source lists the names of 23 of the victims.
4. Ibid., pp. 132–133; for the restrictions on Jews visiting markets and shops, see LCVA, R 1548-1-1, p. 309, Order no.

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25, issued by the Head of Kreis Schwentschionys, August 25, 1941.

5. YVA, O-71/169.1, p. 134.

6. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114. This report gives October 9, 1941, as the date of the killing, but other sources indicate it occurred on October 7–8, 1941.

7. Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), p. 1376, gives the figure of 8,000 victims at the Poligon camp. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," uses the phrase "at least 5,000."

OBELIAI

Pre-1940: Obeliai (Yiddish: Abel), village, Rokiškis apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Obeliai/Obialiai, Rokishkis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Obeliai, Kreis Rokischken, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Rokiškis rajonas, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Obeliai is located about 14 kilometers (9 miles) east of Rokiškis. In the early 1920s, there were about 760 Jews living in Obeliai, comprising around two thirds of the total population.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many Jews tried to flee to the east, but the border with Latvia remained closed, and most were forced to return home. In Obeliai, local peasants exploited the power vacuum to attack the Jews and steal their property.

Germans forces occupied Obeliai on June 26, 1941. Lithuanian nationalist activists seized authority in the village. They arrested a number of Jewish men, who then disappeared, presumably killed. They forced the remaining Jews to perform hard labor. On August 6, 1941, the Lithuanian commandant in Rokiškis, Lieutenant Žukas, issued an order that any local inhabitants who collected Jews for work but then allowed them to move to other places or to avoid work by paying a bribe instead would be severely punished.[1] This reflected the common practice in the region of Jews being requisitioned by local farmers to work on their land.

As no survivor testimony could be located for this entry, details about the existence of a ghetto in Obeliai remain scant. However, a Lithuanian girl, who lived through the German occupation, mentioned the existence of a ghetto in testimony given more than 50 years after the events. She recalled that on the day when the Germans and Lithuanians planned to kill the Jews, some Soviet partisans intervened, emerging from the woods and opening fire, which apparently caused the Aktion to be delayed by 24 hours. The next day she went to the ghetto and observed that it was empty of Jews. She heard the sounds of shooting in the distance, and Jewish clothing was being brought back to the ghetto, where some Lithuanians had arrived with carts to loot the empty houses. She notes also that the Jewish men from Obeliai were taken to Rokiškis to be murdered, while the women and children were brought from Rokiškis to Obeliai to be killed.[2]

The men were probably shot first around August 15, 1941, in the Velniaduobė Woods, 5 kilometers (3 miles) north of Rokiškis. Then on or around August 25, 1941, Jewish women and children from Kamajai, Rokiškis, and several other places were brought to the village of Obeliai, where they were murdered together with the remaining Jews of Obeliai. This second mass grave lies near the village of Antanašė, 5 kilometers (3 miles) south of Obeliai. The shootings were conducted by units of Rollkommando Hamann, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian partisans. According to the Jäger report, on August 25, 1941, the Germans and their collaborators murdered 112 men, 627 women, and 421 children (1,160 people) near Obeliai.[3]

About six months after the massacre, Elena Zalogaite witnessed a local Lithuanian policeman and another man escorting two Jewish women to be killed, presumably after they had been denounced or revealed in hiding.[4]

In the spring of 1944, the Germans arrested a Lithuanian named Vladas Andonas, whom they accused of having given shelter to Jews.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Obeliai can be found in the following publication: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 113–116.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 708-1-1); RGVA (500-1-25); and USHMM (RG-50.473*0100).

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NOTES

1. LCVA, R 708-1-1, p. 2, Order no. 5, issued by the Commandant of the Rokiškis District, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 149–150.

2. USHMM, RG-50.473*0100, testimony of Elena Zalogaite, born 1928.

3. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 111–112.

4. USHMM, RG-50.473*0100.

ONUŠKIS

Pre-1939: Onuškis (Yiddish: Hanashishok), town, Alytus apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Onuškis/Onushkis, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Onuschkis, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Onuškis, Trakai rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Onuškis is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) southwest of Troki (Trakai). According to the 1923 population census, 342 Jews were living in the small town, comprising 56 percent of the total population. At the time of the German invasion, there were about 300 Jews living in Onuškis.

German armed forces occupied Onuškis on June 23, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists seized control of the town

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and formed an auxiliary police force mainly composed of former members of the riflemen's organization (Šaulys). The Lithuanian policemen broke into Jewish homes and stole their property. Many Jews were arrested on the pretext that family members had collaborated with the Soviet regime or for the possession of firearms. Some of the prisoners were tortured and killed locally, and others were taken to Trakai to be jailed and subsequently killed. Other sources indicate that the local Catholic priest, Nikodemas Švogžlys-Milžinas, intervened with the German local military commandant (Ortskommandant), Major V. Finger, and obtained the release of at least two of the local Jews, who had been arrested as suspected Communists.[1]

During the first weeks of the occupation, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced. Jews were marked with the Star of David, and they were forbidden to associate in any way with Lithuanians. All the Jews were then assembled in the synagogue, from which they were taken to perform forced labor.

In the second half of July 1941, the head of Kreis Traken, Petras Mačinskas, issued orders for Jews to be registered, for Jewish Councils to be established, and for the Jews of the Kreis to be isolated in ghettos. The aim was to prevent Jews from moving about freely from village to village. The local authorities were instructed to make suggestions for places where the Jews could be isolated.[2]

On September 1, 1941, the head of Kreis Traken reported to the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land concerning ghettoization that the Jews of Onuškis, which had been heavily damaged during the German invasion, had all been resettled in the nearby villages of Panošiškis and Žydkaimis. The Jews of the villages of Kęstutis, Pasamavės, and Žilinis would also soon be brought there too, when space could be found for them.[3] This report indicates that a form of rural ghetto may have been established in Panošiškis and Žydkaimis for the Jews of Onuškis and its surrounding villages.

The account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, however, only partially corroborates this report. This version indicates that most of the Jews remained in Onuškis until the eve of Rosh Hashanah (September 21, 1941). At this time, the men were rounded up by the Lithuanian police while praying, and the other Jews were collected from their homes. During the roundup, much Jewish property was looted. The Jews of Onuškis were then taken along with other Jews from Aukštadvaris to the village of Panošiškis, where they were held for more than one week. According to this version, the village of Panošiškis served only as a temporary concentration point for Jews, just prior to their extermination.

On September 30, 1941, the Jews of Onuškis, together with the other Jews concentrated in Panošiškis and Žydkaimis, were all escorted to the Worniki (now Varnikų) Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside Troki. The younger Jews were escorted on foot, suffering blows from their Lithuanian guards, and the children and elderly were transported on carts. On arrival, they were shot by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, commanded by Martin Weiss and the Ypatingas Burys (Lithuanian execution squad), which had arrived from Wilno.[4] They were killed alongside other Jews brought there from Rudziszki, Landwarów, and Troki. The shooting started in the early morning and lasted until midday. The total number of victims was 1,446: 366 men, 483 women, and 597 children.[5]

Only a few Jews managed to evade the roundups and find refuge with local farmers. Most of these people were subsequently captured and killed by the Lithuanian police.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Onuškis can be found in the following publications: "Onuskis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 147–149; Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2002); and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: GARF; LCVA (e.g., R 617-1-24); LYA (e.g., K 1-58-P14950); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, p. 43.
2. LCVA, R 617-1-24, pp. 535–536, protocol of a meeting organized by Kreischef Traken, July 23, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6; Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 100–101.
3. Report of the head of Kreis Traken to Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, September 1, 1941, published in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, p. 109.
4. LYA, K 1-58-P14950, p. 52.
5. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

OSTROWIEC

Pre-1939: Ostrowiec, *village*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Ostrovets*, *raion center*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostrowiec*, *initially Rayon center*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien*, *then from April 1, 1942*, *Kreis Swir*, *Gebiet Wilna-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Astravets*, *raen center*, *Hrodna voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Ostrowiec is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) east of Wilno. In 1921, there were 30 Jewish families living there.

German forces captured the town in late June 1941. Immediately afterwards various anti-Jewish measures were promulgated, including the confiscation of property, the requirement to wear the Star of David on their clothing, and the introduction of forced labor. The Germans maintained Ostrowiec as a Rayon center, as it was located close to the railway line. Jews from neighboring villages were brought to the village by rail and murdered in the nearby forest.

In the fall of 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Ostrowiec. Both local Jews and refugees were forced to move into the designated ghetto area,

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where they lived under extremely crowded conditions. At the end of 1941, the Germans murdered most of the Jews in the ghetto. Only a few needed workers and their families were left in a remnant ghetto.

The ghetto area was then reduced in size, surrounded by barbed wire, and turned into a labor camp. Jews removed from other nearby ghettos were also brought to Ostrowiec—from Worniany, Kiemieliszki, and other places. The prisoners in the camp were put to hard labor, such as removing heavy tree stumps or repairing railroad tracks. They were seriously undernourished and frequently beaten by the Germans and local overseers.

On April 1, 1942, the region including Ostrowiec was transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen and became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land. At this time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and police. Among the restrictions enforced against the Jews living in the ghettos of this region was a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews.[1] At the end of May 1942, there were 102 Jews in the Ostrowiec ghetto.[2]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, in 1943, the surviving Jews learned that the Nazis intended to liquidate the camp. A sympathetic German officer secretly confirmed the report and advised them to hide with local farmers. Some Jews escaped into the forest, and a few of them survived until the Red Army drove the Germans from the region. On April 7, 1943, the remaining prisoners were taken to Szumsk, a neighboring village, where they were shot.

According to Herman Kruk, however, some Jews from Ostrowiec may have been taken to Wilno at the end of March, together with the Jews from other ghettos, including Michaliszki (it is likely some Jews were transferred to Michaliszki in the fall of 1942). Then in early April, many of these Jews were put on a train to Ponary, where they were shot. The train reportedly contained Jews from the ghettos of Gudogaj, Michaliszki, and other places as well as Ostrowiec.[3]

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Ostrowiec can be found in these publications: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 99–100; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here p. 115; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 559.

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: LCVA; NARB; USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Anordnung Betr.: Ghettoisierung der Juden, issued by Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, May 13, 1942, reproduced in Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, p. 130.
2. Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 115.
3. Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002), p. 534.

OSZMIANA

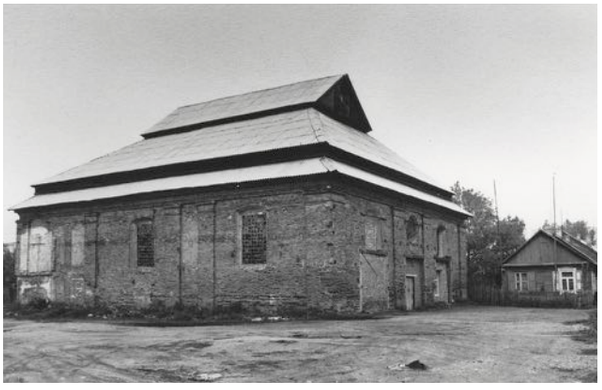
Pre-1939: Oszmiana (Yiddish: Oshmene), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Oshmiany, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Aschmena, initially Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis center, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Ashmiany, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Oszmiana is located about 56 kilometers (35 miles) southeast of Wilno. On the eve of World War II, there were about 3,000 Jews living in Oszmiana.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Because the town was captured so quickly, most Jews were unable to evacuate, and almost all remained in Oszmiana under the occupation.

After about two weeks, the new authorities rounded up about 40 people, both Jews and Poles, accused of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities, and shot them.[1] On July 25, 1941, the Jewish Council (Judenrat) was ordered to supply a list of all male Jews aged between 17 and 65. The next day, on the basis of this list, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 rounded up almost all the adult male Jews in Oszmiana. According to the relevant Einsatzgruppen report, 527 people were shot. The victims were buried in the nearby village of Bartel.[2]

In the summer of 1941, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Oszmiana initially was part of Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Oszmiana, including the appointment of a Jewish Council, with eight



Exterior of the Oszmiana synagogue, photographed in the mid-1990s.
USHMM WS #97259, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

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members; the marking of Jews by requiring yellow Stars of David on their outer clothing; and the use of Jews for forced labor. Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits or to have any dealings with non-Jews.

In early October (or, according to one source, early September) 1941, on German orders, all the town's Jews were moved into a ghetto, along with those from the surrounding villages. The Jews were able to move their property into the ghetto in an orderly fashion, but some chose to give items to non-Jewish acquaintances for safekeeping. Those Jews already living inside the designated ghetto area had to take in those forced to move in from outside. The ghetto was fenced and guarded by the local police. Jews working outside the ghetto required permits in order to leave.[3] On one occasion the Germans demanded that the holy books be burned, and a few old books were burned to satisfy them. In the ghetto, a number of newborn boys were circumcised by a mohel, who came from Wilno to perform the service.[4]

Living conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded, and there was a shortage of food. Jews leaving the ghetto on work details were able to barter clothing and other items of property with non-Jews and smuggle the food back into the ghetto. Some Jews, especially youths, also climbed over the ghetto fence at night to obtain food.[5]

In the fall of 1941, the German commandant arrested and shot two Jewish women, alleged to have participated in Soviet activities before the German invasion, and a girl caught not wearing her armband. Another woman was arrested for trading illegally with a non-Jew, and the commandant had her shot.[6] The German authorities imposed repeated "contributions" on the Judenrat, including one demand for 200,000 rubles, of which only 64,000 were collected. Other demands were for soap, perfumes, fur clothing, and textiles. The Jews were also forced to surrender their cows and other livestock, apart from 10 cows needed to provide milk for the sick and children. Jews who entered the ghetto illegally from other places were also shot upon capture. However, with the help of a bribe to the Polish mayor (at that time, Skrzat), the Judenrat managed to prepare a new list of residents when the German commandant was replaced, which served to legitimize around 200 Lithuanian refugees.[7]

From April 1, 1942, Oszmiana became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land, now in Generalkommissariat Litauen. At this time new Lithuanian officials were appointed to take over, including Jonas Valys as head of the administration in Oszmiana and Vincas Tiknys as head of police.[8] Just before the handover, around 120 Jews took the opportunity to be transferred to a labor camp at Mołodeczno (in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). They, like others, were anxious about what would happen once the Lithuanians took over, as almost all the provincial Jews in Generalkommissariat Litauen had already been killed. The new Gebietskommissar, Horst Wulff, in Wilno ordered the surrender of precious metals and other valuables, which had raised the sum of 26,546 Reichsmark by April 20.[9]

At the end of May, 1,849 Jews were registered in the Oszmiana ghetto.[10] In August 1942, 80 Jewish men and 200 Jewish women were sent to a labor camp in Lithuania.[11] In the late summer or fall of 1942, there were 1,649 Jews reported to be in the Oszmiana ghetto, of which 702 were deployed for labor. By mid-October most of the remaining Jews from Holszany, Smorgonie, Krewo, Żuprany, and Soly had been resettled into the Oszmiana ghetto, increasing the total number of Jews there to around 4,000. This influx exacerbated overcrowding, such that about 20 people had to share a single house.[12]

The German Security Police, believing there were too many Jews in the ghetto, instructed the Jewish Police from the Wilno ghetto to select 1,500 people for liquidation, including women whose husbands had been shot in 1941 and women who had four or five children. They sent the chief of the Jewish Police, Dessler, to Oszmiana, and he determined that, first, the women who had lost their husbands in 1941 were working and therefore could not be liquidated and that, second, there were no families with four or five children; at most there were two children in a family. Therefore, after Dessler's return to Wilno, the number of Jews subject to liquidation was decreased to 800, and when Jakob Gens, head of the Judenrat in the Wilno ghetto, and SS-Hauptscharführer Martin Weiss from the SD Wilna arrived in Oszmiana, the number of Jewish victims was further reduced to 600. As a result, on October 23, 1942, with the participation of the Jewish Police from Wilno, 406 elderly people were rounded up and shot.[13]

In the following five months, life in the ghetto of Oszmiana was comparatively uneventful. The Jewish administration managed to organize the work of the craftsmen, a clinic, and a small hospital; ensured that the ghetto inhabitants had a regular supply of food; and set up a library, a club, a bath, and a boarding house for Jewish workers whose health had deteriorated.[14]

The situation altered sharply in late March 1943, when the decision was made to liquidate the ghetto. During its liquidation in late March and early April 1943, some of the Jews were sent to labor camps in Lithuania and to the ghetto in Wilno, if they had relatives there, and 713 Jews, together with Jews from other liquidated ghettos (around 4,000 in total), were taken to Ponary, near Wilno, and shot there.[15]

According to Shalom Cholawsky, there was an underground organization in Oszmiana that received a warning from the resistance movement in Wilno about the upcoming liquidation. As a result a group of about 50 Jewish youths, armed with two rifles and two grenades, managed to escape from the ghetto on the eve of the Aktion. Of this group, about 40 people subsequently joined up with partisan units to the east in the Belorussian forests.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Oszmiana during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Oshmana* (Tel Aviv: Oshmaner Organization in Israel and Oshmaner Society in the USA, 1969); Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*,

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Svir, *Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners*, *1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 105–110; "Oszmiana," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 107–114; Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002); Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982); Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 562–564.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Oszmiana can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2244, 2537); BA-BL (R 58/216); GARF (7021-89-12); LCVA (R 626-1-211; R 1363-1-1 and 2); MA (D.1357); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 11883, 20551); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2537, testimony of Lejzer Pert; 301/2244, testimony of Sima Baran.

2. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 50, August 12, 1941; Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 27; "The Diary of Hinda Daul," in Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron* (English section), p. 60. AŻIH, 301/2244—this source gives the number of victims as about 1,000. In the ChGK materials (GARF, 7021-89-12, pp. 2, 4), the number of Jewish victims is stated as 573, but the Aktion is erroneously dated on July 3–4.

3. AŻIH, 301/2537; Chanan Peled (Cepelunski) testimony, available at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/oshmany/osh_pages/oshmany_stories_chanan.html; "The Diary of Hinda Daul," p. 62. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 533, however, dates the establishment of the ghetto on September 5, 1941, as recorded by the former Judenrat of Oszmiana in 1943.

4. Pesie Kustin, "Oshmener geto," in Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 348–351. This source also gives a rough description of the streets on which the ghetto was located.

5. VHF, # 11883, testimony of Rose Boyarsky.

6. "Durkh geto un katzetn," in *Fun letstn khurbn*, vol. 1 (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), no. 6, pp. 37–43.

7. "The Diary of Hinda Daul," p. 62.

8. LCVA, R 1363-1-2, pp. 4, 7, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 108.

9. LCVA, R 1363-1-1, p. 7, as cited in ibid.

10. AŻIH, 301/2537; Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, p. 634.

11. Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 29–30.

12. LCVA, R 626-1-211, p. 18, list of ghettos in Kreis Oschmiana, October 1942; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 385, 439, 443; "The Diary of Hinda Daul," p. 70; Kustin, "Oshmener geto," pp. 348–351.

13. See Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 342–347; see also Jacob Gens's words at the meeting of the Judenrat in Wilno on October 27, 1942, MA, D.1357, published in I. Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 254.

14. Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 31.

15. Ibid., pp. 31–32; and Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 359–362.

PAJŪRIS

Pre-1940: Pajūris (Yiddish: Payura), village, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Pajūris/Paiuris, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941-1944: Pajuris, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pajūris, Šilalė rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Pajūris is located about 97 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Šiauliai. The 1923 census recorded 280 Jews residing in Pajūris, constituting about 58 percent of the total population. Just prior to the German invasion, only about 30 Jewish families remained.

The Wehrmacht occupied the village of Pajūris shortly after the start of the invasion on June 22, 1941. According to the account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, at this time, a part of the Jewish population of Pajūris escaped to the nearby village of Teneniai, where two local families had been killed by local Lithuanians. The arriving Jews were imprisoned in a barn and held for several days without food or water. Subsequently they were taken to Kvėdarna. *Pinkas ha-kehilot* reports that these Jews were killed in Kvėdarna on June 29, 1941. Other sources, however, indicate that on June 29, most able-bodied Jewish men were rounded up in Kvėdarna and taken to the Heydekrug (Šilutė) forced labor camp. Only a smaller group of 11 elderly Jews, deemed unable to work, were shot by Lithuanian partisans in Kvėdarna on June 30, 1941.[1]

Of those Jews who remained in Pajūris, very little information is known concerning their fate. It is likely that the SS also rounded up most of the able-bodied men and took them to the Heydekrug camp, where some of the prisoners were killed a few weeks later. The remaining prisoners there worked as forced laborers for more than three years; some of them later went into the concentration camp system, where they passed through Auschwitz II-Birkenau in 1943.

In early September 1941, the remaining Jews in Pajūris, consisting of only 4 men and 51 women and children, were locked up on an estate near the village, which became a provisional ghetto.[2] After about two weeks in the ghetto, they were all taken to the Tūbinės Forest, near Šilalė, and were murdered there together with other Jews from the surrounding villages.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pajūris can be found in the following publications: "Pajuris," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 477–478; and Christoph Dieckmann,

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"Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.2.

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NOTES

1. LG-Aur (Az 17 Ks 1/61), verdict of May 29, 1961, in the case against Struve, Scheu et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 511, pp. 441–442; and vol. 20 (1979) Lfd. Nr. 579, p. 309.
2. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

PAKRUOJIS

Pre-1940: Pakruojis (Yiddish: Pokrai), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Pakruojis/Pakruois, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Pakruojis, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: rajonas center, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Pakruojis is located about 36 kilometers (22.5 miles) east of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 454 Jews living in Pakruojis. By June 1941, the Jewish population had declined slightly as a consequence of emigration in the 1930s.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, many Jewish refugees arrived in Pakruojis. Some refugees and local Jews tried to flee on towards Biržai and the Latvian border, but many of these people were intercepted by Lithuanian nationalists. Some were murdered, and the others were forced to return home. German forces captured the town on June 28, 1941, and Lithuanian partisans immediately formed a local authority and a partisan force, which subsequently became an auxiliary police unit.

The Lithuanian partisans soon began to arrest Jews, accusing them of having collaborated with the Soviets. Some of those arrested, including Moshe Plocki and Chaja Edelman, were murdered, and about 30 others were transferred, in early July, to the prison in Šiauliai. Anti-Jewish measures enforced by the Lithuanian authorities included the seizure of property, the imposition of forced labor, and the requirement to perform menial tasks; Jews also endured physical abuse.[1]

On July 10, 1941, Lithuanian partisans rounded up and shot the Jewish men who remained. The women, children, and old people were then resettled into a ghetto formed in the courtyard around the synagogue, where they were detained under guard for several weeks. They were permitted to take part of their property with them and also some food. The ghetto was liquidated on August 4, when Lithuanian policemen shot all the Jews in a nearby forest. The Jews were made to stand on wooden boards placed across a prepared ditch and were then shot such that they fell into the ditch.[2] According to one Soviet source, the total number of victims was 265.[3] The Jews were shot and buried in the Morkakalnis Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) southeast of Pakruojis.[4]

Some of those sent to the prison in Šiauliai were subsequently transferred to the Šiauliai ghetto, and a few of these people ultimately survived the war. The Jewish doctor in Pakruojis, Markus Screiber, was initially spared, as his services were still required. He was murdered in April 1942, in front of the church.[5] Around this time, other Jews uncovered in hiding were also killed.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jewish community of Pakruojis can be found in these publications: "Pakruojis," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 333; "Pakruojis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 472–475; and Joe Woolf, ed., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pakruojis can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; VHF (# 34991); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 472–475; David Katz, *The Lord Has Chastised Me Severely* (Stony Brook, NY: Y. Katz, 2001), pp. 31–32.
2. "Pakruojis," in Bronstein *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, p. 333; Woolf, "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns"; VHF, # 34991, testimony of Ruth Igdal.
3. GARF, 7021-94-436, p. 29.
4. Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 505.
5. VHF, # 34991.

PALANGA

Pre-1940: Palanga (Yiddish: Polangen), town, Kretinga apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kretinga uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Polangen, Kreis Kröttingen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Palanga, Kretinga rajonas, Klaipėda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Palanga is located about 144 kilometers (90 miles) west of Šiauliai on the Baltic coast. According to census records, a total of 455 Jews were residing in Palanga in 1923. The size of the town's Jewish population fluctuated over the next decade, with some individuals emigrating, and as a result, the number of Jewish residents had decreased slightly by June 1941.

Palanga was occupied by German armed forces on June 22, 1941. Just one day after the arrival of German troops, a German officer was killed in the town. On orders from the head of the Gestapoleitstelle Tilsit, SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, the head of Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office, GPK) in Memel, Dr. Frohwann, began to arrest all the male Jews and suspected Communists residing in Palanga. This order was carried out by members of GPK

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Memel and the Tilsit Gestapo, assisted by the Lithuanian auxiliary police. The male Jews were locked in the town's synagogue, and from there, they were taken to the building that served as the bus depot. At the end of June, 111 men were shot in an Aktion organized by the Tilsit Gestapo. At least 100 of the victims were male Jews; they were shot together with about 8 suspected Lithuanian Communists. A detachment of 30 members of the Memel Schutzpolizei under the leadership of Polizeileutnant Werner Schmidt-Hammer, and at least 15 airmen from the 6th Company of pilot candidates from Fliegerausbildungsregiment 10, also participated in the mass shooting, which took place on the sand dunes near Birutė Hill.[1]

Following the killing of the Jewish men, the women and children were initially taken to the synagogue, where they were imprisoned for several days under subhuman conditions. They received almost no food or water, and at night the Lithuanian guards would shoot in the air, break windows, and instill fear in the prisoners. After a few days they were taken to a farm near Kretinga, which served as an improvised ghetto. The farm buildings held 226 people for nearly two months, guarded by a detachment of the Lithuanian auxiliary police. The able-bodied were employed in carrying raw amber to a central warehouse. Food and water were supplied in very sparing quantities, and around 10 people died of starvation and disease. In late August or early September, all the women and children (at least 200 people) were taken to the Kunigiškiai Forest, where they were shot by a detachment of the GPK Memel, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliary policemen.[2]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Palanga can be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 491–495; LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict against Böhme and others, August 29, 1958, published in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten*, vol. 2, *Einsatzkommando Tilsit. Der Prozess zu Ulm* (Frankfurt/Main, 1966); and LG-Tüb, Ks 2/61, verdict of May 10, 1961, against Wiechert and Schulz, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 350–357.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Report of Staatspolizeistelle Tilsit to RSHA, July 1, 1941, published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion 1941/42. Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 373–375 (see also BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR no. 14, July 6, 1941); LG-Tüb, Ks 2/61, verdict of May 10, 1961, against Wiechert and Schulz, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17, Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 350–357; and LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict against Böhme and others, August 29, 1958, in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten*, vol. 2.

2. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 491–495; *JuNS-V*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465, p. 214.

PANEVĖŽYS

Pre-1940: Panevėžys (Yiddish: Ponevezsh), city and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Panevėžys/Panevezhis, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Ponewesch, Kreis and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Panevėžys, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Panevėžys is located 97 kilometers (60 miles) north-northeast of Kaunas. In 1923, there were 19,147 people living in Panevėžys, among them 6,845 Jews (36 percent). The town's population had risen to 26,000 (among them more than 7,000 Jews) by 1939. Under Soviet rule between June 1940 and June 1941, a number of Jewish businesses were expropriated, and at least 27 Jews were exiled into the Soviet interior.

German armed forces captured the city on June 26, 1941, but attacks on local Jews likely began two days earlier. The Lithuanian activists who took the initiative in the persecution of the Jews included the gymnasium director Elisonas, his inspector Kasparavičius, the assistant prosecutor Grigaitis, the district court secretary Jasaitis, and others under the leadership of Lieutenant Ižiūnas. Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a city administration and police force, which introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to wear Stars of David on their clothing and forced into various kinds of heavy labor. At the same time, the Jewish population was required to register, and non-Jews were strictly forbidden to sell them food. The Jews were also subjected to humiliation, degradation, and assaults by local antisemites. A rumor spread in the town that a Lithuanian physician had been murdered by Jews, and this served as the pretext for attacks on the local Jewish population. Groups of young Jewish men were marched out of the city and ordered to dig peat. These men never returned to Panevėžys.[1]

Jews were ordered to settle into a ghetto before the night of July 11, 1941. The ghetto area incorporated three streets—Klaipėda, Krekenava, and Tulvičius (J. Tilvytis)—and the city's slaughterhouse. The ghetto borders were closed on July 17, 1941, at 6:00 P.M. It was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by armed Lithuanian policemen. Non-Jews who moved out of the ghetto area were given Jewish houses outside the ghetto in exchange. The Jews Avraham Riklys and Moshe Levit were appointed to administer the ghetto. To discourage escape attempts, 70 Jews were taken hostage and imprisoned.[2] At the end of July, the ghetto contained 4,457 Jews, of whom 1,250 were still without any accommodation.[3] The overcrowding, filth, and terrible shortage of all items necessary for living led within a few weeks to the outbreak of disease. The Jewish doctors had no medicine or other materials to cope with it. Dr. T. Gutman received permission to open a small hospital, but under these conditions, there was little that could be done for the sick.

Jews from the ghetto were taken for forced labor, for example, digging pits for rubbish or carrying heavy barrels at the local railway station, during which they were severely beaten and humiliated by the Lithuanian overseers. On one occasion a group of Jews was reportedly forced into a scalding

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lime pit, causing severe wounds, before most of the men were shot.[4] Up to the middle of August, Einsatzkommando 3 and the Lithuanian police carried out four large Aktions in Panevėžys, on July 21 and 28 and on August 4 and 11, in which they shot more than 1,220 Jews. Apart from 115 women, all of these victims were Jewish men.[5]

The ghetto in the city existed for about six weeks before it was liquidated. In mid-August 1941, a German Gestapo official informed the Jews that they would be moved to a former military barracks at Pajuostė, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Panevėžys, which would serve as a labor camp with better conditions than in the overcrowded ghetto. The ghetto residents, however, suspected that this was a trap, intended to lure them to their deaths, and had to be forced to leave the ghetto.[6] A few days later, the majority of the Jews were marched under armed guard to Pajuostė. The elderly, the sick, and small children were transported on peasant carts. After arriving there, the Jews were taken in groups of 200 and shot in a nearby forest by men from Einsatzkommando 3, with the help of the Lithuanian police. The last to be shot were the elderly and infirm, accompanied by Dr. Gutman. Some people, including small children, were only wounded and were buried alive. The pits were filled in by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), who discovered one Jewish child who was still alive. While they tried to conceal the child, the Lithuanian policemen soon discovered and shot the child. The next day, participants in the murder rummaged through the piles of clothes and shoes at the pits, taking any items they fancied.

According to the Jäger report, on August 23, 1941, 7,523 Jews (1,312 men, 4,602 women, and 1,609 children) were shot in Panevėžys.[7] These numbers may include Jews from nearby villages, including Raguva, Ramygala, and Krekenava, who were also brought to Pajuostė on carts with their property and were murdered there in the second half of August.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Panevėžys can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 329–331, published also in English translation in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 106–112; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 229–230; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.1; and "Panevezys," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 457–466, available also in English at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/panevezys/pon3.html.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GARF; LCVA; LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/357, 1128, 1731, 2280, 2551; O-3/2322, 2581; O-71/61, 62, 63).

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NOTES

1. Levinson, *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania*, pp. 106–112.
2. Ibid.; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 457–466. On ghettoization, see the newspaper *Išlaisvintas Panevėžietis*, July 12 and 20, 1941, and Višniauskas, *Žydų tragedija*, p. 51, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."
3. Višniauskas, *Žydų tragedija*, p. 69, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."
4. This incident is reportedly described in an article by P. Yanusheitis, published in the Lithuanian Communist journal *Tieso* in February 1945; see Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 229. Similar accounts can also be found in the secondary sources cited above.
5. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
6. This account was reportedly given to Meir Gendel, who had survived the war in the Soviet Union, by local inhabitants in Panevėžys shortly after the city was reoccupied by the Red Army. For a more detailed version, see Levinson, *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania*, pp. 108–111.
7. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

PASVALYS

Pre-1940: Pasvalys (Yiddish: Posvol), town, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Panevėžys/Panevezhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Birsen, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: rajonas center, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Pasvalys is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) north of Panevėžys. About 700 Jews lived in the town on the eve of the war.

German armed forces captured the town on June 26, 1941. Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration, which actively took measures against the Jewish population. On June 27, four Jews—Sheina Kretzmer, Nehemiah Millin, Chanan Forman, and David Shapiro—were arrested and accused of being Communist activists and having collaborated with the Soviet authorities. On July 4, on this same pretext, more Jews were arrested. Some of them were put in the local prison, and some were held in Joel Farber's granary. After a few days, the arrested Jews were transported to Šiauliai. Sometime later, a number of Jewish women were released and returned to Pasvalys.[1]

In mid-July 1941, the Lithuanian administration ordered all remaining Jews into a ghetto. Parts of Biržai Street and Polivan Street were cordoned off for this purpose.[2] The town council provided food to the internal ghetto administration, which operated under the leadership of the town rabbi, Rav Yitzchok Agulnik. In the meantime, the Lithuanian guards subjected the inmates to repeated abuse. Conditions were so bad that Rabbi Agulnik even wrote to the head of the Šiauliai ghetto,

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begging him to try to influence the Germans to rescue the Jews of Pasvalys from the clutches of the Lithuanians.[3]

Jews from outlying villages, including Joniškėlis, Pumpėnai, Vaškiai, Krinčinas, Daujėnai, Saločiai, and Vabalninkas, were subsequently brought into the Pasvalys ghetto after the middle of August. At this time the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire.[4] The Jews from Joniškėlis were reportedly transferred on August 19. According to Sheina Sachar Gertner, a survivor from Vabalninkas, she was transferred to the Pasvalys ghetto on August 20, 1941, where she was held in very overcrowded conditions.[5] Among these new arrivals were at least 40 Jews from Vabalninkas, who had converted to Catholicism. These people were interned separately from the other Jews in Pasvalys.

The ghetto in Pasvalys existed for about one and a half months. Following a meeting by the town council, it was decided to liquidate the ghetto. On August 26, 1941, the Jews were informed that they would be transferred to a camp, and the men were separated from the women and children in the town. The separate groups were then escorted to two pits prepared in the Žadeikiai Forest, 4.5 kilometers (3 miles) outside Pasvalys. The converts to Catholicism were taken along with the rest of the Jews from the ghetto. According to a Lithuanian woman bystander, some of the Jews attacked their captors with their bare hands on the way to the pits, but the Lithuanians responded brutally, killing some of them on the way and dragging the others to the killing site. According to the report of Karl Jäger, in charge of Einsatzkommando 3, on August 26, 1941, 1,349 Jews (402 men, 738 women, 209 children) were shot in Pasvalys.[6]

Before and during the Aktion, a number of Jews managed to escape, including Sheina Gertner, who was warned by an elderly priest the night before and fled with her husband.[7] However, most of the escapees were captured and killed shortly after the mass shooting; only a handful managed to escape successfully.

Participating in the mass shooting were members of the 3rd Company, Lithuanian Auxiliary Battalion 1 (later Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 13), which arrived from Kaunas in two trucks. A unit member, Balys Labeikis, claims that the local police and the men of his company only guarded the victims and herded them to the pits. After the Aktion, the Lithuanian participants returned to Pasvalys, where they celebrated with a large dinner, and many of them got drunk.[8]

Among the small number of Lithuanians in the region who risked their lives and saved Jews was a man named Baniolis. He hid three Jewish girls for three years in a stable and provided them with food.[9]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Pasvalys can be found in the following publications: B. Reinus, "Oysrot fun di yidn fun Posval un fun di derbeyike shtetlekh (Yanishkel, Vashki, Linkuva, Salat, Vabalnik)," in Mendel Sudarsky and Uriah Katzenelenbogen, eds., *Lite*, vol. 1 (New York: Jewish-Cultural Society, 1951), pp. 1859–1861; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 116–118; "Pasvalys," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 466–470; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 230–232; Joseph Levinson, ed., *The Shoah in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 112–114—translated from Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 332.

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: GARF; LCVA; LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); and USHMM (RG-02.002*12).

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1. Reinus, "Aysrot fun di yidn fun Posval," pp. 1859–1861.
2. Ibid.
3. Letter of August 23, 1941, as quoted in Levinson, *The Shoah in Lithuania*, p. 113.
4. Report of the Birzai uezd commission, May 26, 1945, published in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944)*, pp. 116–118. On August 19, 1941, around 200 Jews were sent to Pasvalys from Joniškėlis, 90 families (around 300 people) from Vaškiai, 90 Jews from Vabalninkas, 13 Jews from Saločiai, 21 Jews from Krinčinas, and 11 Jews from Daujėnai; see Barbara Armoniene et al., *Leave Your Tears in Moscow* (New York: J.P. Lippincott, 1961), p. 19.
5. USHMM, RG-02.002*12, pp. 1–4, testimony of Sheina Sachar Gertner, 1984.
6. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, September 10, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25; and report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, p. 113. Also see B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 234.
7. USHMM, RG-02.002*12, pp. 1–4.
8. Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 289.
9. Reinus, "Aysrot fun di yidn fun Posval."

PAŠVITINYS

Pre-1940: Pašvitinys (Yiddish: Pashvitin), village, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Pašvitinys/Pashvitinis, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Poswitenen, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pašvitinys, Pakruojis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Pašvitinys is located 39 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 274 Jews living in Pašvitinys. By June 1941, the Jewish population had declined slightly, as a result of emigration in the 1930s.

German forces captured the village on June 28, 1941. In the first days of the war, Lithuanian partisans, led by Leonas Balčiūnas, arrested up to 50 people alleged to have supported the Soviet regime, including a number of Jews. These prisoners were interrogated in Pašvitinys by the head of the local police, Povilas Pilka, and were then sent to the Šiauliai prison.

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Some were executed, others were subsequently deported to Germany for forced labor, and a few were released.[1]

In Pašvitinys the local Lithuanian authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forbidden from having contacts with non-Jews, and their property was confiscated. Non-Jewish local inhabitants physically abused Jews. In one incident, a Jewish girl was molested, and her grandfather, who tried to protect her, was shot to death. Some Jews tried to leave the village, but on at least one occasion they were stopped by Lithuanian activists and forced to turn back.

Soon after the start of the occupation, all the Jews were rounded up and locked in an old horse stable next to the flour mill, called the "Magazine," which served as an improvised ghetto. They remained there for approximately one month, and during this time the able-bodied Jews were sent out of the ghetto every day to perform agricultural work on neighboring farms. Those who were not physically strong and healthy were murdered, together with a group of Jews from Linkuva, along the road to Šiauliai; among the victims were the village's last rabbi, David Nachman Dodman, and all his sons. In late August 1941, the remaining 70 or so Jews were transported in carts to the Žagarė ghetto, where they were shot on October 2, 1941, along with the other Jews gathered there.[2]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Pašvitinys during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Pašvitinys," in Shalom Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 334; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 228–259, here p. 250; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 506; and "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," compiled by Joe Woolf, available at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Pašvitinys can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; LYA (K 1-58-P19196LI); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews," p. 250.
2. "Pašvitinys," in Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, p. 334; Woolf, "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns."

PLUNGĖ

Pre-1940: Plungė (Yiddish: Plungian), town, Telšiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Plungė/Plunge, Tel'shai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Plunge, Kreis Telsche, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Plungė, rajonas center, Telšiai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Plungė is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) west-southwest of Telšiai. According to the 1923 census, there were 1,815 Jews living in the town.[1] By June 1941, emigration had reduced the Jewish population, and about 1,700 Jews remained in Plungė.

German armed forces captured the town on June 25, 1941. Immediately afterwards, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration and police force, which implemented anti-Jewish measures; the Germans played only a minor role in what followed, although they did immediately round up and kill approximately 60 young male Jews, whom the Lithuanians accused of having provided a rear guard for the retreating Red Army.

On or about June 26, the Lithuanians gathered all the Jews on the grounds of the synagogue and the Bet Midrash, which the captors declared a ghetto. Each day, Jews were taken out of the ghetto to perform different kinds of heavy physical labor in the town—such as street sweeping or cleaning latrines by hand—or on local estates. Beatings and humiliation accompanied the work. Some of the laborers never returned but were murdered. At the same time, the Lithuanian authorities extorted and stole the Jews' valuables.

The living conditions for Jews in the ghetto were nearly unbearable. Overcrowding, filth, and lack of food and water brought about disease and death, especially among the elderly. The Jews lived in those conditions for approximately three weeks. The ghetto was liquidated on July 13 or 15, 1941 (sources differ), when Lithuanians trucked and marched the Jews to ditches located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) to the northwest of the town, near the village of Kausenai, where they shot them.[2] Only those few Jews who had escaped or been deported to the interior of the Soviet Union survived.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Plungė can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 408; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 223–225; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 125–127; "Plunge," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 484–491; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 278. *Avotaynu: The International Review of Jewish Genealogy* 12 (22) contains a list of Plungė ghetto residents.

Documentation regarding the killing of the Jews of Plungė can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-430); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.473*0097 and 0098); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

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1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 421.
2. GARF, 7021-94-430; the official number of victims is 1,704.

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PODBRODZIE

Pre-1939: Podbrodzie (Yiddish: Podbrodzsh), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Pabradė, Švenčionys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Pabradė/Pabrade, Sventsiany uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Pabrade, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pabradė, Švenčionys rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Podbrodzie is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) northeast of Wilno. Nearly 1,000 Jews were living in the town on the eve of World War II, comprising about one third of the inhabitants.

A number of Jews attempted to flee with the retreating Soviet forces at the end of June 1941, but they came under attack from (Lithuanian) Red Army deserters who had joined with local Lithuanian partisans led by Edvardas Baranauskas, and only a few dozen Jews escaped successfully. The Lithuanian nationalists soon seized control of the town, and eight Jews were shot at the end of June for alleged collaboration with the Soviets, around the time of the arrival of the German army. Jews were subjected to plunder at the hands of the Lithuanians.

On July 15, 1941, the Lithuanian police arrested more than 60 Jews and took them to the mill to be shot. Only one of the victims, Velvel Abramovich, managed to escape from the grave site.[1]

In the period from July to September, the German military commandant and the local Lithuanian authorities enforced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Podbrodzie. Jews were required to wear patches bearing the Star of David, initially in white and later in yellow fabric. They were forbidden from buying food products in the market or from having any contacts with the non-Jewish population. In July a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which had to ensure that all German orders were carried out.[2] Among its members were Ben-Zion Vilian, Dr. Reyshevsky, Boris Blushinsky, Elye Likht, Yisroel Bratinsky, and Dovid Suzan.[3]

On September 1, 1941, all the town's Jews were moved into an open ghetto located on two streets inhabited by Christians, described in the yizkor book as Arnianer and Boyareler Streets. Initially the Jews were permitted only to take with them what they could carry in their arms, but the Lithuanian mayor permitted Jews to move in all of their property.[4] Some sources date the ghetto's formation earlier, but this account matches with instructions issued by the office of the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land to determine where ghettos were to be established by September 5.[5] There was no Jewish police force. Local non-Jews moved into the vacated Jewish houses in Podbrodzie. At the time of the move into the ghetto, many Jews buried their valuables in their gardens and other hiding places or gave them to non-Jewish acquaintances for "safe-keeping."

Aware of the complete elimination of the Jews in some Lithuanian towns, the Jews of Podbrodzie discussed how best to save themselves. They collected money to bribe the Lithuanian police to warn them of an impending Aktion. After learning of the murder of the Jews in nearby Niemenczyn on September 20, 1941, a number of Jews prepared to go into hiding or flee the Podbrodzie ghetto to the towns of neighboring Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, where the situation was not yet so bad. On September 23, the authorities demanded a large "contribution" from the Jews, and then on September 26, expecting an Aktion, many Jews secretly left the ghetto or went into hiding. According to survivor Morris Engelson, a local official of Polish ethnicity had tipped off a Jew who had given him refuge before under the Soviet regime—and word then quickly spread through the ghetto.[6]

On that day, many local non-Jewish inhabitants, including teachers, postal officials, forest wardens, as well as criminal elements, were mobilized to assist the local police in clearing the ghetto. Once the Jews' flight was detected, these local forces sealed off the ghetto, and some of the escapees were recaptured. Due to the mass flight, only just over 100 Jews were then rounded up by Lithuanian policemen, under the command of Antanas Žilėnas, which included also men brought in from Joniškis. Then the Jews of Podbrodzie were escorted to an overcrowded barracks at the military camp (firing range), also known as the Poligon transit camp, near Nowe Święciany. The able-bodied Jews had to march there on foot, and the sick and elderly were loaded onto carts. On October 7-8, 1941, these people were all shot, along with thousands of other Jews who had been gathered at the Poligon camp.

The Lithuanian police in Podbrodzie searched for the escaped Jews and shot any they found on the outskirts of town. Some Jewish escapees and their families were fortunate to have Christian friends who gave them food and shelter for several weeks, before assisting them with their journey across the border into Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. A number of the Jewish escapees subsequently made their way to the ghettos in Kiemieliszki, Michaliszki, Świr, Łyntupy, and other places deeper in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, where they shared the fate of the Jews there. About 100 Jews from the town survived the war, mostly from among those who escaped successfully into the Soviet Union.

In May 1942, 400 Jews were brought to Podbrodzie from the Wilno ghetto and placed in a newly built labor camp; these Jews were used to work on a railway line for the German Giesler company. In 1943, those who were still alive were returned to Wilno.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Podbrodzie during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 83–118, here pp. 98–99; Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1371–1406; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Lei-

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dykla "Mintis," 1973); and "Podbrodzie," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 515–518.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Podbrodzie can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3531 and 3532); GARF (7021-94-435); LCVA (R 865-5-4); LYA (K 1-58-3501/3); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 20551, 48155); and YVA (e.g., O-71/169.1).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 1373; see also Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 98.
2. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 1373–1374.
3. YVA, O-71/169.1, pp. 209–227, testimony of Yisroel Bavarsky, as recorded by Leyb Koniuchovsky—as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6.
4. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 1373–1374, 1383–1384—one survivor account states specifically that the Jews were in the ghetto for 26 days from September 1 to 26. Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 98, gives Lithuanian spellings for the two streets. AŻIH, 301/3531, testimony of Chuna Zak, March 25, 1948.
5. LCVA, R 865-5-4, p. 4, letter of Gebietskommissar Wulff to Kalendra, August 23, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6.
6. VHF, # 48155, testimony of Morris Engelson.

PRIENAI

Pre-1940: Prienai (Yiddish: Pren), *town*, *Marijampolė apskritis*, *Lithuania; 1940–1941: Prienai/Preny*, *Mariiampole uezd*, *Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Prienai*, *Kreis Mariampol*, *Gebiet Kauen-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: rajonas center*, *Kaunas apskritis*, *Republic of Lithuania*

Prienai is located 31 kilometers (19 miles) south of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 954 Jews living in the town. By mid-1941, emigration, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, had somewhat reduced the size of the Jewish population in Prienai.

German armed forces captured the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which instituted a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews had to wear Star of David patches on the front and back of their clothing, had to perform various kinds of compulsory labor, and were robbed and beaten by local antisemites. Jews were also prohibited from walking on public sidewalks and from having any relations whatsoever with non-Jewish Lithuanians. A special decree even forbade the Jews from lighting fires in their own hearths, so that they could not cook food—the sight of smoke from a Jewish chimney was enough to bring the authorities.

The Lithuanians also started killing Jews almost immediately after the Germans' arrival. First they arrested and shot a group of Jewish intellectuals. Then they arrested another group of Jews, accusing them of collaboration with the Soviet authorities, and imprisoned them in Marijampolė, where they subsequently were killed.

On August 14, 1941, the Lithuanians established a ghetto for the town's Jews in a few unfinished barracks nearby. By order of the police administration in Kaunas, Jewish men and women who had collaborated with the Soviet authorities, and had been arrested in nearby localities, also found themselves in the Prienai ghetto. On August 16, 1941, 63 Jewish men and 26 Jewish women from Jieznas were sent to the Prienai ghetto.[1] Another 100 Jewish men and 6 Jewish women were brought there from Balbieriškis.[2] Others came from Veiveriai, Stakliškes, and other nearby localities. In all, 493 Jews were resettled into the ghetto from neighboring localities.[3] The population of the ghetto in Prienai, as a result, exceeded 1,000 Jews.

Conditions in the ghetto were ghastly. There was no food, water, or sanitation. The barracks were horribly overcrowded. Diseases soon began to spread.

After nearly two weeks of this torment, the Prienai ghetto was liquidated. On August 25 the Lithuanians forced men from the ghetto to dig two large pits behind the barracks. The next day, with help from a German police unit, the Lithuanians marched approximately 1,100 Jews to the pits in groups and shot them with machine guns.[4] A layer of lime was spread over each group. Witnesses reported that the piles of bodies heaved from the people who were only wounded. One woman even managed to crawl out of the pit and beg for her life, but the Lithuanian partisan Juozas Maslauskas shot her.[5]

Only about five Jews from Prienai managed to survive the war; most of them had been able to flee deeper into the Soviet Union in time. A few Jews found refuge with Lithuanians or fled into the forests around Prienai when the Jews were collected in the ghetto. However, almost all of these people gave themselves up, were thrown out by their protectors, or were denounced after a time. Peninah Binyaminovitz-Levitan managed to survive, as she was concealed successfully with the aid of a Lithuanian priest.

SOURCES Information about the elimination of the Jews in Prienai can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 86, 164, 176–177; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 122–123, 211; "Prienai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 502; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 289–290.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA (e.g., 683-2-2, p. 77); LMAB (RS, f. 159, b. 46, l. 22); LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); and USHMM.

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NOTES

1. Report of the chief of the police precinct in Jieznas, August 16, 1941, published in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944)*, vol. 2, p. 86.
2. Ibid., p. 164.
3. Letter of the director of the police precinct in Kaunas to "Obersturmführer Mr. Hamann," August 23, 1941, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 216.
4. See the report of Einsatzkommando 3 from September 10, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106.
5. See the testimony of Marė Brasokienė to the Special State Commission, in Levinson, *The Shoah*, pp. 122–123.

PUMPĖNAI

Pre-1940: Pumpėnai (Yiddish: Pumpian), village, Biržai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Pumpėnai/Pumpenai, Birzhai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Pumpenai, Kreis Birsen, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pumpėnai, Pasvalys rajonas, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Pumpėnai is located 23 kilometers (14 miles) north of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, 372 Jews were living in Pumpėnai. By June 1941, as a result of emigration in the 1920s and 1930s, the Jewish population had decreased significantly. One source has about 60 Jewish families living there when the war began.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which implemented anti-Jewish measures. Valuable items were confiscated from the Jews, and they were required to perform various kinds of labor. They were subject to robbery, assault, and other forms of public denigration by local antisemites. They were also prohibited from walking in public places and maintaining any relations with the Lithuanians.

On July 15, 1941, all Jews of Pumpėnai were resettled into a ghetto. Several houses were assigned for this purpose, and the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire. They remained there, reportedly without provisions, put to forced labor, and abused, until August 26, when the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, with the assistance of the Lithuanian police, shot nearly all the Jews of the village in a forest near Pasvalys. The town's pharmacist and his family were killed in Pumpėnai itself.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 451–452; and "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/lithuania3/lit3_002.html, pp. 9–10.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

RADVILIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Radviliškis (Yiddish: Radvilishok), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Radviliškis/Radvilishkis, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Radwilischken, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Radviliškis, rajonas center, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Radviliškis is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Šiauliai. According to the census of 1923, there were 847 Jews living in Radviliškis. By June 1941, the Jewish population had decreased as a result of emigration in the 1930s.

German armed forces captured the town on June 25, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which began to implement anti-Jewish measures. The authorities confiscated all the Jews' valuables and used the Jewish population for forced labor. Local antisemites subjected the Jewish laborers to humiliation, taunts, and beatings. Jews were forbidden to appear in public places or to maintain relations of any kind with non-Jews.

Accounts of events in Radviliškis vary somewhat. The most detailed, that in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, states that the Lithuanians forced all the Jews into a ghetto in an abandoned Lithuanian army barracks on July 8. Some of the Jews had to build a barbed-wire fence around the place. Then, on July 12, the first Aktion took place when Lithuanian gunmen rounded up nearly all the men in the community (some 300 total), marched them to a grove next to the Jewish cemetery, and shot them.[1] The remaining women, children, and old people were later sent on to an enclosure that had formerly held Soviet prisoners of war. On August 22, 1941, the chief administrator of the town and of the county of Šiauliai (Kreis Schaulen-Land), J. Norejka, citing directives from the Gebietskommissar in Šiauliai, ordered all the county's Jews to be resettled into a single ghetto—the Žagarė ghetto—between August 25 and 29, 1941.[2] In compliance with this order, the ghetto in Radviliškis was liquidated in late August 1941, and all the Jews were transferred to the Žagarė ghetto. On October 2, 1941, they were shot along with the other Jews in the Žagarė ghetto. (Other accounts state that only about 400 of the Jews went to Žagarė, while the rest went to the Šiauliai ghetto. Some of these Jews subsequently wound up in camps in Germany and thus survived the war.)

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Radviliškis during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Radviliskis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 625–628; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 279–280; Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 250–251; "Radviliskis," 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

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Press, 2001), p. 1050; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 639.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Radviliškis can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; LYA (K 1-46-1261); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Geoffrey P. Megargee
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 405.
2. Ibid., pp. 226–227.

RASEINIAI

Pre-1940: Raseiniai (Yiddish: Raseyn), town, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Raseinen, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Raseiniai, rajonas center, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Raseiniai is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, 2,035 Jews were living in Raseiniai; by 1939, that number had declined to around 2,000.

Units of the German armed forces captured the town on June 23, 1941.[1] Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration and a police force, which they used to implement anti-Jewish policies. The Jewish population had to wear the Star of David on their clothing. In addition, Jews were assigned to various kinds of forced labor, including cleaning the streets, collecting armaments from the battlefield, and burying dead Soviet soldiers. Jewish women were forced to clean the homes of Lithuanian officials and Germans. Jews were subjected to robbery and assault at the hands of local antisemites. One of the victims of the terror and torture was the rabbi of Raseiniai, Reb Ahron Shmuel Katz. He was forced to dig his own grave and then was shot. On July 29, 1941, the head of the Raseiniai district, A. Sabaliauskas, issued Order no. 743, which imposed new restrictions on the Jewish population, including prohibiting them from using the sidewalks and public transportation and from appearing in public places.[2] An estimated 150 Jews were arrested during the first 8 to 10 days of the German occupation of Raseiniai.[3]

In the first half of July 1941, local authorities set up a ghetto or camp in the town in a monastery building. The area of the ghetto was cordoned off by barbed wire, and armed Lithuanian policemen stood guard around the perimeter. The ghetto commander was a local auxiliary policeman named Aleksas Grigaravičius; he already was very active in enforcing anti-Jewish measures and the physical abuse of Jews. His deputy, Kostas Narbutas, was placed in charge of the economic issues of the ghetto.[4] Those Jewish men and women who were able to work were transferred from Raseiniai, in the direction of Jurbarkas, to the farm of Žuveliškis, where they were told by the authorities that they would work as laborers. However, witnesses state that a unit of Lithuanian activists, led by Grigaravičius, took these approximately 500 individuals to a site and shot them. The victims had to wear blindfolds and had no knowledge of where they were being led.[5] Before being shot, the victims had to undress, and their clothes were sent back to the ghetto. Zisla Flaumienė, who was in charge of the clothing department of the ghetto, found her husband's shirt among the items delivered.[6] The remaining elderly people and the children from the ghetto were settled into some farm and storage buildings on Nemakščių Street that once belonged to the local Catholic Church. Witnesses later told investigators that Grigaravičius, at the beginning of the ghetto's existence, conducted a selection among the women. Women with children were allowed to stay in the ghetto, while approximately 50 girls and women without children were brought to Žuveliškės, where they were shot by Lithuanian "activists."[7] Another selection among the ghetto inmates identified those able to work. They were assigned to carry out some labor projects in the town and at several farms near Raseiniai. Some Jews also worked just outside the town, at the construction site of an air base that the Soviet authorities had started to build in 1940.[8] Throughout these months, many Jews and suspected Communists were arrested and brought to the town's prison by local Lithuanian activists.[9]

The first major Aktion was carried out on July 29, 1941, when several hundred Jews and a number of Communists were selected in the ghetto and in the local prison. These people were herded to the Žuveliškės farm, approximately 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside Raseiniai. Not far from the farm, pits had been prepared in advance by the inhabitants of the surrounding farms. The victims were taken to the pits, forced to undress, and shot: a total of 254 Jews and 3 Lithuanian Communists. Witnesses stated that Jews from the surrounding smaller towns and villages such as Tytuvėnai, Nemakščiai, and Šiluva were also murdered at the Žuveliškės farm.[10] The Aktion was conducted by members of the Gestapo. Lithuanian partisans guarded the victims at the killing site. The Gestapo men told these guards that they should learn to shoot Jews, as they would have to conduct the next anti-Jewish Aktion.[11] However, according to numerous witness statements, Grigaravičius and the following Lithuanian auxiliary policemen actively participated in the above-mentioned killing: deputy Kostas Narbutas, Jablonskis, Kaupas, Antanas Alemas, Kazys Stoikas, Kazys Barauskas, Pilionis, Urbšaitis, and Antanas Klimas.[12]

The town's ghetto existed only for about two months. It was liquidated on September 6, 1941, when all the remaining Jews were shot. According to the report of SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, the commander of Einsatzkommando 3, forces under his command, assisted by Lithuanian partisans, carried out three further "cleansing" Aktions in Raseiniai in August and September 1941. On August 5, 213 Jewish men and 66 Jewish women were murdered. Then on August 9–16, 294 Jewish women and 4 children were killed. Finally, between

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August 25 and September 6, 1941, Raseiniai was "cleansed" of Jews, resulting in the deaths of 16 Jewish men, 412 Jewish women, and 415 Jewish children. In total more than 1,500 Jews were reported killed in the town.[13]

Some of the Jewish victims who were killed between August 25 and September 6, 1941, were transferred to the farm of Biliūnai. It had been the property of Count Bilevičius, who had been deported to Siberia by the Soviet authorities. The Jews were murdered there by members of the Security Police over the following weeks. At first, the victims were settled in two houses on this farm, and a Lithuanian activist named Viliamas acted as a de facto camp or subghetto commander during this time. The last Jews of Raseiniai were killed between August 29 and September 6 at the Kurpiškės farm.[14]

Only a handful of Jews managed to save themselves by escaping and hiding with local farmers, who risked their lives by offering protection. In addition, some, mostly younger Jews, had managed to escape into the interior of the Soviet Union in time in June 1941, and a few of these people returned to Raseiniai after the war.

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Raseiniai can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 400–403; Shalom Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 235–238; "Raseiniai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 641–647; L. Kantautienė, *Raseinių Krašto Žydai* (Vilnius: Kronta, 2004); Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai ir Laikinos Izoliavimo Stovyklos 1941–1943 Metai," in *Lietuvos Istorijos Metraštis*, *1999 Metais* (Vilnius, 2000), pp. 151–179; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Lietuvos Žydų Žudinų Byla* (Vilnius, 2001). The existence of a temporary ghetto in Raseiniai is mentioned in Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 295–296; and in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), p. 334.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 1753-3-1); LYA (K 1-46-1269; 3377-55-119); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/625).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai," p. 165.
2. LCVA, R 1753-3-1, p. 97.
3. Eidintas, *Lietuvos Žydų Žudinų Byla*, p. 155.
4. Ibid.; *Lithuania: Crime and Punishment*, no. 6 (January 1999): 87.
5. Kantautienė, *Raseinių Krašto Žydai*, p. 83; see also LYA, 3377-55-119, pp. 57–69.
6. Eidintas, *Lietuvos Žydų Žudinų Byla*, p. 155; and interrogation statement of Aleksas Grigaravičius from October 3, 1947, in LYA, 3377-55-119, pp. 57–58, 61.
7. Eidintas, *Lietuvos Žydų Žudinų Byla*, p. 156; see also statement of Zisla Flaumienė, October 2, 1947, in LYA, 3377-55-119, pp. 76–78.
8. Statement of M. Karašas, in Kantautienė, *Raseinių Krašto Žydai*, p. 96.
9. Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai," p. 165.
10. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*.
11. Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai," p. 166; LYA, K 1-46-1269, pp. 37–39, testimony of A. Kmito, October 22, 1968.
12. LYA, 3377-55-119, pp. 57–69.
13. Adapted from a table compiled from the report of Einsatzkommando 3 on December 1, 1941; see RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 111–113.
14. Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai," p. 166.

RIETAVAS

Pre-1940: Rietavas (Yiddish: Riteve), town, Telšiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Rietavas/Retavas, Tel'shiai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Rietavas, Kreis Telsche, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Plungė rajonas, Telšiai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Rietavas is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Telšiai. According to the 1923 census, there were 868 Jews living in Rietavas. Emigration during the 1930s had probably reduced the number of Jews by June 1941.

On June 24, 1941, German armed forces captured the town. The night before their arrival, some Jews fled from Rietavas to neighboring villages. According to one account, local Lithuanians started to plunder Jewish property even before the Germans arrived.[1] At this time, a number of homes, including Jewish residences, were destroyed either by the retreating Red Army or by German bombardments.

Immediately after the German takeover, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which introduced anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to return to the town. Lithuanians were forbidden to hide Jews. All Jews were registered and ordered to turn over their valuable possessions. Jews were forbidden to use the town's sidewalks; they were subjected to beatings, hard labor, and starvation at the hands of local antisemites. One of the first victims was Rabbi Shmuel Fundiler, who had half of his beard cut off. He was forced to burn holy books and then was harnessed to a wagon loaded with garbage before the Lithuanians shot him. At least six other Jews were also shot and killed, accused of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities. Among those allegedly participating in these murders were the brothers Kazys and Stasys Rimayke.[2]

On June 27, 1941, all the Jews in the town were arrested and resettled to the nearby Prince Oginski's estate, which became a temporary ghetto or camp. Jews lived for three days in this ghetto without food or water. On the fourth day, they were given sugar and salted fish. The starving people devoured this food like animals. Some stuffed whatever they could get into

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dirty jars they had found in trash heaps. As a result, many developed diarrhea. Jews in the ghetto/camp were also compelled to perform physical exercises, despite their poor physical condition. From the ghetto/camp, five Jewish girls were sent back to Rietavas, where they had to clean out the Bet Midrash and burn the holy books kept there.[3]

On around July 10, 1941, the ghetto on the Oginski estate was liquidated.[4] The Jews were sent to the Viešvenai camp, near Telšiai, where Jews from several other towns and villages also were concentrated. A few Jewish men from Rietavas were taken instead to the Heydekrug labor camp.[5] On July 16, 1941, the remaining Jewish men were taken out of the Viešvenai camp, and after being forced to perform exercises and beaten, they were all shot. The women and children were taken one week later to the Geruliai camp. At the end of August 1941, around 400 young women were released from the Geruliai camp and were brought to the Telšiai ghetto. The remaining women and children at Geruliai were shot by Lithuanian policemen. Most of the 400 Jewish women relocated to the Telšiai ghetto were shot at the end of December 1941.

Two Jewish women and a Jewish girl from Rietavas are known to have escaped from the mass shooting Aktions. A mother and her daughter subsequently made their way to the Šiauliai ghetto. The other woman, Haya Movshovich, had fallen into the ditch unwounded and then fled naked to an elderly local peasant, who vowed to protect her despite German rewards for the betrayal of Jews. She survived the war.[6]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Rietavas during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Alter Levite, ed., *Sefer Ritova; gal-ed le-zekher ayaratenu* (Ritova Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1977)—an English-language version is also available, *Ritavas Community: A Yizkor Book to Riteve—A Jewish Shtetl in Lithuania* (Cape Town: Kaplan-Kushlick Foundation, 2000), which includes a useful additional essay by Roni Stauber, "The Destruction of the Riteve Community," pp. 149–152; "Rietavas," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 359; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 238–241; and "Rietavas," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 636–639.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Rietavas can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-430); LCVA; LYA; and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q/1322/136).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/Q/1322/136, testimony of Shaul Shenker, as cited by Stauber, "The Destruction," p. 150.
2. Shaul Shenker, "Riteve," in Levite, *Ritavas Community*, p. 157.
3. Zlatta Olschwang, "Thus the Town Was Destroyed," in ibid., p. 164.
4. Stauber, "The Destruction," p. 150, notes that accounts differ regarding how long the Jews were held in the ghetto/camp on Prince Oginski's estate, but most survivors indicate that it was about 10 to 14 days.
5. Shenker, "Riteve," p. 157.
6. Chana Borochowitz-Golany, *A Childhood in the Storm* (USA: A.I. Saeks, 2003), pp. 30–31.

ROKIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Rokiškis (Yiddish: Rakishok), town, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Rokiškis/Rokishkis, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Rokischken, Kreis center, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Rokiškis, rajonas center, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Rokiškis is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) east-northeast of Panevėžys. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were about 3,500 Jews living in Rokiškis, 40 percent of the total population. A number of Jewish refugees arrived in the town, following the German invasion of Poland.

On the outbreak of war between Germany and the USSR in June 1941, many Rokiškis Jews attempted to flee east with the retreating Soviet forces. However, most were turned back at the Latvian border and returned towards Rokiškis. In the meantime, a large Lithuanian partisan force had been organized in the region, which attacked the retreating Soviet forces and also robbed, beat, and killed Jews it encountered on the roads.

German forces took Rokiškis on June 27, 1941. Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists in the town formed a civil administration and a police force. Lieutenant Žukas became town commandant, and Lieutenant Petkunas headed the guard company attached to the commandant's office. Their first order of business was to initiate antisemitic measures. Jews were required to wear Stars of David, and they were assigned to various kinds of compulsory labor in the course of which local antisemites subjected the Jews to humiliation and beatings.

At the beginning of July 1941, the town authorities confined all the Jews in two separate ghettos. They put the Jewish men into Count Pzezdetski's stone stables, and the women and children up to the age of eight were moved to the Antanašė estate, between Rokiškis and Obeliai.[1] One of the local collaborators, Zenonas Blynas, noted subsequently in his diary: "Interesting, Germans give a written order to herd Jews into a ghetto. Later German officers participate, as they are shot to death."[2] For a short period a Jewish Council (Judenrat) operated in Rokiškis, which was headed by Ozinkowitz and Jacob Kark.

On August 4, 1941, Lieutenant Žukas ordered all Jewish inhabitants of Rokiškis to give up their valuable property such as furniture and other movable items. The items had to be registered at the office of the military administration by August 28, 1941. At the same time, he announced officially that all Jews able to work had to conduct labor for the community.[3] On August 6, 1941, Žukas issued a further order that any local inhabitants who collected Jews for work but then allowed

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them to move to other places or to avoid work by paying a bribe instead would be severely punished.[4] This reflected the common practice of local farmers requisitioning Jews to work on their land.

As soon as German troops occupied Rokiškis, Lithuanian partisans began shooting Jewish men, as well as Lithuanians and Russians, who were believed to have collaborated with the Soviet authorities in 1940 and 1941. By August 14, 1941, they had killed 493 Jews, 432 Russians, and 56 Lithuanians.[5] They carried out the shootings in the woods near the village of Steponai.

On August 15 and 16, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, with the participation of "Lithuanian partisans," shot 3,200 Jewish men, women, and children, although the vast majority were probably men, including a number of men brought in from the surrounding villages, including Obeliai. Besides those victims, the firing squad shot five Lithuanian Communists, one "partisan," and one Pole.[6] Among the approximately 80 Lithuanian partisans who participated, more than 60 were detailed to escort the victims to the site of the killing and to cordon it off. The others did the shooting.[7] The killing took place in the woods near the village of Baiorai, to the north of Rokiškis. Members of the guard company (the partisans) who took part in the killing received a bonus of 150 rubles each "for the performance of special duties."

On or around August 25, 1941, the Jewish women and children from Rokiškis, Kamajai, and several other places, who had been concentrated in the village of Antanašė, 5 kilometers (3 miles) south of Obeliai, were shot. The shootings were conducted by units of Rollkommando Hamann, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian partisans. According to the Jäger report, on August 25, 1941, the Germans and their collaborators murdered 112 men, 627 women, and 421 children (1,160 people) near Obeliai.[8] A local inhabitant recalled in the 1990s: "Men from Obeliai were taken to Rokiškis to be murdered. Women, children, and old people were taken from Rokiškis to Obeliai to be murdered. I saw the carriages with old people arriving from Rokiškis to Obeliai, the road goes next to my house. One old person fell out of the carriage, and a guard killed him, beating his head with a rifle butt."[9]

A few Jews from Rokiškis survived the war initially in the Kaunas ghetto and later in various camps. A number of the Jewish men who fled successfully from Rokiškis served subsequently in the Lithuanian Division of the Red Army, which was established in Gorki in January 1943.

On November 15, 1965, a court in Rokiškis sentenced to death four former policemen (Dagis, Lašas, Vamas, and Strumskis) who had participated in the killing of Jews in Rokiškis.

SOURCES Information concerning the extermination of the Jews in Rokiškis may be found in the following publications: M. Bakalczuk-Felin, ed., *Yisker-bukh fun Rakishok un umgegnt* (Johannesburg: Rakisher Landsmanshaft of Johannesburg, 1952)—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 403; Shalom Bronstein, *Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Rakishok," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 233–235; "Rokiškis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 646–653; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 288–289.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 317-1-1); LYA (3377-55-39); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (Acc.2000.212, RG-50.473*0100); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Bakalczuk-Felin, *Yisker-bukh fun Rakishok un umgegnt*, pp. 383–390; "Rokiškis," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 650.
2. LYA, 3377-55-39, p. 129, diary of Zenonas Blynas, as cited by Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 289.
3. LCVA, R 317-1-1, p. 1. See also USHMM, Acc.2000.212, reel 1.
4. LCVA, R 708-1-1, p. 2, Order no. 5, issued by the Commandant of the Rokiškis District, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 149–150.
5. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106, report of Einsatzkommando 3, September 10, 1941. Bakalczuk-Felin, *Yisker-bukh fun Rakishok un umgegnt*, p. 388, dates the murder of the men on August 10 and the women and children on August 20.
6. Ibid., p. 111, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
7. Ibid., p. 116.
8. Ibid., p. 112; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 505; Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, pp. 288–289.
9. USHMM, RG-50.473*0100, testimony of Elena Zalogaite, born 1928.

RUDAMINA

Pre-1940: Rudamina (Yiddish: Rudomin), village, Seinai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Seinai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Lasdien, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Lazdijai rajonas, Alytus apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Rudamina is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southwest of Kaunas. In 1923, there were 98 Jews living in Rudamina, constituting about 30 percent of the total population. On the eve of World War II, around 20 Jewish families resided in the village.

At the time of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, Rudamina suffered heavy bombardment, and several Jewish homes were severely damaged. Initially many Jews tried to escape deeper into the Soviet Union, but soon most were forced to return to the village. Lithuanian partisans seized power in

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Rudamina and started to rob Jewish homes, beating the occupants. Jews were also forced to perform degrading work. The new authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures, including a prohibition on buying certain food items and the requirement to wear a yellow patch in the shape of the Star of David. Disobeying these orders was punishable by death. In July 1941, the Jews had to pay a fine of 500 rubles per person. A makeshift ghetto was formed for the Jews, which included the Bet Midrash and several damaged houses.

On September 15, 1941, all the Jews were expelled from Rudamina and taken to the ghetto on the Katkiškės estate, where the Jews from Lazdijai and its surrounding villages were incarcerated. They all lived there under subhuman conditions for about six weeks. On November 3, the Jews from the Katkiškės ghetto were all murdered in the nearby forest. A number of Jews managed to escape from the Katkiškės ghetto just before its liquidation, and these people tried to hide with farmers in the area, but most were caught and killed. Only Gedalia Kagan from Rudamina is known to have survived until the end of the occupation.

SOURCES Much of the information for this entry is based on "Rudamina," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 631–632. The ghetto in Rudamina is mentioned also in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 668.

Martin Dean

RUMŠIŠKĖS

Pre-1940: Rumšiškės (Yiddish: Rumshishok), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Rumšiškės/Rumshishkes, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Rumschiskis, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Rumšiškės, Kaišiadorys rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Rumšiškės is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) east-southeast of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 288 Jews living in the town. By June 1941, emigration had reduced the size of the Jewish population.

At the onset of the German invasion, few Jews were able to flee Rumšiškės due to the rapid German advance, but a number of refugees fleeing from Kaunas and other places became trapped in Rumšiškės. In the first days of the conflict, a Lithuanian partisan squad was formed, which soon started arresting Communist activists, Jews, and Red Army stragglers. The soldiers were transferred to the German army, which occupied the town on June 24, 1941. The Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force, which agitated against the Jewish population and carried out anti-Jewish measures. Several Jews were killed during the first weeks of the occupation, including the pharmacist Yirmeyahu Rubinstein and others accused of supporting the Soviet authorities. Valuable items were confiscated from the Jews, and they were forced into various kinds of labor, including cutting peat. They were subjected to robbery, assault, and other forms of public denigration by local antisemites. They were forced to surrender their cows and other livestock. Despite a ban on contacts with Lithuanians, the Jews traded remaining property, such as clothing, with Lithuanian peasants to obtain food.

On August 7, 1941, the head of the Kaunas district ordered all Jews into a ghetto by August 15.[1] Two houses, owned by the Katz brothers, were initially used for this purpose, resulting in terrible overcrowding within the ghetto.[2]

The head of the police post in Rumšiškės reported on August 19, 1941, to his superior that on August 15, of the 140 Jews gathered there, 70 Jews (people aged between 15 and 70) had been arrested for allegedly supporting the Communists and escorted away by German and Lithuanian soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant Skaržinskas. This left only just over 70 women and children in Rumšiškės, who were crowded into the house of Yankl-Leyb Langman, which was guarded by the Lithuanian police.[3] On August 22, the authorities demanded a "contribution" of 8,000 rubles from the Jews; the sum was delivered by a man named Rubinstein, the head of the Judenrat, on August 23.[4] On August 29, 1941, the ghetto in the town was liquidated, and the Jewish women and children were shot at the edge of the Rumšiškės Forest by Lithuanian policemen arriving from Kaunas.[5] It is likely that the Jewish men were taken to a labor camp at nearby Pravieniškės (a few kilometers north-northeast of Rumšiškės) and had been murdered there by September 4, 1941.[6] Other sources, however, indicate that they may have been taken to Kaunas. Remaining Jewish property was auctioned off in the town by September 21, 1941.

The Germans were driven from Rumšiškės on July 20, 1944, but the Red Army found that most of the town had been destroyed.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Rumšiškės can be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Rumšiškės," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 633–635; and Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in D. Gaunt, P.A. Levine, and L. Palosuo, eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 283–312, here pp. 303–305.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 683-2-2; R 1534-1-190); LYA (K 1-58-47533/3); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA (O-71, file 148).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 290–291.

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2. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 635.

3. LCVA, R 683-2-2, p. 63, report of the head of Rumšiškės police precinct to the director of the police department in Kaunas, August 19, 1941; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 635.

4. LCVA, R 1534-1-190, p. 3, report of the head of Rumšiškės district to the head of the Kaunas Region, August 25, 1941.

5. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 112, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941. On August 29, 1941, 20 Jewish men, 567 Jewish women, and 197 Jewish children were reportedly killed at Rumšiškės and Žiežmariai.

6. Ibid., p. 113. Only 6 women were among the 253 Jews reportedly killed at Pravenischkės, which presumably included the 70 Jews from Rumšiškės. See also Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 506.

ŠAKIAI

Pre-1940: Šakiai (Yiddish: Shaki), town, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šakiai/Shakiai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schaken, Kreis center, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šakiai, rajonas center, Mariampolė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Šakiai is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) west of Kaunas, close to the German-Lithuanian border. The available demographic records show that a total of 1,281 Jews resided in Šakiai in 1923. By June 1941, the number of Jewish residents had decreased slightly, a change caused by the emigration movements of the 1930s. There were about 1,000 Jews living there when the Germans arrived, plus about 100 Jewish refugees who had fled from German-occupied Poland.

The German army occupied Šakiai on June 22, 1941, the first day of its invasion of the Soviet Union. Only about 50 Jews succeeded in fleeing. The local Lithuanian nationalists established an administrative authority and a police force immediately. These bodies worked together and organized the initial measures against the Jewish population, many of whom they accused of collaborating with the Soviets. The Lithuanians confined all Jewish males aged 15 and over in a large barn on the outskirts of town. Jews were ordered to give up all their valuables, and they had to conduct physically demanding forced labor. While they worked, they had to face all kinds of mistreatment, harassment, and abuse from local antisemites. In addition, Jews were forbidden to appear in public places and banned from any private contacts with non-Jewish Lithuanians. The Jews had to wear yellow patches on their outer clothing, and they also had to give up radios and other similar equipment. In addition, a curfew between 6:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M. was declared for the Jewish population.

On July 5, 1941, in the first Aktion against the Jews in Šakiai, Lithuanian auxiliary police took all the male Jews they had confined to a place in the woods outside of town, where they had already forced some of the Jews to dig a large trench. There the Lithuanians shot them all. There was some resistance, and one young Jew, Benjamin Rothschild, managed to beat one of the executioners severely before he was killed. When the men were all dead, the Lithuanians brought out 40 of the wealthier Jewish women and killed them as well.

The Lithuanians forced the remaining Jewish women and children into a ghetto in the poorest part of the town. Although few specifics are available, it is known that conditions in the ghetto were terrible. Lithuanians were forbidden to give food to the Jews, so hunger was rampant. More direct abuses were also common. In the first days of the ghetto's existence, a group of Lithuanian youths abducted six Jewish girls and raped and killed them. Similar incidents continued in the weeks that followed.

The Lithuanians liquidated the open ghetto of Šakiai on September 13, 1941. During this Aktion, Lithuanian police shot 890 Jews at the same site where they had killed the others in July. On September 16, 1941, the Šakiai district was officially declared to have been cleared of Jews.[1] The total of 890 victims also included Jews from the villages in the vicinity of Šakiai, including Kriukai, Lukšiai, Šiaudinė, Sintautai, Griškabūdis, and Sudargas. The Lithuanians loaded the victims' belongings onto carts, brought them back to town, and distributed them to the local population.

SOURCES Information about the killing of the Jews of Šakiai can be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 699–704; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 287–288. The ghetto in Šakiai is mentioned also 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), p. 1120.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archive: LCVA (R 683-2-2, p. 86).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTE

1. Notes of the head of the Šakiai county (V. Karalius) and head of the local police (Vilčinskas) to the head of the Kaunas police department, September 16, 1941, published in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 111.

SALAKAS

Pre-1940: Salakas (Yiddish: Salok), village, Zarasai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Zarasai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Ossersee, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommis-

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sariat Litauen; post-1991: Zarasai rajonas, *Utena apskritis*, *Republic of Lithuania*

Salakas is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east of Panevėžys. In 1923, the village had a Jewish population of 917. By mid-1941, emigration in the 1920s and 1930s had reduced the number of Jews in Salakas slightly.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which began introducing anti-Jewish measures. All the Jews' valuables were confiscated, and they were deployed for various types of forced labor, during which local antisemites subjected them to humiliation and beatings. They were forbidden to go to the market, had to wear distinguishing patches on their clothes, and had to mark their houses with the word *Jude* (Jew). Some Jews were blackmailed by Lithuanian policemen. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established on which Rabbi Jacob Relve, Feibush Gilinksi, and Abraham Bach served.

In the first days, the local authorities arrested and shot people they suspected of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities, including Berl Krupnik, whose son had been a member of the Komsomol. Then on August 9, 1941, the first large-scale Aktion took place in Salakas when Lithuanian partisans rounded up about 150 people, mainly Jewish men, and shot them in the nearby Songard Forest.[1]

The remaining Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were then placed in a ghetto on Planova Street. Lithuanians looted the vacated Jewish homes. The ghetto was liquidated on August 26, 1941, when all the Jews were shot in the Pažeimis Forest near the village of Diagučiai, along with other Jews from Kreis Zarasai.[2] A local Lithuanian named Radzewicz was subsequently shot by the Germans when he was found to have aided Jews in hiding.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Salakas during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Salakas," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Salakas," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 427–430; and "Salakas," 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), p. 1120.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Salakas can be found in these archives: GARF (7021-94-439); LCVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Salakas," in Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*; and B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 414.
2. GARF, 7021-94-439.

SEDA

Pre-1940: Seda (Yiddish: Shad), *Mažeikiai apskritis*, *Lithuania; 1940–1941: Mazheikiai uezd*, *Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Moscheiken*, *Gebiet Schaulen-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Mažeikiai rajonas*, *Telšiai apskritis*, *Republic of Lithuania*

Seda is located 23 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Telšiai. According to the 1923 census, 814 Jews were living in the town. By mid-1941, owing to the emigration of Jews in the 1920s and 1930s, the Jewish population had decreased significantly.

German armed forces occupied Seda on June 24, 1941. As the retreating Soviet forces had shot 12 Lithuanian partisans in the town, the new Lithuanian nationalist administration and police force soon started arresting alleged Soviet activists. The new authorities also instituted measures discriminating against the Jews. By the end of June, Lithuanian partisans were rounding up young Jews, and those who were arrested were taken out and shot in the Jewish cemetery. Among those killed was Rabbi Mordechai Rabinowitz.

At the end of June 1941, Lithuanian collaborators gathered all the Jews at the market square between warehouses that belonged to Jews. There the Jews were held without food and water and in unsanitary conditions for several days. Then they were transported to a Jewish agricultural colony not far from the town, known as the "Jewish village." The Jews were quartered in granaries and cowsheds, which were guarded by armed Lithuanians, forming a temporary ghetto. The young Jewish men were separated from the women, children, and the elderly and were killed near the village on July 3, 1941. In early August 1941, this ghetto was liquidated, and the remaining Jews (around 200 people) were brought to Mažeikiai. On August 9, 1941, the Jews from Seda were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Seda together with the Jews of Mažeikiai. For participating in the mass shooting, the Lithuanian policemen received 300 rubles and strong alcohol that was available in plentiful quantities at the killing site.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Seda in the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: J. Woolf, ed., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at jewishgen.org; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 320; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 278; "Seda," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 421–422. Information on the initial days of the German-Soviet war and German occupation in Seda can be found in Valentinas Brandisauskas, ed., *1941 m. Birzelio sukilimas. Dokumentu rinkinys* (Vilnius:

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LGGRTC, 2000), pp. 109–128; and in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 178–185.

Relevant archival documentation can be found in LCVA and LYA (3377-55-111, pp. 70–71).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

ŠEDUVA

Pre-1940: Šeduva (Yiddish: Shadeve), village, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šeduva/Sheduva, Panevezhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Scheddau, Kreis Ponewesch, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šeduva, Radviliškis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Šeduva is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) west of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, 916 Jews were living in the village. By mid-1941, as a result of emigration in the 1920s and 1930s, the number of Jews in the village had decreased.

German armed forces captured Šeduva on June 26, 1941. Lithuanian nationalists, headed by the teacher Gorionos, began to terrorize the Jews even before the Germans arrived. Jews trying to escape into the Soviet Union were stopped by the Lithuanian partisans, who murdered several on the road and robbed others, compelling them to return to Šeduva.

The Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which carried out a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forced to wear white armbands bearing a yellow Star of David. Valuable items were confiscated from the Jews, and they were required to perform various kinds of forced labor, guarded by armed Lithuanians, who abused them. Young men who had performed administrative functions in the Soviet regime were murdered. Other Jews that were forced to clear up the bombed armament factory in Linkaičiai were accused of stealing grenades and also killed.

In mid-July 1941, all the Jews were settled into a ghetto. First they were ordered to gather in the marketplace and to surrender the keys to their homes to the Lithuanian police. Under guard they were then escorted to the village of Pakuteniai, a few kilometers to the southwest, where they were placed in an abandoned barracks without water or electricity. The building was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by armed Lithuanians. Other Jews, who had been working on local farms, were brought, beaten and bleeding, to the ghetto, where the Jewish physician Dr. Patorski gave them first aid.

From time to time, the Lithuanian partisans shot groups of Jews taken out of the ghetto on the pretext of conducting agricultural work. On August 3, 10 Jews were shot and buried in lime pits. In mid-August, 27 more Jews were shot, including Rabbi Mordechai David Henkin. Around the same time, another 35 who had been assigned to work on the Red Estate were murdered and buried in its surrounding fields.

On August 25 and 26, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and Lithuanian partisans shot most of the remaining Jews in the Liaudiškiai Forest, 10 kilometers (6 miles) southwest of the village. According to the Jäger report, in total, 664 people were killed in Šeduva: 230 men, 275 women, and 159 children.[1] After the massacre, the Lithuanian murderers ate and drank all night in celebration.

Three Jewish families, including that of Dr. Patorski, were kept alive for another six weeks before being killed. One Jewish woman, Shulamith Noll, escaped from the pit in her underwear and survived the mass killing. She went to the local Catholic priest, who arranged for her to be hidden with local farmers for the remainder of the German occupation.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the fate of the Jews of Šeduva during the Holocaust include the following: J. Woolf, ed., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 363–364; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 244–246; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 654–658; and Efraim Zuroff, *Occupation: Nazi Hunter—The Continuing Search for Perpetrators of the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1994), p. 154.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: RGVA (500-1-25).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 112, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

SEIRIJAI

Pre-1940: Seirijai (Yiddish: Serey), town, Alytus apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Seirijai/Seiriiai, Olita uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Seirijai, Kreis Olita, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Lazdijai rajonas, Alytus apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Seirijai is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Alytus. According to the 1923 census, there were 880 Jews living in the town. By mid-1941, emigration had reduced the number.

German forces had captured Seirijai by June 24, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which introduced anti-Jewish measures. For example, Jews were required to wear Stars of David and were used for various types of forced labor, during which they were subjected to humiliation and beatings by local antisemites. Jews were forbidden to appear in public places or to maintain relationships of any kind with Lithuanians.

As early as June 26, 1941, the first Aktion took place in Seirijai. At that time, Lithuanian partisans, led by Alfonsas Nykstaitis and Antanas Maskeliunas, shot about 50 Communists and Komsomol members, some of whom were Jews.[1]

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During a second Aktion on August 2, 1941, 115 Jewish men and 15 Jewish women were sent to Alytus and shot there.[2]

According to the account in Oshry, the town's remaining Jews "were crowded together in the Christian art school like herring in a barrel."[3] This building served as a ghetto. The homes and belongings of the Jews were appropriated by their Lithuanian neighbors. Also placed in the ghetto were Jews from neighboring towns and villages, and as a result the ghetto population rose to nearly 1,000 people. The young and strong Jews were taken off for forced labor, such as repairing roads.

The ghetto in Seirijai was liquidated on September 10–11, 1941, when 953 Jews—229 men, 384 women, and 340 children—were killed. The Jews were driven from the town by the local police armed with clubs. After being forced to remove their clothes, they were shot in the Baraučiškės Forest, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) east of the town, with the participation of members of 3rd Company, 1st Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, commanded by Bronius Norkus.[4] According to the account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, several local dignitaries of the town, such as teachers, were present at the massacre of Seirijai's Jews.[5]

For participation in the killing of Jews in Seirijai, and in other places in Lithuania, eight former members of 3rd Company were sentenced to death at a trial in Kaunas in September–October 1962.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Seirijai during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Seirijai," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Serey," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 243–244; "Seirijai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 444–447.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-3); LCVA; LYA (K 1-58-46373/3, vol. 2); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA (M-1/Q/142; M-33/994; Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection, O-71/131).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-94-3, p. 39.
2. Ibid.
3. Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 244.
4. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
5. "Seirijai," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 446–447.

SEMELIŠKĖS

Pre-1940: Semeliškės (Yiddish: Semilishok), village, Trakai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Semeliškės/Semelishkes, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Semelischkes, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Semeliškės, Trakai rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Semeliškės is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of Wilno. About 60 Jewish families resided in the village on the eve of World War II.

No ghetto was established in Semeliškės for the 261 Jewish inhabitants until the end of the summer of 1941.[1] Fifty-four Jewish refugees from Baranowicze were also living there. On July 21, 1941, on German orders, the Jews assembled in the synagogue and elected a 12-man Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by Šaja Šeškinas. At some time during the summer a group of Jewish men was shot by the local Lithuanians in charge of the village.

At the beginning of September, the local Lithuanian police moved all the remaining Jews into the synagogue, the Bet Midrash, and the former church building (that had been converted into a social club by the Soviet authorities), establishing a form of ghetto. Every day a number of Jews were taken out to perform various forced labor tasks.

On September 22, several hundred more Jews from Vievis and Žasliai were also brought to Semeliškės on carts. The Jews of Vievis were robbed of most of their property by Lithuanian auxiliary policemen just before their departure. In Semeliškės, the new arrivals were incarcerated separately from the local Jews. In early October, all the Jews in Semeliškės, including those brought in from outside, were escorted to a forest about 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) outside the village to the northeast, where they were shot. According to the report of Karl Jäger, forces subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3 shot 962 Jews (213 men, 359 women, and 390 children) in the vicinity of Semeliškės on October 6, 1941.[2]

A number of Jews managed to escape before or at the time of the Aktion. However, some of these people were caught subsequently, and only a few survived until the end of the occupation. Liubovė Slepak-Zacharaitė recalls:

> Some people sheltered us for one night. Others for a week, or for some three days. They used to feed and hide us, risking their own lives and the lives of their families because there were many collaborators and local nationalists from whom nobody could expect mercy. . . . Death lay in wait for us around every corner and every bush. . . . In the autumn of 1942, my mother, brother and sister were caught and I never saw them again.[3]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 697; Neringa Latvyte-Gustaitiene, "The Genocide of the Jews in the Trakai Region of Lithuania," translated by Svetlana Satalova, available at jewishgen.org; and Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), p. 330.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Semeliškės can be found in the following archives: GARF

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(7021-94-431); LCVA; RGVA (500-1-25); VHF (# 10804); and YVA.

Christoph Dieckmann and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle*, p. 330, testimony of Jewish survivor Liubovė Slepak-Zacharaitė.
2. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 506.
3. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle*, p. 330.

SEREDŽIUS

Pre-1940: Seredžius (Yiddish: Srednik), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Seredžius/Seredzhius, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Seredschius, Kreis Schaken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Seredžius, Jurbarkas rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Seredžius is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 population census, 449 Jews were living in Seredžius. By mid-1941, the number of Jews in the town had decreased significantly, owing largely to emigration.

German troops captured the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with the Star of David and were forced into labor of various kinds. The Jews were subjected to assault, robbery, and other forms of degradation by local antisemites. Jews were also prohibited from appearing in public spaces or having any relations with the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian nationalists arrested and shot Jewish men suspected of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities.

Soon the Jews were evacuated from their homes and resettled into the town synagogue, which effectively became a ghetto for them. The homes and property of the Jews were confiscated and distributed among their Lithuanian neighbors. In the middle of August 1941, Jewish men aged over 15 and Jewish women who had been accused of collaborating with the Soviet authorities in 1940–1941 were singled out and transported to Vilkija. In Vilkija, they were shot along with the local Jews on August 28, 1941.[1] The 193 Jews that remained, comprising 6 men, 61 women, and 126 children, were shot in the Pakralė Forest, just outside the town, on September 4, 1941.[2]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Seredžius may be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 325; "Seredzius," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 442–443; and J. Woolf, comp., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA; and RGVA (500-1-25).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

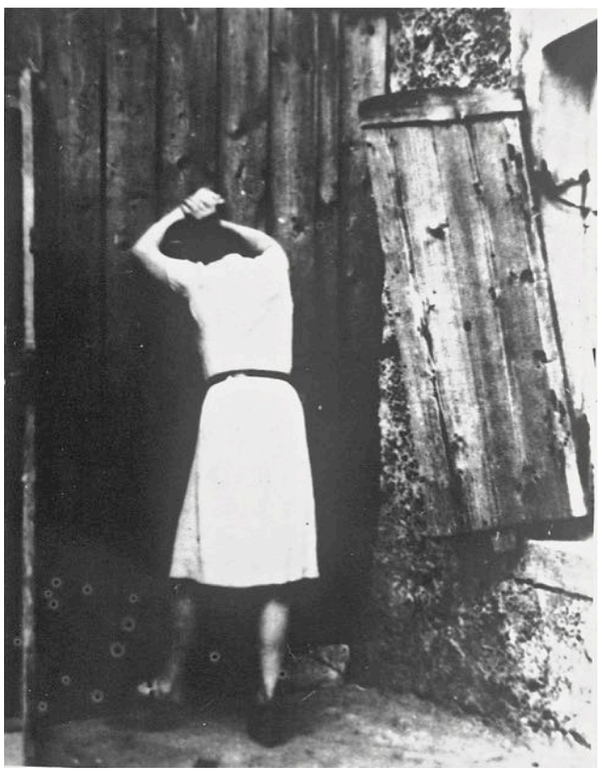
1. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, p. 325; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 443.
2. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

ŠIAULIAI

Pre-1939: Šiauliai (Yiddish: Shavl), city and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šiauliai/Shauliai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schaulen, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šiauliai, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Šiauliai is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) west-northwest of Panevėžys. On the eve of the war, the Jewish population of Šiauliai numbered between 6,500 and 8,000.

Following the occupation and annexation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union in 1940, 202 Jews became victims of the



The murder of a woman in the Šiauliai ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #70806, COURTESY OF ELIEZER ZILBERIS

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Soviet deportations on June 14, 1941.[1] When Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some of Šiauliai's Jews tried to escape into the interior of the Soviet Union. Approximately 100 refugees managed to reach the Soviet rear areas. Others failed, however, because of the Germans' rapid advance. They either returned to Šiauliai or sought refuge in the surrounding villages. The Red Army abandoned the city on June 26.

In the first days of the German occupation, a Lithuanian administration and police force were established. Various German institutions were also based in the town. Feldkommandantur 819 administered the town initially, then passed on its authority to a civil administration headed by a Gebietskommissar and his staff in August. Units of the Secret Military Field Police (GFP) and elements of Einsatzkommando 2, under Einsatzgruppe A, were also present. SS-Hauptscharführer Werner Gottschalk, head of the Restkommando, a subordinate unit of Einsatzkommando 2, directed the first murders of Jews from the city and region. In late July, the 3rd Company of German Police Battalion 65 arrived in Šiauliai. This company repeatedly participated in the murder of Šiauliai's Jews during the summer, assisted by other German military and police units.

The first mass murder of Šiauliai's Jews took place in the Kužiai Forest, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Šiauliai, on June 29, 1941. The victims also included ethnic Lithuanian and Russian members of the Communist Party and the Komsomol. According to witness accounts, the Germans perpetrated the Kužiai killings.[2] Mass arrests of Šiauliai's Jews took place on June 30, July 1, and July 5. Among those whom the Lithuanian police arrested were 20 of the most distinguished members of Šiauliai's Jewish community, including Chief Rabbi Aron Baksht and Rabbi Avrohom Nochumovsky. They were held as hostages in the city jail until July 11, when they were murdered in "reprisal" for an alleged Jewish attack on German soldiers. Approximately 1,000 Jews were murdered before the establishment of the ghetto, many by Lithuanian partisans.[3]

The German occupation authorities began to plan for the establishment of a ghetto in Šiauliai in early July 1941. On July 10, a Lithuanian attorney named Linkevicius was designated mayor; Jews were ordered to wear yellow stars shortly thereafter.[4] At that time, deputy mayor Antanas Stankus was put "in charge of Jewish affairs," a post he held until February 1, 1942.[5] The military commandant, Konowski, issued instructions for establishing the ghetto. In cooperation with the Lithuanian authorities, a Jewish committee was established to deal with the problems of moving the Jews into the ghetto. The committee included Mendel Leibovitch, Ber Kartun, Fayvel Rubinstein, and Aron Katz.[6] In accordance with a proclamation, all Jews had to register at the city administration office between July 19 and July 22. In July, Linkevicius and Konowski announced that the Jews were to move either to the Šiauliai suburb known as Kaukazas or to the town of Žagarė. According to the Judenrat secretary, Eliezer Yerushalmi (author of *Pinkas Shavli*, a journal of life in the ghetto), although Stankus and the mayor proposed the transfer of the Jewish community to Žagarė, the Jewish leaders (Kartun, Leibovitch, and others) weighed the proposal and appealed for assistance from local Lithuanian intellectuals and the priest, Lapis. Yerushalmi notes that Jewish opposition to the idea caused it to be abandoned, and the ghetto was subsequently created in Kaukazas.[7] (Nesse [Galperin] Godin, a survivor from Šiauliai [b. 1928], recalls that the Jewish committee managed to bribe Gestapo officials with valuables and promised to produce goods essential to the German war effort to avoid the transfer of the Jewish community to Žagarė.)[8] The non-Jewish residents of these areas "were allowed" to move to other parts of the city of Šiauliai, some moving into formerly Jewish-owned properties.[9]

Two neighborhoods were chosen for the ghetto. One was Kaukazas, while the other encompassed Ežero and Trakų Streets. The two areas were separated by 300 meters (984 feet). After the ghetto was enclosed, the Jews began moving in from various city districts, starting with the Kaukazas area. The Jewish committee was responsible for allocating accommodation inside the ghetto. The resettlement was largely complete by August 15, 1941, and the closed ghetto was officially established on September 1.[10] Between 4,000 and 5,000 Jews were forced into the two ghettos, around which ran 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fences. Police guarded the ghetto gate, and no one could leave without a special pass.

After the Jews were confined in the ghetto, confiscated Jewish gold and other valuables were remitted to the Šiauliai Gebietskommissariat. This was done in accordance with detailed inventory lists. Some Jewish property (primarily furniture) was taken by Gebietskommissariat officials; the rest was sold to the local population.[11]

The number of Jews forced into the ghetto was greater than the available housing could hold. To solve this problem, in the first days of September, a number of "excess" Jews were herded into the synagogues and the Jewish Home for the Elderly on Vilnius Street, where they were registered. Most of these Jews (the elderly and those deemed unfit for work) were taken to Žagarė or to Kužiai, where they were murdered. On September 7 (according to other sources, September 6), a squad commanded by Lieutenant Romualdas Kolokša, formerly a lawyer in Užventis, raided the Jewish orphanage and seized 47 children and two teachers (A. Katz and Zhenia Karfel). The group was taken to the forest and murdered. On September 13, the police entered the ghetto, arrested many elderly people, and took them away to be shot.[12]

Mass murders of Šiauliai Jews took place near the village of Bubiai, in the Gubernija Forest, a part of the Normančiai Forest District approximately 15 kilometers (9 miles) from Šiauliai, during September 1941. Groups of victims, numbering close to 500, were brought to the site in 10 trucks. Before they were shot, the Jews were forced to undress, beaten, and then driven into the pits. Witnesses to the murders stated that the executions were directed by German officers, although Lithuanian partisans participated as well.[13] Yerushalmi describes one victim who managed to survive the shootings near Bubiai and returned to the town to report what was occurring there: "The representative M. Leibovitch went there (to visit the survivor of the shootings) and he became aware of the terrible

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truth: all of those who had been seized were taken to the woods near Bubiai and there they were shot next to pits that had been prepared beforehand. The survivor had himself been wounded, but he still managed to escape from the pit."[14] The shootings would start at about 3:00 or 4:00 P.M. and were supervised by German officers. The executioners were Lithuanian partisans and soldiers of the 14th Lithuanian Police Battalion, quartered in Šiauliai. In the Gubernija Forest, approximately 1,000 people were murdered.[15] The last major shooting of Jews in 1941 took place between December 8 and December 15. On the orders of Gebietskommissar Hans Gewecke and the head of the German Security Police and SD, 72 Jews from Šiauliai, who worked in nearby villages, were seized and then shot. The executioners were policemen from the villages of Kuršėnai, Stačiūnai, Radviliškis, and Pakruojis.[16]

Following the mass murders in September 1941, the number of Aktions against the Jewish population declined. A Jewish administration and a unit of Jewish Police were created in the Šiauliai ghetto, similar to the structure of the ghettos in Wilno and Kaunas. Inside the ghetto, the original Jewish committee was reorganized into a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its authority extended to both the Ežero-Trakų and Kaukazas ghettos. The Judenrat was headed by M. Leibovitch, and it included other influential Šiauliai Jews, such as Aron Heller and B.M. Abramovitch, and the teacher Eliezer Yerushalmi. The main responsibility of the Jewish Council was to direct internal life within the ghetto, while also maintaining contacts with the German and Lithuanian administrative offices. In addition, the council appointed the heads of the Ežero-Trakų and Kaukazas ghetto administrations. The administration of the Ežero-Trakų ghetto included S. Burgin, S. Kultchenitski (social affairs), and Ch. Cherniavski (labor affairs).[17] The ghetto administration supervised the maintenance of public order in the ghetto, assignment of forced laborers, distribution of food supplies within the ghetto, sanitation, and other everyday activities.

A food shop and 40-bed hospital (headed by Luntz and Peisachovitz) opened in the ghetto. Beginning in September 1941, the inmates were driven to work at locations such as the Zokniai airfield, various workshops, the Frenkel leather factory (in Kaukazas), the Rekyva and Radviliškis peat bogs, the Linkaičiai weapons workshops, and the Pavenčiai sugar refinery. Ghetto inhabitants deemed capable of working were assigned yellow work cards. The Jews were not paid money for their work. The German Arbeitsamt (labor office) transferred the money to the ghetto administration.[18] (Nesse Godin recalls that when her family of five was transferred to the ghetto, they were allotted only four yellow work cards. Nesse, who was 13 at the time [August 1941], was too young to receive a work card. Her mother bribed a Lithuanian officer accompanying the Gestapo official, who left a fifth card for Nesse. While this card offered the opportunity to work, Nesse did not receive a ration card because she was not officially registered in the ghetto.)[19]

Ephraim Gens was made head of the Ežero-Trakų ghetto police in early September 1941. He had 11 or 12 policemen at his disposal, who were unarmed. The ghetto policemen were responsible for maintaining public order inside the ghetto.

Nathan Katz works in the radio laboratory in the Šiauliai ghetto, 1943.
USHMM WS #07367, COURTESY OF NATHAN KATZ

More specifically, their duties included the housing and resettlement of inmates, prevention of crimes, such as robbery and speculation (food smuggling), maintenance of proper sanitary conditions, and the formation of "work brigades." Those who violated the ghetto regulations were punished with fines, beatings, confinement in solitary cells, and temporary prohibition from work. The punishments were issued by the Ghetto Court of Law.[20]

On February 7, 1942, an order was issued forbidding childbirths in the ghetto. The order went into effect on August 15, 1942. Doctors had to perform abortions to prevent violation of this order.[21] (The Judenrat discussed whether it was possible to force women to have abortions under the circumstances. Three births had taken place since August 15, 1942, and up to 20 women were estimated to be pregnant in the ghetto in late March 1943. Dr. Aron Pick, a physician living in the Šiauliai ghetto, kept a diary recording events in the ghetto. In a January 1944 entry, he details the birth of a Jewish baby girl born to a slave laborer. The child was drowned after birth to avert the "terrible danger [that] hung over the entire ghetto.")[22]

E. Gens remained head of the Jewish Police in the Ežero-Trakų ghetto until March 25, 1944, when he resigned because of a disagreement with the new ghetto administration chief, Georg Pariser. Gens then became an ordinary ghetto inmate, while Chaim Berlovitch occupied his previous post. David Fayn was head of the Jewish Police in the Kaukazas ghetto. His deputy was Zavel Gotz, who replaced Fayn in his duties in July 1943.[23]

Underground anti-Nazi resistance groups emerged in the Šiauliai ghetto. The most active members of the Zionist youth movements created a secret organization in late 1941. Another "self-defense" organization, headed by engineer Yosel Leibovitch, appeared in 1942, with both Zionist and Communist membership. They acquired and concealed weapons but undertook no armed action. Small underground newspapers, *Massada*, *Hatechiya*, and *Mimamakim*, were produced.

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Youth movements (Hechalutz, Betar, and the Communist group) were also active in the ghetto and commemorated certain Jewish and national holidays. In 1943, schools opened in both ghettos, with an enrollment of 90 pupils in the Ežero-Trakų ghetto and 200 pupils in Kaukazas.

The Šiauliai ghetto was under the supervision of Gebietskommissar Gewecke until mid-September or October 1, 1943, when, the SS assumed jurisdiction. The ghetto then acquired the status of a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp. The head of the Schaulen subcamp was SS-Unterscharführer Hermann Schleef. For information about this transition and the period of the concentration camp, readers are referred to the entry in Volume I (**Schaulen**, pp. 858–859).

Some Jews from Šiauliai were among the concentration camp inmates liberated by Allied troops at the end of the war. The number of survivors from the Šiauliai ghetto was between 350 and 500.[24]

Hans Gewecke, the Gebietskommissar in Šiauliai, was tried in Lübeck in 1970 and sentenced to four and a half years for hanging a Jew who was caught smuggling food into the ghetto.[25]

SOURCES In addition to the entry on Šiauliai in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 658–671, a number of other published works on Jewish life in the Šiauliai ghetto are useful. In particular, see Eliezer Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli: Yoman mi-geto Lita'i*, *1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik and Yad Vashem, 1958), a journal detailing daily events in the ghetto—an abridged version of this can also be found in *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*, compiled by Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002). *Shirim me-geto Shavli* (Israel: Yotse Geto Shavli, 2003) is a collection of poems and songs from the Šiauliai ghetto. See also Levi Shalit, *Azoy zaynen mir geshtorbn* (Munich: Organization of Lithuanian Jews in Germany, 1949). Among those memoirs published by survivors of the Shavli ghetto are Sarah Yerushalmi, *La-geto lo hazarti* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980); Harry Demby, *Life Story of a Holocaust Survivor from Shaulen Lithuania*, *Who Lived His Life to Help Others* (Delray Beach, FL: H. Demby, 2003); and Meyer Kron, *Through the Eye of a Needle* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2000). The diary of Aron Pick has been published in Hebrew: *Reshimot mi-ge ha-haregah: Zikhronot ketuvim be-geto ha Shavla'i (Lita)* (Tel Aviv: Igud yots'e Lita, 1997).

The trial records of Lithuanian collaborators can be found in the Lithuanian Special Archives (Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas, or LYA). Additional documentation on the German occupation can be found in the Central State Archives of Lithuania (Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas, or LCVA), including the records of the "Šiauliai City SS and Police Leader" (LCVA, R-717; see also USHMM, Acc. 2000.195). See also the trial records for Hans Gewecke: Sta. Lübeck, 2 Ks 1/68.

The diary of Dr. Aaron Pick describes life in the Šiauliai ghetto, public health, and Judenrat activities (see USHMM, Acc. 2000.132). A number of oral histories and testimonies on Šiauliai are available at the USHMM (e.g., RG-50.030*0080 [Nesse Galperin Godin]; the memoirs of Sonja Haid Greene, "Between life and death," RG-02.112; Acc.1994.A203; Simcha Brudno: "Witness to Nazism," RG-02.101; Acc.1994.A.159, transcription of oral history interview; and "The Family of Aryeh-Leyb Fingerhut [Leo Gerut]," RG-02.210). Numerous survivor testimonies and other sources can also be found in Israel: at YVA (e.g., M-1/E-575, 1206, 1233, 1472, 1555; M-9/9[6], 15[6]; O-3/3831, 3856; O-33/56, 60, 62, 284, 956, 1381, 1392, 2582, 3368; O-4/[15]); at the MA (A.258, A.685); also in the Oral History Division, Institute for Contemporary Jewry (i.e., [4] 37, [12] 58, 72, 77, 80, 82, 95, 103, 112, 113); and in the archives of the ITS.

Arūnas Bubnys and Avinoam Patt

NOTES

1. List of the Jews deported by the Bolsheviks in 1941, LMAB, RS, fr. 76-190, pp. 19–23.
2. Memorandum by the Šiauliai Region's Working People's Deputies Council Executive Committee, April 4, 1968, LYA, K 1-46-1261, p. 86.
3. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*; and Yerushalmi's Diary, Šiauliai (Shavli), in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 265, 522. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, p. 31, also cites mass arrests carried out by Lithuanian partisans.
4. See Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, p. 32.
5. Šiauliai City Government's Report to Gebietskommissar Schaulen-Land, August 13, 1941, LMAB, RS, fr. 76-181, p. 2.
6. Excerpts from A. Stankus's Examination Record, October 20, 1950, LYA, K 1-8-182, pp. 158–159. See Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, pp. 32–33, on the creation of a Jewish administration.
7. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, pp. 33–34.
8. Nesse Godin Oral History transcript, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0080, p. 8.
9. Šiauliai City Mayor's Announcement, July 18, 1941, ŠAA, 269-1a-27, p. 27.
10. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 296–300 (extract from the diary of E. Yerushalmi). See also Kron, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, p. 64, which states that the ghettos were closed by August 31.
11. Excerpts from A. Stankus's Examination Record, October 20, 1950, LYA, K 1-8-182, pp. 158–160.
12. Ibid., p. 160; Statement of the Description of Murders in the Šiauliai City Jewish Ghetto, November 25, 1944, LMAB, RS, fr. 159-29, p. 3.
13. Note issued by the Soviet Lithuanian KGB about mass murders in the Šiauliai Region in 1941, February 7, 1973, LYA, K 1-46-1274, p. 1; Z. Ašmonienė's Examination Record, January 23, 1973, K 1-46-1274, pp. 5–7.
14. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, p. 41.
15. Note by Captain Obraztsov, Soviet Lithuanian KGB Šiauliai City Chief Operative Official, about the 14th Lithuanian Police Battalion, n.d., LYA, K 1-47-1268, p. 145.
16. Statement of the Description of Murders in the Šiauliai City Jewish Ghetto, November 25, 1944, LMAB, RS, fr. 159-29, p. 3.
17. E. Gens's Examination Record, June 29, 1948, LYA, K 1-58-P42809/3, pp. 18, 25; Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 460.

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18. USHMM, RG-50.030*0080, p. 10.

19. A. Galiūnas's Examination Record, September 6, 1951, LYA, K 1-58-P16850, p. 19.

20. E. Gens's Examination Record, January 21, 1948, ibid., K 1-58-P42809/3, pp. 13–14.

21. See Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, for a copy of the order officially dated July 13, 1942 (p. 88), as well as the minutes of the Judenrat meeting on the topic, March 24, 1943 (pp. 188–189).

22. Dr. Aaron Pick Diary, USHMM, Acc. 2000.132, January 1944 (Hebrew).

23. E. Gens's Examination Record, January 21, 1948, LYA, K 1-58-P42809/3, pp. 15–16; also L. Lazeris's Examination Record, June 21, 1950, K 1-58-18181/3, pp. 13–14.

24. L. Peleckienė, "Prie Šiaulių geto vartų skambėjo gedulingas 'Requiem,'" *Lietuvos rytas*, 1994m. liep. 26d.; E. Gens's Examination Record, January 21, 1948, LYA, K 1-58-P42809/3, pp. 12–13; Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Schoah* (Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2006), p. 124.

25. Kron, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, p. 66; Sta. Lübeck, 2 Ks 1/68.

ŠILUVA

Pre-1940: Šiluva (Yiddish: Shidleve), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šiluva/Shiluva, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schidlowo, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šiluva, Raseiniai rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Šiluva is located 78 kilometers (49 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 365 Jews living in Šiluva, constituting 37 percent of the total. Owing to emigration in the 1930s, the Jewish population declined somewhat. Around 80 Jewish families were living in Šiluva in 1938.

German armed forces captured the town on June 24, 1941. Lithuanian nationalists immediately arrested all the Jews and resettled them into barns in the village of Ribukai. These barns in effect became a ghetto for the Jews. Jewish property was stolen by the Lithuanians. Each day Jewish men were exploited for heavy physical labor at the nearby Lyduvėnai railway station. While at work, the Jews were subjected to beatings at the hands of the Lithuanian guards.

On August 15–16, 1941, 115 to 120 Jewish men were taken out en masse and shot near the village of Padubysis (according to another source, near the village of Zakeliškiai). On August 21, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and all the remaining Jews, around 300 people, were shot and buried in sand pits near Ribukai, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) east of Lyduvėnai. Three Jews who received advanced warning from a Lithuanian friend were able to escape to the Šiauliai ghetto. The killings were carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian policemen.[1]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Šiluva during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Siluva," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 681–683; and 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), p. 1184.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Šiluva can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-427); LCVA; and YVA (O-3/2580; M-9/15[6]).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. YVA, 0-3/2580, M-9/15(6); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 401–402.

ŠIRVINTOS

Pre-1940: Širvintos (Yiddish: Shirvint), town, Ukmergė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Širvintos/Shirvintos, Ukmergē uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schirwinten, Kreis Wilkomir, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Širvintos, rajonas center, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Širvintos is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) north-northwest of Wilno. In 1939, about 700 Jews lived there; they comprised about one third of the town's population.

German armed forces captured the town at the end of June 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force, which proceeded to murder several Jews, burn the synagogue, and implement various anti-Jewish measures. All Jews were marked with the Star of David and forced into labor. The Jews were subjected to murder, assault, rape, robbery, and other forms of degradation by local antisemites. The Jews were also prohibited from appearing in public places and having any relations with non-Jewish Lithuanians.

In July or August 1941 (accounts differ), the Germans forced the remaining Jews into a ghetto composed of about 20 buildings and required them to leave most of their possessions in their old homes. From the ghetto, able-bodied Jewish men and some women were marched about 10 kilometers (6 miles) daily to a forced labor site outside the town. Each day the numbers of Jews returning from work diminished, as they were shot for the slightest infraction. The ghetto existed for little over a month and was liquidated on September 18, 1941. At that time, Lithuanian police, Gestapo officers, and Wehrmacht troops surrounded the ghetto in the middle of the night, forced the Jews into trucks, took them to the pine forest of Pivonija, about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Ukmergė, and shot them.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Širvintos in the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 248–251; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish*

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Communities: Lithuania (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 687–689; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 715–716.

There is survivor testimony about Širvintos in USHMM (RG-02.170; Acc.1994.A.0312).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

SMORGONIE

Pre-1939: Smorgonie (Yiddish: Smorgon), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Smorgon', Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Smorgonie, initially Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Aschmena, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Smarhon', raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Smorgonie is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) east-southeast of Wilno. In 1931, there were some 4,000 Jews living in the town.

In 1939, the Soviet Union occupied Smorgonie. Under Soviet rule, a few wealthier Jews were exiled to Siberia. With the outbreak of war in June 1941, many Jewish males were conscripted into the Red Army.[1]

The Germans occupied Smorgonie on June 26, 1941. At the time of its capture, local Poles took the opportunity to rob and beat Jews with impunity. When the German civil administration was set up in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien on September 1, Smorgonie was incorporated into Gebiet Wilejka. In September, the German authorities established two ghettos in the town. One was located in the synagogue courtyard, the other in the Karke.[2] The Jews in the Karke ghetto (which remained open) were taken daily to build a railroad line.[3]

The main ghetto consisted of an area of about eight blocks, with the synagogue courtyard at its center; a wooden fence topped by barbed wire surrounded it. The Jews there were gathered and counted every morning, then sent to work cutting grass, cleaning the town, and so forth. Polish local police, led by Koszukowski, supervised them; they frequently harassed and beat the Jews. Jewish women were also made to cook, clean, and sew for soldiers quartered in barracks in Smorgonie on their way to the front. Some of the more lax German officers would let the women barter with the peasants for food. It was also possible to sneak out of the ghetto to barter with local non-Jews, although this was forbidden and therefore dangerous. Those who could obtain food would go to the synagogue to share it with others who could not. In January 1942, Belorussians replaced the Polish policemen.[4]

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also established in the main ghetto. It consisted of Rabbi Yitskhok Markus (the chief rabbi of Smorgonie), Rabbi Slodzinski, Meyer Goldberg, Abrasha Tsirulnik, Noyekh Yavitsh, Mordekhai Mirski, Perl, Sarakhan, and Tshertok. All were chosen because of their important roles in the pre-war community. The main task of the Judenrat was to fulfill a series of demands for money and property from the Gebietskommissariat in Wilejka between the fall of 1941 and March 1942.[5] There was an underground organization in Smorgonie beginning early in 1942; it established contact with the underground in Kurzeniec, the center of a local network that was allied with a group of Soviet partisans in the nearby forests.

In April 1942, Smorgonie and other nearby towns were transferred to the Wilna-Land Gebietskommissariat in Generalkommissariat Litauen, under the jurisdiction of Gebietskommissar Horst Wulff.[6]

The ghetto was liquidated piecemeal through a series of deportations to various forced labor camps. The deportations focused on moving those who were fit for forced labor to locations where they could be of use. In the summer of 1942, the Karke ghetto was liquidated and its population moved into the main ghetto, which was enlarged to make room. The deportations began in August. First, 60 or 70 young Jews were deported to a forced labor camp in Varena and others to one in Olkieniki (Valkininkai). Shortly thereafter, 170 Jews were sent to the forced labor camp in Žiežmariai and 120 to Rudziszki (Rūdiškės).[7] By this time, the majority of the young and able-bodied Jews of both genders had been deported. In September or October, most of the remaining Jews were sent to Oszmiana and a few others to Soly. About 150 remained in the ghetto, which was transformed into a small forced labor camp.[8] In March 1943, the 74 Jews remaining in the camp were transferred to the Wilno ghetto. In early April, they were taken from there to Ponary, where they were killed.[9]

The Red Army liberated Smorgonie on July 6, 1944. The town was almost completely destroyed, and Jewish gravestones had been used to pave the sidewalks. Only about 60 Jews managed to survive the German occupation in the camps, in the forests, or in hiding. These Jews all left the town within a few years after liberation.[10]

SOURCES Smorgonie's small size made it necessary to rely almost entirely on survivor testimony for this article. Several survivor testimonies appear in the yizkor book: Abba Gordin and Hanoch Levin, eds., *Smorgon, meboz Vilna: Sefer 'edut vezikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Smorgon be-Yisrael, 1965). The author of this entry also conducted an interview with Tania Rosmaryn, a native of Smorgonie who was interned in the ghetto there and was able to provide several important details. Herman Kruk's ghetto diary contains scattered references to Smorgonie: Mordecai W. Bernstein, ed., *Togbukh fun Vilner Geto* (New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1961). It is now available in an excellent English translation by Barbara Harshav: Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002), which includes material from manuscripts not consulted in earlier editions. Most important, Kruk recorded the testimonies of other Jews about the camps and ghettos outside of Wilno, including the testimony of Rabbi Yankev Shneidman on Smorgonie.

Smorgonie is scarcely mentioned in the secondary literature, probably because of its small size, the lack of secondary sources, and the fact that it does not fit squarely into works on

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the Holocaust in either Belarus or Lithuania. However, the Smorgonie ghetto and the resistance are mentioned in Shalom Cholawsky, *'Al naharot ha-Nyemen veha-Dnyeper: Yehude Byelorusyah ha-ma'aravit be-milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Tel Aviv: Moreshet, Bet 'edut 'ash. Mordekhai Anilevits' ve-Sifriyat Po 'alim, 1982)—available in English as Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998). The information on Smorgonie in Marat Botvinnik's *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarusskaia Navuka, 2000) is partly based on unreliable sources.

An account by Fishl Kustin is in YVA (O-33/5278) and has been published in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000). There is also a detailed account in the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (AŻIH, 301/2276).

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Elke Baranovski, "Vos ikh hob ibergelebt," in Gordin and Levin, *Smorgon*, *mehoz Vilna*, p. 425.
2. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, p. 227; Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 629; Baranovski, "Vos ikh hob ibergelebt," pp. 426–427; Tova Dunski, "Keta'ei 'edut," in Gordin and Levin, *Smorgon*, *mehoz Vilna*, p. 449. Also in Gordin and Levin, see Sh. Greys, "'edut," p. 453; and Rivke Markus, "In geto un in lagern," pp. 401–402.
3. Greys, "'edut," p. 453.
4. Markus, "In geto un in lagern," pp. 402–403; Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 627; interview with Tania Rosmaryn, February 26, 2004, Washington, DC; AŻIH, 301/2276, p. 9.
5. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 491.
6. Announcement of Generalkommissar Adrian von Renteln, in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 103; Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 629.
7. Maryashe Yentes, "Khurbm Smorgon," in Gordon and Levin, *Smorgon*, *mehoz Vilna*, pp. 379–382; Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 629.
8. Yentes, "Khurbm Smorgon," p. 386; Markus, "In geto un in lagern," p. 406; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 387, 670.
9. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 533; Yentes, "Khurbm Smorgon," p. 391.
10. AŻIH, 301/2276, p. 17.

SOLY

Pre-1939: Soly, village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Smorgon' raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Soli, initially Rayon Smorgonie, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Aschmena, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Soly, Smarhon' raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Soly is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of Oszmiana and 66 kilometers (41 miles) southeast of Wilno. On the eve of World War II, there were 130 Jewish families living in Soly.

In accord with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Red Army entered Soly on September 17, 1939. Then German forces occupied the village on June 25, 1941. In July, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Soly. In September, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Initially Soly was in Rayon Smorgonie in Gebiet Wilejka, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Soly. They appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Michel Magid, and marked Jews with distinguishing badges in the form of a yellow Star of David. Jews were required to perform physical labor, and they were restricted to the limits of the village.

On July 12, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Soly. They arrested 12 people, accused of being Soviet activists, and shot them.[1] In October, the Jews of the village were forced to move into a ghetto, which was located on the side streets and consisted of dilapidated buildings. The ghetto was soon enclosed by a wall with a gate, through which only forced laborers were permitted to exit if issued with passes, usually escorted by the Polish police. A small unit of Jewish Police guarded the gate on the inside. Jewish forced laborers worked on the railroad and on other tasks 10 to 12 hours per day. However, forced laborers did receive some pay or at least coupons that entitled them to food.[2]

In April 1942, the Germans transferred a strip of territory including most of Rayon Smorgonie from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Gebiet Wilna-Land in Generalkommissariat Litauen. The Jews of Soly now feared for their lives, as the majority of the Jews in Lithuania had already been murdered. In the summer and fall of 1942, most of the young people in the Soly ghetto and other ghettos in the region were sent to various forced labor camps, including those in Žiežmariai, Kiena, and Biała Waka.

In October 1942, the German authorities in Generalkommissariat Litauen ordered the liquidation of the small ghettos in the region to the east of Wilno, concentrating their inhabitants in four ghettos: Oszmiana, Święciany, Michaliszki, and Soly. At this time there were reportedly 295 Jews living in Soly, of whom 160 were deployed for labor. The Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, instructed the head of the Judenrat in Wilno, Jacob Gens, to organize the four new ghettos along the lines of the Wilno ghetto. Gens sent four teams of policemen and administrators to the ghettos. By the end of December 1942, a number of Jewish forced laborers from Soly had been transferred to the Wilno ghetto.[3]

In the fall of 1942, newcomers were registered by the Jewish Council. One child survivor, Morris Engelson, who was then aged seven, recalled that he went to school in the Soly ghetto, but the Jews there feared that the Germans might organize an Aktion to round up and kill remaining Jewish children. In response, youths lied about their age on registration, and Jews prepared hiding places, usually behind false walls in their apartments, teaching the children to run and hide at the first sign of danger.[4]

An underground resistance existed in Soly, and efforts were made to contact Soviet partisans, but these were sometimes rebuffed. Nevertheless, a report had reached the Wilno

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ghetto by early April 1943 that some Jews from the Soly ghetto had fled to the forests. For example, Morris Engelson and his family managed to flee the Soly ghetto with the aid of a peasant acquaintance in December 1942.[5]

In March 1943, the German authorities forbade the presence of Jews within 50 kilometers (31 miles) of the Generalkommissariat Litauen border with Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Therefore, the four remaining ghettos there had to be liquidated. Some of their inhabitants were relocated to Wilno and to the labor camps in Žiežmariai, Kiena, and other sites. Then in late March 1943, the Jews of Oszmiana and Michaliszki were brought to Soly. The Germans had informed Gens that these Jews, together with the remaining 700 Jews in the Soly ghetto, would be sent to the ghetto in Kaunas. Gens even traveled to Soly with the intention of accompanying the transport. In Soly, the Jews were taken to the local train station and put into freight cars with windows sealed by barbed wire. Previously loaded onto the train were Jews from Oszmiana and Michaliszki. However, en route Gens learned from a Polish railway worker that their true destination was the killing site of Ponary and that the Germans had deceived them. When the train made an intermediate stop, Gens and his men were sent back to Wilno and replaced by German Gendarmes and Polish policemen. At the Ponary station, the Jews were held overnight in the sealed cars. When the cars were opened at daybreak, they were led to the murder site and shot next to the death pits. On that day about 3,800 people were murdered, including at least 400 from Soly.[6]

By the time the area was liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944, only a few Jews from Soly remained alive. These were mostly young people who had escaped from labor camps and linked up with partisan units. No Jewish community was reestablished in Soly after the war.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Soly during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 468–469; and Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Soly can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-15); LCVA (R 626-1-211); VHF (# 6067 and 48155); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-89-15, p. 38 verso.
2. VHF, # 6067, testimony of David Cwei.
3. LCVA, R 626-1-211, p. 18, list of ghettos in Kreis Aschmena, October 1942; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 385, 439, 443.
4. VHF, # 48155, testimony of Morris Engelson.
5. Ibid.; # 6067; and Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 494.
6. Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 486, 494, 534; GARF, 7021-89-15.

SUBAČIUS

Pre-1940: Subačius (Yiddish: Subotsh), village, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Subačius/Subachius, Panevezhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Subotsch, Kreis Ponewesch, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Subačius, Panevėžys rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Subačius is located 23 kilometers (15 miles) east of Panevėžys. In 1921, the Jewish population was 250. More than 20 Jewish families were living in the village on the eve of the German invasion.

German forces captured Subačius in late June 1941. At the time of the Germans' arrival, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force. Initially the German army only passed through the town, but a small garrison was established in Subačius after about one month. Some Jews fled into the countryside as the Germans first approached, but they returned to Subačius after a few days.

One day, probably in the second half of July, all the Jews were ordered to gather in the home of a prominent Jewish family. Five German soldiers and some Lithuanian activists selected about 10 families for work. The other Jews were escorted out of town and were all shot in the Ilčūnai Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the village.[1]

The remaining Jews were placed in a ghetto near the railway station, about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the center of the village. The ghetto consisted of one street and was surrounded by a wooden fence with barbed wire. More than one family had to share each house. The Jews were forced to wear a Star of David on the chest and back of their clothing, and they were taken every day for forced labor. The labor tasks included harvesting potatoes and cleaning for the Germans. After about five months, at the end of 1941, the German garrison left for the front, and the Lithuanian activists took this opportunity to murder the remaining Jews. A few Jews managed to hide and to escape through the snow at this time. For example, Ascia Lieberman escaped through the barbed wire with her brother when the Lithuanians came to surround the ghetto. Her mother, however, went back to fetch her sister in the ghetto and was shot at the ghetto fence.[2]

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Subačius is mentioned in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 771.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LYA and VHF (e.g., # 5112, 50638).

Martin Dean

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1. VHF, # 50638, testimony of Sara Widawski; # 5112, testimony of Ascia Lieberman; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 506.
2. VHF, # 50638; # 5112.

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ŠVĖKŠNA

Pre-1940: Švėkšna (Yiddish: Shvekshne), village, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Švėkšna/Shvekshna, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schwekschne, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Švėkšna, Šilutė rajonas, Klaipeda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Švėkšna is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) northwest of Tauragė. According to the census of 1923, Švėkšna had a Jewish population of 519. By June 1941, the size of the community had been reduced somewhat by emigration in the 1930s.

German forces occupied the village on June 22, 1941, the day of their invasion of the USSR, and therefore almost no Jews managed to evacuate. Before the village was taken, it was subjected to artillery bombardment, and this caused many Jews to flee to surrounding villages. Upon returning, however, they found that Lithuanians had looted their homes.

As soon as the town was captured, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which began implementing anti-Jewish measures. The Jews had to surrender all radios, bicycles, and precious metal objects. They were prohibited from using the sidewalks or associating in any way with non-Jewish Lithuanians. They also were required to wear yellow patches in the shape of the Star of David on their clothing. Jewish men were compelled to perform heavy labor and Jewish women to do menial cleaning jobs.

On June 27, 1941, members of the 2nd SS-Sturm/20th SS-Reiter-Standarte (SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Struve commanded the Standarte; SS-Untersturmführer Theodor Werner Scheu led the Sturm), assisted by Lithuanian partisans, gathered about 150 to 200 able-bodied Jewish males in the synagogue. They were instructed to bring a cup, a plate, and a change of clothes. After forcing the Jews to witness the burning of their religious books, the Jews were shaven, robbed, beaten, and forced to perform gymnastics. The physical abuse lasted several hours. The following day, Scheu selected 120 of these men, including the town's rabbi, and they were taken on trucks to the labor camp at Heydekrug (Šilutė). Those deemed unfit for labor were probably killed outside the village. Many of the Jews sent to Heydekrug became victims of the successive killings at the camp in the summer and fall of 1941. Only a few survived to be transferred, first in July 1943 to the Auschwitz concentration camp, then after selections there, on to other locations in the camp system.[1]

Pre-war postcard of the synagogue in Švėkšna. The German captions read, "Greetings from Schwekschne" and "Jewish synagogue."
USHMM WS #03927, COURTESY OF SAM SHERRON

In Švėkšna, 4 women and 1 man were killed on the spot on June 27 after leaving their homes in violation of instructions to remain at home. On June 28, Lithuanian partisans murdered 3 more girls, who were Komsomol members. According to German investigative sources, at least 20 Jews were murdered in Švėkšna at the end of June or in July 1941, either by members of the Border Police from Memel or the Staatspolizei based in Tilsit.[2]

The approximately 300 women, children, and old people remaining in the village were moved into a ghetto, which was located on the "Jewish Street." The women were forced into hard labor and suffered from hunger and physical abuse.

The ghetto was liquidated on September 22, 1941. Lithuanian partisans shot the remaining Jews in a forest between the villages of Inkakliai and Raudiškiai.[3]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Švėkšna during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 673–676; Ruth Leiserowitz, "Grenzregion als Grauzone. Heydekrug—eine Stadt an der Peripherie Ostpreussens," in Christian Pletzing, ed., *Vorposten des Reichs?: Ostpreussen 1933–1945* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2006), pp. 129–149, here pp. 138–149; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 253–254; and "Sveksna," 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), p. 1268.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Švėkšna can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 207 162/59); GARF (7021-94-429); LCVA; and YVA (Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection, O-71/File 14; and O-3/2580).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See LG-Aur, verdict of June 26, 1964, against Struve et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 579, pp. 308–310; Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 254.

2. See LG-Ulm, verdict of August 29, 1958, against Hans-Joachim Böhme et al., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 159–160. Very few details are available concerning this Aktion—it is possible this reflects the killing of those men deemed unfit for labor.

3. YVA, Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection, O-71/14 (testimony of Moshe Ment, Yitzchak Markowitz, Naphtali Ziv, and Meir Shmulevitz); and O-3/2580 (testimony of Meir Ladon).

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ŚWIĘCIANY

Pre-1939: Święciany (Yiddish: Sventsian), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Sventsiany, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1940–1941: Švenčionys/Sventsiany, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schwentschionys, Kreis center, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Švenčionys, rajonas center, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Święciany is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1925, the Jewish population of Święciany was 2,750. On September 18, 1939, the Soviet army entered Święciany. Initially incorporated into the Belorussian SSR, after August 1940, Święciany was transferred to the new Lithuanian SSR.

Following their invasion of the Soviet Union, German forces occupied Święciany by July 1, 1941. At the time of the invasion, a number of Jews, especially those with links to the Soviet authorities, fled into Russia. Lithuanian partisans soon organized in the Święciany area and fired on retreating Soviet soldiers and officials, and also on fleeing Jews, forcing some to return to Święciany, where Jewish firemen had established a self-defense unit.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established in the town, as were a local administration and police force. The latter institutions were dominated by Lithuanians, as Poles were excluded from holding office.[1] From August 1, 1941, P. Skrabutėnas was in charge of the Święciany district police force and Juozas Šležys the Święciany town police. Head of the Kreis Schwentschionys administration was Mykolas Kukutis, and mayor of the town was Vincas Blažys.

In the first days of the occupation, Jews were harassed and seized for forced labor, and a number were murdered as suspected Communists. According to Yitzhak Arad: "[N]ow the hatred of the Lithuanians for the Jews exploded in full force. Jews were beaten in the streets; their homes were looted; they were snatched away for forced labor and cruelly molested." Available sources indicate that around 140 Jews were arrested and shot in July 1941, in at least two Aktions, in which local Lithuanians played an important role.[2]

In August 1941, the German military administration was replaced by a German civil administration. The new Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, ordered the registration of all Jewish residents. At this time, a series of anti-Jewish measures was introduced, including the wearing of the Star of David, a ban on travel by Jews, and restrictions on when Jews could buy food.[3] Rumors spread about the liquidation of entire Jewish communities elsewhere in Lithuania. When the Jews learned, in the second half of September, that the Germans were preparing a concentration point for the Jews of the region in Nowe Święciany, Jewish representatives appealed to the Catholic priest for help, but he claimed he was powerless to intervene.[4]

On September 26, 1941, German and Lithuanian police surrounded Święciany and ordered the Jews to prepare to move to the barracks at the military camp (firing range), also known as the Poligon camp, near Nowe Święciany, some 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) away. The Germans prepared a list of needed specialists, who would be permitted to remain in Święciany with their families. People attempted to bribe their way onto the list. During the night, a number of Jews fled towards Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, including Yitzhak Arad. On September 27, the majority of the Jews were then taken to the Poligon camp, where they were held, together with several thousand others collected from throughout the region, for just over a week under terrible conditions. After a few days the remaining Jews in Święciany were permitted to bring a little food to the inmates, but the prisoners were robbed and abused by their Lithuanian guards. A few additional specialists were selected out, with the aid of bribes, and brought to Święciany, where a small remnant ghetto was established around the large synagogues. The vacated Jewish houses were soon looted by the Lithuanians.[5]

Some people who had evaded the roundup soon joined the craftsmen in the ghetto. However, when they were urged to register, to become legal, the Germans arrested those who came forward and took them to the Poligon transit camp to be shot with the other Jews there. In total there were around 300 Jews in the remnant ghetto.[6]

According to Einsatzkommando 3 commander, Karl Jäger, 3,726 Jews were shot at Święciany by October 9, 1941, reflecting the killing of the inmates of the Poligon camp at two sites nearby.[7] Other sources, however, indicate that perhaps as many as 8,000 Jews from the region were murdered by the Security Police, members of the Lithuanian Ypatingas Burys killing squad, and other local auxiliaries at Poligon.[8]

A report, dated December 17, 1941, from the head of Kreis Schwentschionys to the Gebietskommissar, noted that the remaining Jews of the Kreis had been resettled into the Święciany ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Lithuanian police. Those Jews assigned to perform labor were specially registered. Inside the ghetto, Antanas Markauskas, a Lithuanian policeman, was in charge of enforcing order and cleanliness. A five-man Jewish Council (Judenrat) had been formed, which was charged with maintaining order in the ghetto and dealing with internal Jewish affairs.[9] In April 1942, the Gebietskommissar ordered the head of the Kreis to organize all Jews, regardless of age or sex, for labor details to clean the streets of Święciany.[10]

One of the earliest and strongest Jewish resistance groups in the region emerged in the Święciany ghetto. Gertman, Rudnicki, Shutan, Porush, Wolfson, Ligumski, Nadel, Beck, and Miedziolski were some of its members. At first, the resistance group planned to fight inside the ghetto, but later it decided its members should escape to the forest and join partisan units. The underground and the Judenrat came into conflict over the question of purchasing arms, probably following an incident that provoked a deadly response.

On May 13, 1942, on the orders of Jonas Maciulevicius, the head of the Lithuanian Criminal Police, two members of the Jewish underground, Beck and Miedziolski, were arrested in the ghetto after Miedziolski had accidentally shot and wounded Beck with an illegal firearm. This was reported to

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the Judenrat by the Jewish doctor who treated Beck, and the Jewish Police also reported the incident to the Lithuanian police. The two prisoners were interrogated and tortured for days, then killed. More or less at the same time, Sonia Lewin, another resident of the Święciany ghetto, was also arrested and shot.[11] Subsequently, the Judenrat tried to weaken the resistance by sending its members to work for the Organisation Todt (OT) in a labor camp.

In July 1942, the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land banned Jewish artisans from practicing their crafts in the ghetto, unless there was a great need for their services, and ordered that 50 percent of their salary was to go directly to the Gebietskommissar's office.[12] At this time, some Jews in Święciany were working as shoemakers and tailors, while others worked in agriculture and in a factory making boots for the army. On August 6, 1942, the German office dealing with social affairs (Sozialamt) in Święciany reported that there were 566 Jewish men, women, and children in the ghetto of which all 353 able-bodied men and women were currently already deployed for labor.[13]

On August 28, 1942, the Generalkommissar in Litauen, owing to the lack of guards for Jewish work details, ordered the deployment of ghetto laborers to forestry, agricultural work, and road building to cease immediately. This was in response to increased partisan activity in the region. Soon afterwards, the German authorities also ordered the dissolution of the smaller ghettos east of Wilno and the resettlement of their inhabitants into the ghettos of Święciany, Oszmiana, and Wilno. Exceptions were made for Jewish workers needed by the German army and the OT and for Jews working as artisans in specific towns.[14] At this time, most of the remaining Jews from the Widze ghetto were transferred to Święciany. Around 80 craftsmen and their families initially remained in Widze, but these Jews were also sent to Święciany subsequently.[15] The ghettos in Święciany and Oszmiana were also subordinated administratively to the Wilno ghetto.

After the arrival of the Jews from Widze, overcrowding intensified, and an epidemic of typhus broke out. The Jewish doctor, however, tried to keep the outbreak secret from the Germans, for fear it might give them a pretext to liquidate the ghetto. The Wilno ghetto Judenrat provided some assistance.[16]

On March 5–6, 1943, shortly before the liquidation of the ghetto, 22 people connected with the underground decided to flee into the forest to join partisan resistance units. However, 2 of them, Kosha Ligumski and Gershon Nade, gave up their weapons and stayed behind with their widowed mothers. Around this time, about 40 Jews escaped the ghetto altogether.

In late March 1943, members of the Jewish Police from Wilno arrived in Święciany and, on German instructions, prepared two lists: one for those Jews destined to move to the Wilno ghetto and one for those to be transferred to the Kaunas ghetto. Initially people were not sure which would be the better destination. However, once it became clear that all the members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police were going to Wilno, others also sought to get on this list.[17]

On April 4, 1943, the Jews of Święciany were transported on trucks initially to a barbed-wire enclosure at the railroad station in Nowe Święciany. On the evening of April 4, 1943, the train departed, reaching Wilno before dawn the next day. The members of the Święciany Judenrat and their families, with others from the list, were then taken to the Wilno ghetto. A few hours later, the train left, taking the remaining Jews to Ponary rather than Kaunas. When the Święciany Jews realized the deception, many of them tried to flee. The German and Lithuanian guards opened fire on the fleeing crowd. Around 600 people from the ghettos in Oszmiana and Święciany, who had been in the transport, were killed at the Ponary railway station and its vicinity. On that day, around 4,000 Jews, who had been brought in the two transports, died in Ponary.[18]

A few of the Jews from the Święciany ghetto survived the war, either with the partisans, in hiding, or after being in the Wilno ghetto and other camps.

Jonas Maciulewiczius (Maciulevicius), the head of the Lithuanian Criminal Police in Święciany, was tried by a Polish court in Olsztyń on May 2, 1950, and was sentenced to death. He was executed by hanging on December 12, 1950.[19]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Święciany during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 86–94; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), sections F.1.2.6 and F.1.8.1; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 545–558; and Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982). Also useful are Arad's personal memoirs: Yitzhak Arad, *The Partisan: From the Valley of Death to Mt. Zion* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979). There are two short survivor testimonies published in Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 38–40, 240–242.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3327, 5462); BA-BL (ZM 1641, A. 23); GARF; IPN (SAOl, I K 39/50); LCVA (R 1548-1-1 and 11, R 614-1-736, R 617-1-1, R 626-1-211, R 659-11-58, R 677-1-46, R 689-1-3, R 721-3-3, R 760-1-104); OKŚZpNPGd (S1/00/Zn); USHMM (RG-50.120 # 0266); VHF (e.g., # 03620, 11047, 51769); and YVA (e.g., O-71/169.1).

Elżbieta Rojowska and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Claire Rosenson

NOTES

1. Ber Kharmats and Jekov Levin, "Khurbn Sventsian," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 545; Arad, *The Partisan*, pp. 32–34.

2. YVA, O-71/169.1; Klara Jovitsh, "In geto," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 555; Arad, *The Partisan*, pp. 35–36.

3. LCVA, R 617-1-1, p. 565; R 659-11-58, p. 53; R 760-1-104, p. 4; and R 1548-1-1, p. 309.

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4. YVA, O-71/169.1.
5. Arad, *The Partisan*, pp. 38–39; Jovitsh, "In geto," pp. 556–557.
6. VHF, # 03620, testimony of Anna Nodel (née Gordon); # 11047, testimony of Rywa Gordon.
7. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114. This report gives October 9, 1941, as the date of the killing, but other sources indicate it occurred on October 7–8, 1941.
8. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 1376, gives the figure of 8,000 victims at the Poligon camp. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," uses the phrase "at least 5,000"; IPN, SAOl, I K 39/50, case against Jonas Maciulevicius.
9. LCVA, R 1548-1-11, p. 12.
10. Ibid., R 721-3-3, p. 69.
11. IPN, SAOl, I K 39/50, case against Jonas Maciulevicius; Jovitsh, "In geto," p. 557.
12. LCVA, R 721-3-3, p. 146.
13. Ibid., R 626-1-211, p. 33.
14. Ibid., R 689-1-3, p. 102.
15. Gershon Vainer and Yitshak Alperovitz, eds., *Sefer Vidz: 'Ayera b-hayeha u-ve-khiliona* (Tel Aviv: Widze Association in Israel, 1977), pp. 457, 467–476.
16. VHF, # 11047; Jovitsh, "In geto," p. 557.
17. Kharmats and Levin, "Khurbn Sventsian," p. 551.
18. Jovitsh, "In geto," p. 558.
19. IPN, SAOl, I K 39/50, case against Jonas Maciulevicius.

ŚWIR

Pre-1939: Świr (Yiddish: Svir), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Svir', raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Swir, initially Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis center, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Svir', Miadzel' raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Świr is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Święciany. Around 800 Jews were living in Świr on the eve of World War II. Under Soviet occupation, between September 1939 and June 1941, more than 1,000 people were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan from the Svir' raion, including a number of Jews.

German forces entered Świr on June 24, 1941. They soon established a local administration and police force, recruited, initially, mainly from among ethnic Poles. The new authorities imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the wearing of yellow patches bearing the Star of David, a ban on using the sidewalks, and an order for Jews to sweep the streets on Sundays. A four-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by Chaim Reznik. The Judenrat had to meet regular demands for money, fuel, and clothes by the Germans and organize the required forced labor details. Jews performed forced labor mostly in agriculture on the surrounding estates.

The Germans established a ghetto in Świr in early November 1941. Initially, it was not surrounded by a fence, and subsequently its area was diminished to a few houses around the synagogue, probably following a major transfer Aktion. Survivor Rachil Schper states that the ghetto was in the poorest part of town and the Germans forced all the Jews to relocate there, once the non-Jews had moved out. The synagogue was converted into a warehouse, and the holy books were burned in front of the Jews.[1]

On December 1, 1941, the Judenrat was ordered to arrest 12 young Jews, who were then murdered by the Germans. In January 1942, Gite Mular, who had escaped from the Wilno ghetto, arrived in Świr. She was 1 of more than 100 Jewish refugees who had fled to Świr from Lithuania, following the massacres there in the summer and fall of 1941. In early 1942, the local police, by now composed mostly of Belorussians, arrested these refugees. The authorities subsequently released the prisoners, on condition that they leave the town.[2]

In February 1942, the Germans ordered the Judenrat to supply several hundred Jews for the forced labor camp at Žiežmariai in Lithuania. When some of the Jews went into hiding to avoid being deported, the Judenrat threatened to take their relatives instead. According to *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, 200 Jews in total were sent.[3]

In April 1942, Rayon Swir was transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen. At this time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and local police. Many Jews feared attacks by the Lithuanian police, and some fled east from Świr to other ghettos and labor camps, which were to remain within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Among the restrictions imposed officially on the Jews living in the ghettos in this region were a curfew from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. and a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews. In the summer of 1942, the Wilno Department of Labor conducted a census that registered 817 Jews living in the Świr ghetto at just over 50 separate addresses on seven or eight streets.[4]

On September 8, 1942, the Wilno Department of Labor agreed to the transfer of 100 Jewish laborers from the ghetto in Świr to Wilno, for them to work on construction tasks for a company called "Haus und Wohnung" (House and Apartment), provided that their food rations and guarding were assured.[5]

Rasia HaYisraeli recalled, after the war, the mood in the Świr ghetto as the fall of 1942 approached. There were many signs that a liquidation Aktion was impending, and people could not sleep. "The situation was morbid; the prospect of escape was very slim. The ghetto was like a tightly shut cage. In spite of the danger, a few were able to arrange hiding places in the villages around the town." Her aunt prepared bags with food in case the family had to escape at a moment's notice.[6] Others prepared hiding places inside the ghetto, to avoid being taken in the next roundup.

At some time in the second half of 1942, most probably in October, most of the remaining inmates of the Świr ghetto (about 500 people) were transferred to the Michaliszki ghetto. Only 60 specialized Jewish workers then remained in Świr.[7] According to a document from the office of the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, dated November 6, 1942, at that time

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Świr was deemed to be a subghetto of the larger ghetto in Michaliszki.[8] Effectively it now more resembled a small forced labor camp.

In a strictly confidential letter on March 9, 1943, the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, informed the Organisation Todt and the Giesler construction company that there was an order calling for the transfer of all Jews working in these companies to be returned to the ghettos in Oszmiana, Świr, Michaliszki, and Święciany by March 22, 1943. He also recommended in his memorandum not to protest against this order.[9] This order probably signaled the evacuation of the last Jews from Świr.

At the end of March 1943, the Germans liquidated the Michaliszki ghetto. Some of the Jews were transferred to the Wilno ghetto, others were sent to forced labor camps in Lithuania, and some of the Jews from Michaliszki, including also Jews from Świr, were among about 2,500 Jews from the ghettos east of Wilno who were murdered at Ponary in early April.

A few Jews from Świr managed to escape from the ghetto or from other ghettos and labor camps subsequently. Some, such as Rachil Schper, managed to live on the Aryan side, as their looks enabled them to pass as non-Jews, and a few survived in hiding in the vicinity of Świr.[10] Others escaped to join the Soviet partisans in the forests, especially from the Wilno ghetto. In the summer of 1945, only about 40 Jews returned to Świr, some from Germany, having been deported to Estonia and then Stutthof from the Wilno ghetto.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Świr during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 112–114; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 777. The testimony of Rasia (née Dudman) HaYisraeli, "All That I Experienced during the Day of Annihilation," translated by Eliat Gordon Levitan and Gil Benjamin Villa from the Vishnevo yizkor book, is available at jewishgen.org.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; LCVA (R 614-1-736; R 626-1-211; R 677-1-46); VHF (e.g., # 9698, 18340, 34933); and YVA.

Martin Dean and Elżbieta Rojowska
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 113; VHF, # 18340, testimony of Rachil Schper; # 9698, testimony of Irving Simon.
2. BA-BL, ZM 1641, A. 23, p. 129 (case of Gite Mular); Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 86.
3. Miron, *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, p. 777; HaYisraeli, "All That I Experienced," notes that she met up with her cousin Zelda again later in the Žiežmariai camp.
4. Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, pp. 130, 636–640.
5. LCVA, R 626-1-211, p. l3.
6. HaYisraeli, "All That I Experienced."
7. BA-BL, ZM 1641, A. 23, p. 129; Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 86.
8. LCVA, R 614-1-736, p. 299.
9. Ibid., R 677-1-46, p. 5.
10. VHF, # 18340.

TAURAGĖ

Pre-1940: Tauragė (Yiddish: Tavrik), town, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Tauragė/Taurage, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Tauroggen, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Tauragė, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Tauragė is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Šiauliai. In 1940, there were approximately 2,000 Jews in Tauragė, including a number of refugees from the Memel region who had fled there when it was occupied by the Germans in March 1939. In the summer of 1940, Tauragė came under Soviet rule. In June 1941, just before the German invasion, 17 Jewish families (about 60 people) were deported to the Komi SSR as "unreliable elements."

On June 22, 1941, the first day of the German invasion of the USSR, German armed forces captured the town. The town was bombarded, destroying many Jewish homes and injuring about 20 Jews. Many Jews left the town because of the bombardment. When they returned, they found that local Lithuanians had looted their homes.

Immediately after the German occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force in the town. Jonas Jurgilas was appointed mayor, and F. Mintautas became the chief of police. The administration and police implemented a series of antisemitic measures. The Jews were ordered to hand over valuable items, forced into compulsory labor of various kinds, and subjected to robbery, assault, and degradation by local antisemites. They were forbidden to appear in public places and to have any relations with their non-Jewish Lithuanian neighbors.

On July 2, 1941, a Gestapo and SD detachment from Tilsit, with the assistance of local Lithuanian policemen, shot 133 Jewish men, who had been arrested in Tauragė. A few days later, the Border Police post (Grenzpolizeiposten) in Laugszargen, under which the Tilsit Gestapo served, arrested and shot 122 Jewish men in Tauragė and its vicinity.[1] Arrests and murders of Jews continued after this on an almost daily basis. Among the many victims was the town's rabbi, Rav Levi Shpitz, who was asked to give the Germans a list of the local Communists.

On September 6, 1941, V. Milimas, the head of Kreis Tauroggen, sent Orders No. 227 and 228 to the mayor and police chief in Tauragė. These orders instructed that all the Jews be concentrated in one place. All Jews had to be registered and

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wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing. In addition, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, Jewish property was confiscated, and Jewish doctors were only permitted to treat other Jews. In response to these orders, all the remaining Jews in the town—composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly—were gathered into hastily constructed barracks on Vytautas Street, which were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by Lithuanian policemen. Able-bodied women and children in the ghetto were sent to work, and it was forbidden to bring food into the ghetto. The Jews were housed under filthy conditions in the ghetto for about 10 days, with very little food. On September 13, they were informed that they needed to prepare themselves for transfer to another place with better living conditions.

On September 16, 1941, the ghetto in Tauragė was liquidated, and 513 Jews were taken on trucks out to a small forest 6 kilometers (4 miles) to the northwest of the town, where Lithuanian policemen shot them.[2] A few Jews, who were needed for economic reasons, were kept alive in Tauragė for a few weeks longer before they in turn were murdered or committed suicide. Several Jews had gone into hiding with peasants in the vicinity, but most of these people were also captured and killed.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Tauragė during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Taurage," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Tavrig," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 254–257; and "Taurage," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 298–302.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Tauragė can be found in these archives: BA-BL (R 58/214); GARF (7021-94-429); and YVA (M-1/E/1619; M-9/8[3], 15[6]; M-21/I/661, III/41; M-33/984, 4043; Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection [O-71], files 6, 7, 20, 40, 46, 163).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 19, July 11, 1941; LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict of August 29, 1958, against Böhme et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976) Lfd. Nr. 465; LG-Tüb, Ks 2/61, verdict of May 10, 1961, against Wiechert und Schulz, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 334–367.

2. YVA, M-1/E/1619; M-9/8(3), 15(6); M-21/I/661, III/41; M-33/984, 4043; Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection O-71, files 6, 7, 20, 40, 46, 163; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 301–302. According to ChGK materials (GARF, 7021-94-429), around 3,000 Jews were shot in September 1941, at a site 6 kilometers (4 miles) from the town. This figure is written on the monument, but in our estimation, based on the number of Jews in the town on the eve of the war, it is too high. Also too high is the figure given for the number of Jewish men—900 persons—shot near the village of Vizbutai, 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Tauragė.

TELŠIAI

Pre-1940: Telšiai (Yiddish: Telz), city and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Telšiai/Tel'shiai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Telsche, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Telšiai, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Telšiai is located 159 kilometers (99 miles) northwest of Kaunas. In 1939, around 2,800 Jews lived in Telšiai, comprising 35 percent of the total population.[1]

German expansionism first affected Lithuanian Jews on March 20, 1939, when Hitler issued an ultimatum ordering Lithuania to leave the port of Memel within 24 hours. As a result, about 7,000 Jews fled into Lithuania. Many found asylum in Telšiai, where the community offered them assistance. In June 1940, the USSR annexed Lithuania and imposed the Soviet political and economic system.

The Germans bombed Telšiai on June 23, 1941, and units of the German army entered the city on June 25. At this time, Lithuanian Major Alfonsas Svilas became commandant of the city and its surrounding area. Even before the arrival of the Germans, Lithuanian nationalist activists had started to loot Jewish property and arrest Jews. The initial arrestees were soon freed, but the next day Lithuanian nationalists took about 200 men from their homes and held them for a full day before releasing them. Jews appealed to Lithuanian civic and religious leaders to intervene, to no avail.

On June 27, remembered as the "Friday of Terror," Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators went house to house and ordered all Jews to assemble in the main square. From there they were marched to the shore of Lake Mastis, where the Lithuanians proclaimed that the Jews were responsible for the murder of 72 Lithuanian political prisoners during the final hours of Soviet occupation. (During the night of June 24–25, 1941, following a prison uprising, the fleeing Soviet authorities took the prison inmates to the neighboring town of Rainiai, shot them, and buried them in a mass grave in the nearby forest.)[2] The Lithuanians forced the Jews to exhume, clean, and reinter the bodies. The Jewish men were subjected to torture, then finally shot on July 15–16.

After a few days, the surviving women and children were moved to a detention camp at Geruliai.[3] They were joined there by women and children from the Viešvenai camp. Jews from a number of smaller towns had been concentrated at this site: Alsėdžiai, Rietavas, Varniai, Luokė, Laukuva, Žarenai, Navarėnai, and other places.[4] Altogether about 4,000 women and children were held at Geruliai, packed into six abandoned and empty army barracks, where they slept in two-tier bunk beds nailed together from boards. Several hundred young women were made available to local farmers, who used (or

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abused) them as agricultural laborers. Most of the others remained in Geruliai, where a committee managed the affairs of the camp. Food was obtained by bartering with the farmers. There was widespread disease (especially typhus and diphtheria), with virtually no medical resources, and many children died. Worst of all, the inhabitants were exposed to armed incursions and rapes by their Lithuanian guards. When the agricultural jobs were finished by the end of August, rumors spread about an impending Aktion. One day before the Aktion, the camp commander, B. Platakis, offered to save the people in exchange for a gift of 100,000 rubles. Overnight the women's committee conducted a frantic collection of valuables, which Platakis happily accepted. However, on Saturday, August 30, 1941, a group of about 600 women ages 15 to 30 were ordered to stand aside. The rest of the women and all the children were taken to the Geruliai Forest, murdered, and thrown into pits.[5]

The 600 young women were taken back to Telšiai and put into a ghetto that had been established in a run-down neighborhood on Ezero Street near Lake Mastis.[6] It was enclosed on one side by the lake and on three sides by a high wooden fence and several lines of barbed wire. The empty buildings had been stripped of their windows, doors, and furnishings. There were neither blankets nor sheets, and the prisoners slept on the floor. The women and girls were compelled to wear Star of David armbands, but they were allowed to leave the ghetto to search for menial work and beg for food. However, most of the local population avoided them like the plague. A few threw them scraps of food. There were some medical services in the ghetto, as two male Jewish doctors had been kept alive and ran a dispensary, assisted by a nurse.[7] At the end of December, between Christmas and the New Year, the women learned that the ghetto would be liquidated within a few days. A fair number fled, some of them finding shelter with the farmers they had met during forced labor as agricultural hands. A small number of Jewish women were subsequently accepted into the Šiauliai ghetto. On December 30–31, 1941, the downtrodden and exhausted remnant was taken to Rainiai and shot to death.[8] Of those women who escaped from the ghetto at the end of 1941, only 64 were alive when the Red Army liberated the area.

SOURCES Information on the Jews of Telšiai and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yitzhak Alperovitz, ed., *Sefer Telz (Lita); matsevat zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Telz Society in Israel, 1984); Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų getai ir laikinos izoliaviavimo stoyvyklos 1941–1943 metais," in *The Yearbook of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179, here pp. 155–158; Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 125–129, 173–180, 244–245, 312–313, 367–371; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 257–265; Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Tekst, 1993), pp. 306–308; and at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/telz/telz.html.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Telšiai can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA; LYA (K 1-8-194); USHMM (RG-50.473*0086-87); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Alperovitz, *Sefer Telz*, p. 330.
2. Ibid., p. 321; Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų," pp. 155–156.
3. USHMM, RG-50.473*0087.
4. Alperovitz, *Sefer Telz*, p. 324; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 245, 369.
5. Alperovitz, *Sefer Telz*, pp. 324, 332.
6. USHMM, RG-50.473*0086; Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų," pp. 155–158.
7. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 174–177. One of the doctors, David Kaplan, survived and continued to work in Telšiai after the war. He died in Kaunas in 1994 at age 84.
8. Alperovitz, *Sefer Telz*, pp. 324–325; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 126, 176–178; Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų," pp. 157–158.

TROKI

Pre-1939: Troki (Yiddish: Trok), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Trakai, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Trakai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Traken, Kreis center, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Trakai, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Troki is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) west-southwest of Wilno. According to the 1931 census, there were around 400 Jews living in the town. By mid-1941, there were about 500.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force. The head of the police was Kazys Čaplikas. The head of the local administration initially was J. Navikas. These collaborating organs implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with the Star of David, forced into various forms of heavy physical labor, prohibited from appearing in public spaces, and forbidden to have any relations with the local non-Jewish Lithuanians.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) with 12 members was formed, with Šimonas Kucas as the head, Ovsiejus Levinas as his deputy, and Šimonas Cvi as the secretary. Other members were Chaimas Bavarskis, Boruchas Bunivavičius, Izakas-Nochimas Galperinas, Gedeonas Klauzneris, Edmundas Levinskis, Cemachas Milikovskis, Leiba Percovičius, Chavonas Šneideris, and Abromas Šubas.[2]

The Jews were permitted to remain in their homes until the end of August. By September 1, 1941, all the Jews of the town were resettled into a ghetto. The ghetto was located at the Bernardinų Lake and was bounded by water on three sides.[3] Within three weeks, all the Jews' personal property and real estate were registered and transferred to the town's administration by the local auxiliary police.[4] Policemen from Troki, Aukštadvaris, Onuškis, and Landwarów guarded the ghetto.[5]

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The ghetto existed until the end of September 1941. According to the testimony of the police chief, Kazys Čaplikas, the head of the local administration instructed him to murder the Jews.[6] On September 30, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, commanded by Martin Weiss, and the Ypatingas Burys (Lithuanian execution squad) arrived from Wilno and liquidated the ghetto in collaboration with the ghetto guards, led by Kazimieras Vasilevskis.[7] These forces shot all the Jews in the Worniki Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. Jews from Troki were killed alongside Jews from Rudziszki, Landwarów, Onuškis, Žydkaimis (in Onuškis parish), and Aukštadvaris. The shooting started in the early morning and lasted until midday. The total number of victims was 1,446: 366 men, 483 women, and 597 children.[8]

In the region around Troki, there were a number of cases of Polish and Lithuanian inhabitants who risked their lives by offering aid and shelter to fugitive Jews. In October 1941, the German administration issued instructions to investigate ethnic Poles who worked as administrators on farms, as it was suspected that they were mostly refugees who were also assisting Jews.[9] Among those who gave assistance were Juozas and Leosė Didikai, who concealed Mejeris Sinderovskij throughout the occupation, and Irena Bartišauskaitė-Kazlauskienė, who hid two Jews until they were able to join up with a Jewish partisan unit.[10]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Troki can be found in the following publications: "Trakai," in Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2002); Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 358–361; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Troki during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-431); LCVA (R 685-1-4, R 713-1-1); LYA (K 1-58-P14950); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas*; and *Voruta* (Trakai), no. 9 (531) (2003).
2. K. Čaplikas, *Saugojau žmonių gyvybė ir turtą* (Vilnius, 2001), p. 191.
3. Ibid., p. 191. See also the report of the Kreis head to the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, September 1, 1941, which noted that in Troki and several other towns the Jews had been separated from the rest of the population in their own section of town, facsimilie published in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas*, p. 109.
4. LCVA, R 713-1-1, p. 6.
5. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas*, p. 39.
6. The heads of the local administration successively were J. Navikas, P. Mačinskas, and P. Brakauskas; see ibid., p. 38.
7. LYA, K 1-58-P14950, p. 52.
8. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
9. LCVA, R 685-1-4, p. 24, Gebietsrat Kalendra an die Amtsbezirkschefs, October 6, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."
10. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas*, pp. 75–80, cites as many as 41 cases of assistance for the region.

UKMERGĖ

Pre-1940: Ukmergė (Yiddish: Vilkomir), town, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Ukmergė/Ukmerge, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilkomir, Kreis center, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Ukmergė, rajonas center, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Ukmergė is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) north-northwest of Wilno. According to the 1923 population census, there were 3,885 Jews living in the town.

Following the start of the German invasion, many Jews attempted to flee Ukmergė, but most were forced to turn back. German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration

Memorial to the Jews murdered in Ukmergė, 1946.
USHMM WS #00474, COURTESY OF PESE TURETS

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and a police force, which actively implemented anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to perform various kinds of forced labor and were subjected to assault, robbery, and humiliation by local antisemites. Jews were also prohibited from walking on public sidewalks and from maintaining any relations with the Lithuanians. The first systematic measures against the Jewish population were initiated by the German authorities. However, they were largely implemented by members of the local Lithuanian police under the supervision of the town and district police chief, Mečis Paškevičius, and the regional chief of the Security and Criminal Police, Povilas Zamauskas.

On the day of the occupation, two German soldiers were killed by friendly fire. Jews were blamed for the incident. Members of the intelligentsia, including rabbis, doctors, nurses, and teachers, were arrested and then killed near the Christian cemetery. One week later, a number of Jews were arrested in Ukmergė for having allegedly supported the Soviet authorities. On July 4, 1941, around 200 of those under arrest were shot in the nearby Pivonija Forest. On July 10, 1941, 83 more people were killed at the prison farm, 5 kilometers (3 miles) from the town. Finally, in the middle of July 1941, the Lithuanians arrested, raped, and killed 12 Jewish girls in the center of Ukmergė.[1] From the end of June through the middle of July 1941, Lithuanian partisans killed more than 300 people.

According to police instructions, from July 23, 1941, the Jews in Kreis Wilkomir had to wear the Star of David on their chests and backs, were not permitted to leave their places of residence, and were not permitted to buy food products from farmers. The heads of police posts were instructed to draw up lists of Communists, Komsomol members, Jews, Poles, Russians, and former employees of Soviet institutions, together with information on their "activities hostile to the State."[2]

On August 1, 8, and 19, 1941, the mass shootings in the Pivonija Forest continued. This time a Lithuanian killing squad from Kavarskas participated. The hundreds of Jews under arrest in the town's jail were taken directly to the Pivonija Forest and shot in several Aktions.

In early August 1941, the authorities established a ghetto for the remaining Jews of Ukmergė who were not already under arrest. The Jews were ordered to abandon their homes within 12 hours and move into the ghetto, which was located on two narrow streets in an impoverished section of town, on the banks of the Šventoji River.[3] The newspaper *Naujoji Lietuva* reported on August 5 that the Jews of Ukmergė and several smaller nearby towns had been settled in one place, in the suburb of Smėliai.[4] The ghetto was not fenced but was guarded by armed Lithuanian policemen. Men and women were taken from the ghetto every day to perform forced labor.

On August 22, 1941, 125 Jews from the village of Želva were transferred to Ukmergė.[5] Jews from other nearby localities, including Balninkai, Alanta, Musninkai, Bagaslaviškis, Giedračiai, Šešuoliai, Kurkliai, Vidiškiai, Siesikai, Dubingiai, Gelvonai, and Taujėnai, were either brought into the Ukmergė ghetto or subsequently taken to the vicinity of Ukmergė to be killed there. In mid-August, mass violence against the ghetto residents began. Besides the Lithuanian activist groups, men from the Rollkommando Hamann also were involved in these Aktions.

The Ukmergė ghetto existed for about one month. The Jews in the ghetto were aware of the fate of those who had been taken away in August, and they were left waiting for their turn, without any hope for the future. Most attempts at escape were unsuccessful.[6]

The Germans and their collaborators conducted the main liquidation Aktion against the ghetto on September 5, 1941. Most of the Jews in the ghetto were rounded up and shot in the nearby Pivonija Forest by members of Einsatzkommando 3, assised by the Lithuanian police. Before the liquidation of the ghetto, Einsatzkommando 3 and Lithuanian policemen carried out three separate mass shootings in Ukmergė in August. The results of all four "cleansing Aktions" are shown in the following table:[7]

Date of Aktion	*Number of Victims* (Jews)				*Russian and Lithuanian Communists*
	Men	Women	Children	Total	
August 1, 1941	254	42	—	296	4
August 8	620	82	—	702	
August 19	298	255	88	641	2
September 5	1,123	1,849	1,737	4,709	
Total	2,295	2,228	1,825	6,348	6

After the main liquidation Aktion on September 5, some old and sick people, mostly women and children, remained in the ghetto. These people were killed on September 26 by German and Lithuanian policemen in the Pivonija Forest.

From the end of June to early September 1941, some 6,700 Jews were murdered in Ukmergė.

Ten Lithuanian perpetrators from the Kavarskas squad were tried after the war by the Soviet authorities in 1945 and 1946. M. Paškevičius (aka Mikas Povilionis), who also participated in anti-Jewish measures in the Ukmergė region, fled to the United States after the war. His U.S. citizenship was revoked by a federal court in California in 1979.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ukmergė can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, "The Mass Extermination of the Jews of Ukmergė during the Hitlerite Occupation," republished in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 64–77; "Vilkomir," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 272–274; "Ukmerge," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 240–248; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.1.

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Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA; LYA (e.g., 3-46-1211, 3-46-1258, 3-46-47397/3); RGVA (500-1-25); TsGAMORF (52/11302/244); USHMM (RG-02.170); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/585, 1207, 1620).

Alexander Kruglov and Katrin Reichelt
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 307.
2. Head of Kreis Police in Ukmergė to Police post commanders, July 23, 1941, published in ibid., pp. 294–295.
3. TsGAMORF, 52/11302/244, p. 307, Akt, Vil'komir, July 18, 1944.
4. *Naujoji Lietuva*, August 5, 1941, as cited by Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė in Levinson, *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania*, p. 70.
5. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 307.
6. USHMM, RG-02.170, "The Story of the Jews of Vilkomir," November 24, 1948.
7. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

UTENA

Pre-1940: Utena (Yiddish: Utyan), town and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis center, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Utena is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) north-northeast of Wilno. Utena had a population of more than 10,000 in 1941, including probably about 4,000 Jews.

Anti-Soviet Lithuanian partisan units, which were also actively antisemitic, were already active in the area when news of the German invasion, the capture of Kaunas, and the declaration of a provisional Lithuanian government came over the radio. Lieutenant Antanas Patalauskas was the head of the local partisan unit in Utena, which had 76 members. On June 27, 1941, 484 men were registered in the Utena district as partisans and had received permission from the Germans to bear arms.[1] Responding to announcements over the radio, many former officials and policemen returned to the positions they had held in 1940, prior to the Soviet annexation of Lithuania. For example, the Voldemaras supporter and Gestapo agent Malinauskas became chief of police in Utena on June 25, 1941.[2]

In the first days following the German invasion, numerous refugees arrived in Utena from areas to the west. Many were arrested by the Lithuanian partisans. Throughout the district, violence against the Jews had already begun prior to the arrival of the Germans. Lithuanian partisans broke into Jewish houses, searching and plundering them and beating and even killing some occupants. Lithuanian forces also started to arrest people, especially the so-called Jewish intelligentsia,

A member of the Lithuanian auxiliary police, who has just returned from an Aktion against Jews in the Rašė Forest, auctions off their personal property in the central market of Utena, July to August 1941.
USHMM WS #25736, COURTESY OF SAULIUS BERZINIS

members of the Communist Party and the Komsomol (youth activists), and other supposed supporters of the Soviet regime. Assisted by the records left behind by the retreating Soviets, the new authorities prepared lists containing detailed information on all persons they deemed suspicious.[3]

On June 26, 1941, part of the German LVI Army Corps, belonging to Panzer Group 4, passed through Utena on its way to Daugavpils.[4] Some young Lithuanians joined with the advancing German troops, acting as scouts. During July 1941, a series of German local military commandants (Ortskommandanturen) administered the town of Utena successively.[5] German Security Division 281 was based in Utena for just under a week in mid-July (from July 10 to 15, 1941).[6]

With the arrival of the German occupiers, anti-Jewish policies became more systematic. Jews were made to perform humiliating forced labor tasks. Some were deployed to search for booby-traps in houses abandoned by the Soviets, which resulted in several deaths.[7] Within a few days, all Jewish houses were marked with the inscription "Jude" (Jew) and therefore exposed to the arbitrary violence of Germans and Lithuanians. The plunder and robbery of Jewish property went unpunished. Many Jewish males were arrested and put in jail. The three synagogues and the prayer houses were desecrated. Those rabbis who refused to burn the Torah scrolls were publicly humiliated and brutally abused. The damaged religious institutions were converted into prisons to hold Jews, refugees, and Communist activists.[8]

On the morning of July 14, 1941, the Lithuanian administration in Utena published an order requiring all the Jews to leave the town by midday; anyone who remained would be shot. Within hours, the Jews had to go to the Šilalė Forest outside of town, where they were registered and robbed of their valuables. Local newspapers proclaimed Utena to be the first Lithuanian town to have been "cleansed" of Jews.[9] For two weeks, nearly 2,000 Jews were imprisoned in the open-air forest camp (described in some reports as an improvised ghetto) with no sanitary facilities, exposed to the rain and the chicanery of their Lithuanian guards. There was hardly anything

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to eat, only some bread, and during the day the younger ones had to perform forced labor. All men and women between the ages of 17 and 55 were registered again.[10]

German Security Police and their collaborators shot 718 Jewish men, 103 Jewish women, and 6 other persons in two mass shooting Aktions on July 31 and August 7, 1941, in the Rašė Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Utena.[11] The murders were carried out by German and Lithuanian police in the presence of representatives of the local Lithuanian administration. The infamous Hamann mobile killing squad also came in from Kaunas on both occasions. During the second Aktion, two of the assembled Jews, Tzadok Bleiman and Kalman Katz, fled from the killing site. Katz was shot by the guards, but Bleiman, though wounded in the leg, managed to hide in the swamps and survived to testify about the massacres after the war.[12]

In mid-August, the Lithuanian authorities established an improvised ghetto for the remaining Jews in Utena, which existed for about two weeks. The Jews were closely confined and guarded under the most inhuman conditions. On August 29, 1941, the Germans and their collaborators shot the remaining older men, women, and children from Utena and the surrounding villages in the Rašė Forest. In total there were 582 Jewish men, 1,731 Jewish women, and 1,469 children among the victims.[13] The local murderers were reinforced by Lithuanian units brought in from outside and probably again by German forces subordinated to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD Lithuania (KdS Litauen) under the leadership of Hamann, as well as members of the 3rd Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion from Kaunas.

The partisan group led by Patalauskas also participated in the anti-Jewish measures in a variety of ways. They arrested Jews, escorted them to the Shilali Forest camp, guarded the ghetto in Utena, and acted as perimeter guards at the killing sites. The Lithuanian commandant in charge of the ghetto was also an officer in the partisan forces. The partisan unit was dissolved at the beginning of September 1941, once the mass murder of the Jews was completed. Throughout the fall of 1941, however, individual Jews continued to be captured in the area, and they were brought to the Utena jail before being shot.

Not only Jews from Utena but also Jews from other places, including Dabeikiai, Inturke, Kuktiškės, Moletai, Tauragnai, and Užpaliai, were murdered in the Rašė Forest. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, some 9,000 people altogether were murdered there.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Utena and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Kalman-Meir Goldfayn et al., eds., *Yizkor-bukh Utian un umgegnt* (Tel Aviv: Nay Lebn, 1979). There are also relevant short articles in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 118–125; and Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 265–271, which includes extracts from the testimony of the Jewish survivor Tzodok Bleiman. Mention of the improvised ghetto in Utena can be found in Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų getai ir laikinos izolaivimo stovyklos 1941–1943 metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179, here pp. 176–178.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Utena can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 70 SU/15); BA-MA (RH 21-4/14); GARF (7021-94-433); LCVA (R 715-1-1; R 1399-1-9; R 1444-1-9; R 1652-1-1); LYA; NARA (RG-226, M 1499, reel 258; RG-242, T-315, reels 1869-1870); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-3/718; O-53/21).

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NOTES

1. LCVA, R 1652-1-1, pp. 1–6, published in Valentinas Brandišauskas, ed., *1941 m. Birželio sukilimas. Dokumentu rinkinys* (Vilnius: LGGRTC, 2000), pp. 163–174; Order No. 1 of the Lithuanian commandant in Utena, Hauptmann Benediktas Kaletka, June 26, 1941, LCVA, R 1444-1-9, p. 56.
2. See the report of Malinauskas to KdS Litauen, March 16, 1943, LCVA, R 1399-1-9, p. 179.
3. See ibid., R 715-1-1, p. 129.
4. BA-MA, RH 21-4/14, KTB Panzergruppe 4, Ia.
5. NARA, RG-242, T-315, reel 1869, pp. 745 ff., KTB Sich. Div. 281, Ia, orders of July 16 and 19, 1941: OK 862 (7.7.-16.7.1941), OK II 349 (16.-20.7.1941), OK II 350 (from 20.7.1941). Also see reel 1870, p. 498, activity report of Sich. Div. 281, Abt. VII, July 10, 1941. The commandant's offices were staffed by personnel from Feldgendarmerie-Abteilung 691.
6. Ibid., reel 1869, p. 5, War Diary of Sich. Div. 281, Activity report IVa, March 25, 1941, to December 31, 1941.
7. Testimony of Tzodok Bleiman, cited in Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 268.
8. See LCVA, R 715-1-1, p. 2, report of the head of the Saugumas in Utena on the arrest of 30 Jewish men and their imprisonment in the synagogue, July 14, 1941.
9. See Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 269.
10. See GARF, 7021-94-433, pp. 56–57 and reverse, testimony of the survivor Musja Buraetenaite, which mentions the improvised "ghetto" in the forest.
11. BA-BL, R 70 SU/15, Jägerbericht, December 1, 1941. On July 31, 1941: 235 Jewish men, 16 Jewish women, 4 Lithuanian Communists, 1 murderous plunderer (256); August 7, 1941: 483 Jewish men, 87 Jewish women, and 1 Lithuanian grave robber (571).
12. Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, pp. 268–271.
13. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 112, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, gives the total of 3,782 Jews shot in Utena and Moletai, but this also includes Jews from other nearby villages.

UŽPALIAI

Pre-1940: Užpaliai (Yiddish: Ushpole), town, Utena apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Užpaliai/Uzhpaliai, Utena uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Uschpol, Kreis Utena, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Užpaliai, Utena rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

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Užpaliai is located 109 kilometers (68 miles) north-northeast of Wilno. The census of 1923 indicated that Užpaliai had 551 Jewish inhabitants, 36 percent of the town's total population. Emigration in the 1930s reduced the size of the Jewish community, and by mid-1941 there were about 350 Jews living in Užpaliai.

German forces captured the town on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and an auxiliary police unit composed of local partisans; these organizations then introduced anti-Jewish measures. All the Jews' valuables were confiscated; Jews were required to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David on the front and back of their clothing; they were assigned to perform various types of forced labor, during which they were subjected to mockery, humiliation, and beatings by local antisemites; and they were forbidden to appear in public places and to associate in any way with non-Jewish Lithuanians. Within a couple of weeks, all the Jews were ordered to move into a designated ghetto area, which consisted of a few small streets near the prayer house and the traditional bathhouse.

Lithuanian partisans conducted several group killings of Jews, which resulted in the deaths of several dozen people at various sites. Some were drowned in local swamps; others were slaughtered and thrown into lime pits. Subsequently, a group of wealthy Jews was murdered near the village of Butiskis. A number of Jewish women from the ghetto were raped. The rabbi's daughter was raped in front of her father, Leib Kamraz. The rabbi was arrested and held for several days without food or water. Then, while being forced to dig his own grave, he attacked one of the guards but was soon shot and killed.

Living conditions in the ghetto deteriorated, as the number of men steadily decreased and the women were repeatedly attacked. The remaining Jews, some 300 in number, were taken to Utena in late August 1941. On August 29, 1941, together with other Jews, they were shot in the Rašė Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Utena.[1] Very few Jews from the town managed to survive the German occupation; among them was a Jewish woman who was married to a Christian Lithuanian, and Shulamit Shefek, who migrated to Israel after World War II.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Užpaliai during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Uzpaliai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 128–129; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 242; and 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), p. 1369.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Užpaliai can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-433); LCVA; LYA (K 1-15-3388); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965), p. 134; see also LYA, K 1-15-3388 (report of the Utena raion office of the KGB of the Lithuanian SSR regarding the punitive detachment that operated in Užpaliai).

UŽVENTIS

Pre-1940: Užventis (Yiddish: Uzhvent), Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Užventis/Uzhventis, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Uschwentis, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Užventis, Kelmė rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Užventis is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-southwest of Šiauliai. In 1923, the Jewish population of the village was 173, comprising 22 percent of the total. In June 1939, local antisemites burned the main Jewish institutions in Užventis.

Soon after the German invasion of the Lithuanian SSR, a Lithuanian nationalist partisan squad was formed in Užventis, which was led by Vilius Prancūzevičius, who later became a regional head in Užventis. The partisans wore distinctive white armbands and were armed with rifles and pistols. German forces captured Užventis in late June 1941. In the first days of Nazi occupation, 17 alleged supporters of the Soviet regime were killed on the orders of the partisan headquarters.

In early July 1941, on instructions from the German authorities, the Lithuanian partisans rounded up the Jewish population and moved them into a former spirit-making factory on the outskirts of Užventis. Juozas Čepauskas, the deputy head of the Užventis partisans, was assigned to act as commandant of this Jewish "camp" or ghetto.

On July 30, 1941, the partisans prepared a large pit in the Želviai Forest. On the following day, several officers of the German Security Police arrived from Šiauliai to oversee the murder of the Jews. First the partisans loaded a majority of the Jews from the ghetto on trucks (probably about 50 to 75 people), consisting mostly of the elderly, women, and children. These Jews were then transported to the Želviai Forest, where they were shot by 17 members of the Užventis partisan squad and the German Security Police officials. The clothing of the murdered Jews was then transported back to Užventis, where the murderers indulged in a bout of drinking.[1]

Not all the Jews were killed during this Aktion. Some of the male Jews from Užventis were transported to Žagarė and Šiauliai in the summer of 1941. About 20 Jews remained in Užventis, presumably as they were required as specialist laborers. These Jews were murdered in the Želviai Forest in December 1941.[2]

After the war, the Soviet authorities arrested nearly 20 members of the Užventis partisan squad; all of them were convicted, and some of them received the death penalty.

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SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Užventis during the Holocaust can be found in Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 228–259, here pp. 253–254.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Užventis can be found in the following archives: LCVA and LYA (e.g., K 1-46-1275, K 1-58-24967/3, K 1-58-34340/3).

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NOTES

1. LYA, K 1-46-1275, pp. 10–12, K 1-58-24967/3, pp. 56–57, 145–146, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai," p. 254.
2. LYA, K 1-46-1275, pp. 7-9, K 1-58-24967/3, p. 326, as cited in ibid., p. 254.

VABALNINKAS

Pre-1940: Vabalninkas (Yiddish: Vabolnik), town, Biržai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Birzhai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Birsen, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Biržai rajonas, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vabalninkas is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) northeast of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, the town had 441 Jewish residents, 32 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied the town on June 27, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalist activists set up a town authority, which began introducing anti-Jewish measures. In the first days following the town's capture, Lithuanian activists arrested and killed at least 86 people, including many Jews, as well as some non-Jewish Communists.[1] The Lithuanian administration then ordered the remaining Jews, consisting mainly of women, children, and the elderly, to be removed from the better homes and placed in an open ghetto in mid-July 1941.[2] The ghetto was located on Paryžiaus Street and consisted only of poor cottages, which several families had to share.

The ghetto in Vabalninkas was in existence for about one month. During that time, the local priest Matas Kirlys baptized 40 Jews with the hope of saving them. The ghetto was liquidated at some date between August 18 and 24 (sources vary), 1941, when the Jews were transferred to the Pasvalys ghetto. Initially the baptized Jews were separated out from the others in the ghetto, but subsequently they were added to the trucks going to Pasvalys. According to survivor Sheina Gertner, the Jews were permitted to take with them a suitcase and food for three days; they were told they were being taken to a labor camp.[3]

The Pasvalys ghetto was liquidated in turn on August 26, 1941, when members of the 3rd Company, Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion 1, shot 1,349 Jews (402 men, 738 women, and 209 children).[4] The victims included the Jews from Vabalninkas. The shooting was carried out in the Žadeikiai Forest.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Vabalninkas during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Juozas Daubaras, *They Lived in Vabalninkas, 1925–1941* (Vilnius: R. Paknio Leidykla, 2009), pp. 17–18; B. Reinus, "Oysrot fun di yidn fun Posval un fun di derbeyike shtetlekh (Yanishkel, Vashki, Linkuva, Salat, Vabalnik)," in Mendel Sudarsky and Uriah Katzenelenbogen, eds., *Lite*, vol. 1 (New York: Jewish-Cultural Society, 1951), pp. 1859–1861; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 867; "Vabalninkas," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 214–216; "Vabal'ninkas," in *Rosiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 198.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Vabalninkas can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-441); LCVA; RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-02.002*12); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Reinus, "Aysrot fun di yidn fun Posval," pp. 1859–1861.
2. Ibid.
3. USHMM, RG-02.002*12, pp. 1–4, testimony of Sheina Sachar Gertner, 1984. Report of the Biržai District Commission, May 26, 1945, published in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 116–118.
4. See report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, in RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113.

VAINUTAS

Pre-1940: Vainutas (Yiddish: Vainuta), village, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šilutė rajonas, Klaipeda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vainutas is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Tauragė. According to the census of 1923, Vainutas had a Jewish population of 348, constituting 27 percent of the total.

German armed forces captured Vainutas on the first day of the invasion, June 22, 1941. Many Jews fled at this time to nearby villages, seeking hiding places with local farmers. However, the farmers usually proved unwelcoming, and the Jews soon returned to Vainutas. Only a few Jews, mostly those who had been active in the Soviet administration, managed to escape to the Soviet Union. The returning Jews found that their homes had been robbed and occupied by their Lithua-

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nian neighbors, who also took their livestock and horses. The homeless Jews had to move in with relatives or live together in the prayer house.

The Lithuanian nationalists took charge of most affairs in the village, although a German commandant was based there by July. The Lithuanians issued orders for the Jews, on pain of death, to surrender their valuables, weapons, and radios. In response, many Jews buried their valuables or asked the Lithuanian priest to keep them safe until the end of the war. On June 24, 1941, all Jews over the age of 12 had to register with the police. Jewish men were required to perform forced labor, cleaning the streets and other tasks. Lithuanian policemen visited Jewish homes and demanded gifts.

On around July 10, 1941, the Lithuanian policemen assembled the Jewish men on the square in front of the church. Then SS men forced another Jew to cut off the rabbi's beard. Afterwards the rabbi was dragged through the streets by a horse ridden by an SS man as a crowd of Lithuanians looked on. The rabbi became sick after his ordeal, and five Jewish men were shot following the incident. A few days later, the Jews were forced to burn all their religious books and Torah scrolls in the courtyard of the synagogue.

On July 19, 1941, SS men from Heydekrug (Šilutė) and local Lithuanian policemen rounded up all the adult Jewish males from their homes, about 150 people, and assembled them in the synagogue. From there they were driven along the road to Žemaičių Naumiestis, while being physically beaten by their guards. On the way, an SS officer in a vehicle, probably SS-Untersturmführer Theodor Werner Scheu, selected 29 able-bodied men who were sent to the barracks in Žemaičių Naumiestis and later from there to the Heydekrug labor camp. The remaining 120 or so Jews, including the elderly and unfit men, who were brought from Vainutas by truck, were all shot by Lithuanian police at an execution site at Šiaudvyčiai, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) east of Žemaičių Naumiestis.[1] Among the group of men selected for labor was Isaac Markus, who subsequently, in July 1943, was transferred to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and from there to clear out the rubble from the Warsaw ghetto before being sent on to other concentration camps, including Dachau.[2]

According to a report by the Lithuanian police chief in Vainutas, dated July 28, 1941, by this time a so-called Jewish quarter or ghetto had been established in Vainutas on Synagogue Street for the remaining women and children. The Jewish women were engaged in farmwork and also in cleaning the streets. Jewish property had been secured, awaiting further orders. A few Jews were known to have escaped and were hiding in the Vainutas woods. The police chief reported: "We are doing our utmost to capture them, for they are known to be real Communists."[3]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, the young women in the Vainutas ghetto were frequently raped by SS men and Lithuanian guards during August 1941. In September, the 125 remaining women and children were forced to surrender their remaining property, as they were told they would be reunited with their male family members. However, instead they were taken to the Gerainiai Forest, where they were all forced to undress, then shot.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Vainutas during the Holocaust can be found in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 231–233.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Vainutas can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5394-5399); LCVA (1476-1-3); VHF (# 15646); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. See LG-Aur, verdict of June 26, 1964, against Struve et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 579, pp. 320–321.
2. VHF, # 15646, testimony of Isaac Markus.
3. B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 198–199, Chief of Vainutas Police Station to Tauragė District Police Chief, July 28, 1941. VHF, # 15646, also states that the Jewish women and children were moved onto one street near the synagogue, which was "like a ghetto." However, Issac Markus must have heard this secondhand, as he had already been deported to Heydekrug by this time.

VENDŽIOGALA

Pre-1940: Vendžiogala (Yiddish: Vendzigole), village, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vendžiogala/Vendzhegala, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wendziogala, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vandžiogala, town, Kaunas rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vendžiogala is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) north of Kaunas. In 1940, the Jewish population was 350, or 58 percent of the total.

German troops occupied the village on June 25, 1941. A number of Jews tried to flee Vendžiogala at the start of the German invasion, but most of them were forced to turn back, and some were killed on the roads by Lithuanian nationalists. At the time of the Germans' arrival, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which under German direction soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks or to maintain relationships of any kind with non-Jews. Jewish houses had to be marked with a sign saying "Jude" (Jew). In addition, Jews were forced to perform forced labor, which included domestic service, agricultural work, and humiliating tasks such as cleaning outhouses.

Arrests and murders of Jews began, particularly of those who had cooperated with the Soviet authority in 1940–1941. For example, on July 9, 1941, 32 Jewish men, 1 Jewish woman, 2 Lithuanian Communists, 1 Russian Communist, and 1

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Lithuanian woman were shot in a grove near the Jewish cemetery. Between July 11 and 31, 13 more Jews and 2 "murderers" were shot in the same location.[1] On August 9 (other sources give the date as August 16), 1941, another Aktion was conducted in the village. During its course, dozens of Jewish men, including the rabbi, Chaim Klebanov, along with 4 girls, were seized and taken away to Babtai. There they were murdered with the local Jews in the second half of August 1941.

On August 7, 1941, the officials of the civil administration in Kreis Kauen ordered all Jews to be concentrated in ghettos, fenced with barbed wire and guarded by Lithuanian partisans, by August 15.[2] Pursuant to this order, the Jews of Vendžiogala also were moved into a ghetto, which consisted of several houses on Keidan Street. Most of their property was confiscated or stolen by Lithuanians.

The Vendžiogala ghetto was liquidated on August 28, 1941, when local partisans and Lithuanian policemen rounded up the remaining Jews (mainly women and children) in Vendžiogala and escorted them to a site in the forest near Babtai, where a large ditch had been prepared. Men of the Lithuanian 3rd Company (1st Battalion), under the command of officers B. Norkus, J. Barzda, and A. Dagys, arrived to carry out the shooting. Afterwards, local people divided the clothes and other items among themselves.[3] According to the report of Karl Jäger, 252 Jews (42 men, 113 women, and 97 children) from Vendžiogala, together with 83 Jews (20 men, 41 women, and 22 children) from Babtai, were shot.[4]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Vendžiogala during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 268–270; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in D. Gaunt, P.A. Levine, and L. Palosuo, eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus*, *Estonia*, *Latvia*, *Lithuania* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 299–301; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 869.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Vendžiogala can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GARF (7021-94-420); LCVA (R 1534-1-186); LYA (K 1-58-47337/3, vol. 1); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-71/143).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 111, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941. This appears to be the same incident that is reported in Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppen Nr. 3, Berichtszeit August 15–31, 1941, published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 158.

2. LCVA, R 1534-1-186, p. 37, published in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965), pp. 290–291.

3. LYA, K 1-58-47337/3, vol. 1, pp. 157–161, minutes of the interrogation of P. Matiukas, October 2, 1961.

4. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

VIDUKLĖ

Pre-1940: Viduklė (Yiddish: Vidukle), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Viduklė/Vidukle, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Vidukle, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Viduklė, Raseiniai rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Viduklė is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) south-southwest of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 population census, there were 221 Jews living in the town. By the middle of 1941, the number of Jews had decreased significantly, owing in large part to emigration.

On June 23, 1941, Viduklė was occupied by German troops. Due to the rapid German advance, scarcely a single Jew was able to flee in time into the interior of the Soviet Union. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. All Jews had to wear the Star of David and were taken for forced labor of various kinds, during which they suffered beatings and humiliation. The Jews received only a few morsels of bread from the rations distributed among the local population. The Jews were also prohibited from appearing in public places or having any relations with the Lithuanians. Germans came periodically from the nearby village of Nemakščiai and, together with local Lithuanians, plundered Jewish homes.

During the first days of the occupation, about 15 Jews, both men and women, were arrested as alleged Communists and were taken to the prison in Raseiniai. After several days the women were released, but the men were never heard from again.

In the first half of July, all Jewish men aged 14 and over were ordered to gather at the offices of the local council. There the elderly men initially were separated out and locked up in the Bet Midrash, while the others were escorted under close guard to the railway station, where they were concentrated, together with the male Jews of Nemakščiai, in the home of the Friedman family and the threshing mills nearby. Here the male Jews were forced to perform various physically demanding exercises. On July 14, the elderly male Jews, including Rabbi Yehoshua Hacohen Kaplan, were brought to join the other Jews near the railway station, as were the elderly Jews from Nemakščiai. All the male Jews were then escorted to a nearby pool, where they were forced to undress. Then Lithuanian partisans shot the Jews in groups of 10 in a nearby pit.

After the mass shooting of the Jewish men, the Jewish women and children were herded into the Bet Midrash and four other houses nearby, which formed a small ghetto. Jewish girls went out each day to perform various tasks, including washing the floors at the police station and the town hall. On August 21,

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1941, suspecting that something was about to happen, a number of Jewish women fled the ghetto, either to hide with local peasants or to seek refuge in the larger ghetto in Šiauliai. On August 22, armed Lithuanians rounded up the remaining Jewish women and children and shot them in the Jewish cemetery. According to Soviet sources, about 100 women and children were buried in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery and about 200 male Jews in another grave near the railroad station.

According to a secondhand account published in *The Complete Black Book*, the local Catholic priest in Viduklė tried to save about 30 Jewish children by concealing them in his church. He was betrayed, however, and was shot by the German commissar Dietrich, who also ordered the murder of the children found hiding in the church.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Viduklė may be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 223–225—a translation is available at jewishgen.org; "Vidukle," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 402; 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), p. 1391; and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 279–280.

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trans. Steven Seegel

VIEKŠNIAI

Pre-1940: Viekšniai (Yiddish: Vekshne), village, Mažeikiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Viekšniai/Vekshniai, Mazheikiai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wjekschnen, Kreis Moscheiken, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Viekšniai, Mažeikiai rajonas, Telšiai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Viekšniai is located 14 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Mažeikiai. In 1921, there were 300 Jews living in the village. By the middle of 1941, owing to emigration, the Jewish population had declined.

With the start of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, many Jews tried to flee into the interior of the Soviet Union, but only a few were successful, most having to turn back. Even before the Germans arrived, Lithuanian nationalists accused the Jews of cooperating with the Soviet authorities. The Lithuanians, led by the school principal, seized power in Viekšniai and and greeted with joy the arrival of the Germans on June 25, 1941. They arrested former Soviet activists and murdered a number of Jews, including Rabbi David Levin.

Early in July, the local commandant, Juozas Mačius, received orders from the Mažeikiai regional commandant, Pečiulis, to arrest all the Jewish men and lock them up in a ghetto. In response, a squad of 20 to 25 Lithuanian partisans, assisted by several uniformed Germans, arrested about 150 to 200 Jewish men within a few hours. The Jewish men were taken to the winter prayer house, which was fenced in with barbed wire and guarded, and from there they were taken daily to perform forced labor. The Jewish women and children were permitted to bring food to the men.

On July 7, the men were sent home and were instructed to prepare their families for being moved to Lublin in Poland. Shortly thereafter, all the Jews were ordered to appear in the marketplace. The Jewish physician, Dr. Chaim Lipman, was forced to identify those who were Communists, but he claimed that there were none. In response, the nationalists cut off the beards of the rabbi and other Jews. The women and children were then imprisoned in the Bet Midrash, and the men were taken to the synagogue and ordered to dance and perform other exercises. Some Jews were forced to do humiliating work or were abused to the amusement of a crowd of non-Jews who had assembled.

According to Soviet trial records, those Jews who had gone into hiding on July 7 were soon rounded up and placed with the other Jews. Then on July 15, two Germans arrived and collected the money that had been seized from the Jews in the ghetto. They also reportedly issued instructions for the Jews to be exterminated.[1]

Subsequently, all the Jews were taken and imprisoned in the grain storage house of Shimon Wachs, where they were held for about three weeks. During this time the Lithuanian guards beat the Jews, who also suffered from starvation, many falling ill.

On August 4, 1941, armed Lithuanians rounded up the remaining Jews and escorted them to the Jewish cemetery in Mažeikiai. Here, together with other Jews from the surrounding villages, they were forced to dig pits. Then they were all shot and buried in those same pits.

One Jewish man managed to evade the roundup and fled to the ghetto in Šiauliai. In 1943 he escaped from that ghetto and survived until the arrival of the Red Army.

SOURCES Publications concerning the persecution and murder of the Jews of Viekšniai include the following: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 270–274; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 277–278; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), p. 272; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 876.

Relevant archival documentation includes the following: LYA (3377-55-113) and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1555, 1771).

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NOTE

1. LYA, 3377-55-113, p. 87, testimony of Juozas Mačius, November 26, 1944, as cited by Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 278.

VIEVIS

Pre-1940: Vievis (Yiddish: Vevie), town, Trakai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vievis/Vevis, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Vievis, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Trakai rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vievis is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) west-northwest of Wilno. In 1940, there were 350 Jews living there (39 percent of the total population).

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many Jews abandoned the town and sought refuge with farmers in the surrounding area. On June 24, German armed forces captured Vievis, and the Jews in the countryside were compelled to return. Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which began persecuting and murdering the Jews, as well as non-Jews suspected of having collaborated with the Soviets. Particularly known for their cruel actions against the Jews were Kazys Čaplikas, who subsequently became head of the police; Juozas Dzena (sentenced to death in 1945); Viktoras Vasilevskis (also sentenced to death in 1945); a man named Šavreika; and many other Lithuanian activists. By the end of June 1941, they already had accused six Jews of Communist activity and killed them. The victims included Josef Baider, Motel Pik, and Chaim Sherman. The families of these Jews were arrested and transported to unknown destinations.

The new authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were ordered to wear the yellow patch. Some of them, men and women, were pressed into forced labor. The chief of police demanded, and received, a daily payment of 400 rubles. In accordance with instructions issued by the head of Kreis Traken in late July, by August 1941, an eight-man Jewish Council (Judenrat) had been established, headed by Gensas Bereikas, with Mejeris Kurganas as his deputy, and an improvised ghetto had been set up.[1] Each day, several groups of Jewish men were led out of the ghetto to work on road construction. During the work the Jewish men were severely beaten by Juozas Dzena for being too slow. The women went out to perform cleaning work in Lithuanian homes and farms, including work on the estate of the local priest.[2]

Confirmation of the existence of a ghetto in Vievis can be found in the report of the Kreis head to the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, dated September 1, 1941, which noted that in Vievis and several other towns in the Kreis, the Jews had been separated from the rest of the population in their own section of town.[3]

On September 22, 1941, the Vievis ghetto was liquidated. The Jews were rounded up in the town square and ordered to hand over all their valuables. Then they were transported in carts to Semeliškės. The Vievis Jews remained there, confined separately from the local Jews, until October 6, 1941, when all the Jews assembled in Semeliškės were shot in a nearby wooded area. Among those participating in the murder of the Jews of Vievis were Lithuanian members of the Self-Defense Battalion based in Wilno.[4]

A few Jews were able to evade the roundup. Meir Koren and his family went into hiding with the assistance of non-Jews and then moved into the Kaunas ghetto in August 1942. Ch. Goldstein and his wife, Dora, remained in hiding until the end of 1942. At that time they were placed in the labor camp that had been established in Vievis in May 1942, when 700 Jews from the Wilno and Kaunas ghettos were brought to the town. The prisoners worked constructing the Wilno-Kaunas highway. Dzena was the head of the camp, or Lagerführer. The camp was liquidated in December 1943. All the Jewish prisoners were shot in Ponary, near Wilno.

A small number of Jews were saved by local Lithuanians who hid them and gave them assistance. Worthy of mention are Zofija and Adomas Valantavičiai, Viktoras Vitkauskas, Skorupskis, Valerijonas and Teklė Paulauskai, A. Mikalauskienė, Kazys Macijauskas, Petras Luskevičius, and Juozas Gurskas.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Vievis during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Vievis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 217–219; Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2002), pp. 34–36—an English translation of parts of this by Svetlana Satalova, "The Genocide of the Jews in the Trakai Region of Lithuania," is available at jewishgen.org; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-431); LCVA; LYA (K 1-58-45615/3); VHF (# 22421); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. For details regarding these orders, see Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6, "Kreis Trakai." Facsimilies of the orders have been published in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 100–101.

2. LYA, K 1-58-45615/3, p. 64, testimony of witness Ch. Goldstein, as cited by Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 34–36.

3. A facsimile of the report can be found in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, p. 109.

4. Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), p. 41.

VILKAVIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Vilkaviškis (Yiddish: Vilkovishk), town and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vilkaviškis/Vilkavishkis, uezd

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center, *Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilkowischken*, *Kreis center*, *Gebiet Kauen-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vilkaviškis*, *rajonas center*, *Marijampolė apskritis*, *Republic of Lithuania*

Vilkaviškis is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) west-southwest of Kaunas. The 1923 census recorded a Jewish population of 3,206 in the town. By June 1941, emigration had reduced the size of the Jewish community to some extent, but there still were more than 2,500 Jews living in Vilkaviškis, including some Jewish refugees from areas to the west.

German troops occupied Vilkaviškis on June 22, 1941, at 8:00 A.M., following a heavy bombardment that destroyed the 400-year-old synagogue and some Jewish homes.[1] Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists established a local authority and a police force, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to wear the yellow Star of David on their chests and were forbidden to use the sidewalks. Jews had to perform various kinds of forced labor in the course of which they suffered insults, humiliation, and beatings at the hands of local antisemites.

On June 27, 1941, the occupying authorities confined all Jewish men in the building of a Catholic seminary outside the town.[2] In mid-July, they transferred the Jewish inmates to a former military barracks, also on the edge of town. Barbed wire enclosed the area, which was to become the ghetto. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established that consisted of at least four people.[3] At the same time, the Jews were ordered to give up possessions such as money, watches, knives, suspenders, and other items. All the work sites where the ghetto inmates performed forced labor were located outside the ghetto. Witnesses also state that special grocery shops for the Jewish population were established on the edge of town and that the water supply in the ghetto was very limited.[4] The ghetto guards were Lithuanian auxiliary policemen.[5] As in other ghettos, skilled workers were needed, but much of the work done by Jews was connected with the local German Feldkommandantur. Some Jews worked on farms in the surrounding villages.[6]

In the second half of July 1941, a major Aktion took place in Vilkaviškis. On the orders of the head of the Tilsit Gestapo, SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, members of the SD and Gestapo Tilsit, under the leadership of officers Tietz and Krumbach, shot at least 120 male Jews on the edge of the town. The victims were buried in two mass graves.[7]

On July 28, 1941, a Gestapo detachment and the SD from Tilsit, together with Lithuanian police, shot most of the remaining Jewish men (about 800 people) and 63 Lithuanian Communists.[8] They were buried in two ditches near the barracks that served as the ghetto. The 4th Company of the German 11th Reserve Police Battalion, which had been stationed in Vilkaviškis since mid-July, also took part in the Aktion, which lasted about four hours.[9] The 4th Company commander also served as the town commandant (Standortkommandant).[10]

On August 1, 1941, the authorities rounded up the Jewish women and children in Vilkaviškis and took them to the ghetto, where they joined the 50 to 100 men who were still alive. The buildings of the ghetto consisted of a number of large rooms in each of which members of several families resided.[11] On arrival, the women discovered the worn-out clothes and shoes of their murdered husbands and fathers and screamed with horror.[12] Since the members of the previous Jewish Council had been murdered, Yisroel Zilber was designated as the Jews' representative. The ghetto existed until late September 1941. A few of the remaining Jews were selected out and assigned to work in the nearby town of Pilviškie. Other Jewish women worked in agriculture.

On September 24, the day after Rosh Hashanah, uniformed Germans and the Lithuanian police shot the remaining Jews in the ghetto (about 1,300 people). Only a few Jews managed to escape or evade the roundup.[13] The last Aktion took place on November 15, 1941. On that date, a unit of Einsatzkommando 3, which was commanded by Karl Jäger, shot 115 Jews (36 men, 48 women, and 31 children).[14] These victims were likely Jews brought in from neighboring villages where they had been working or had been found in hiding. After this Aktion, the property of the victims was sold to the local population.

Subsequently, 12 more Jews were arrested and placed in the custody of the Lithuanian police in Vilkaviškis. At the beginning of 1942, Krumbach contacted the head of the Tilsit Gestapo, Böhme, asking what should be done with these Jews. Both Krumbach and Böhme declined to kill the remaining Jews at this time because they were convinced that the period of mass killings was over, and all Jews now were to be settled into the few large ghettos. SS-Standartenführer Jäger, however, ordered the immediate killing of these Jews. This task was assigned to the Lithuanian auxiliary police who had arrested them. Two Jews that had converted to Christianity were reportedly released, but the remaining 10 were shot by members of the Lithuanian police in the presence of a German observer.[15]

Due to the continued searches for Jewish escapees, only a handful survived the occupation. Ranana Malchanovna-Kleinštein survived with the help of the Strimaitis family and other Lithuanians. Judith Sperling survived both passing as a non-Jew and hiding with the help of the Maladauskas and Jureviciene families.[16]

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 273–274; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 275–277; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 233ff.; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5; Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 233–238; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during*

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the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 877. See also www.shtelinks.jewishgen.org/vilkovishk/vilkovishk3.html.

Documentation relating to the persecution and murder of the Jews of Vilkaviškis can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-419); LCVA (R 678-1-1); LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; VHF (# 4679, 15261, 32422, 38035); and YVA (M-1/E/1208; M-33/987; TR-2/154; and O-3/3770).

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NOTES

1. Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 277.
2. GARF, 7021-94-419, p. 29.
3. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 236.
4. VHF, # 15261, testimony of Isaak Demantas.
5. Ibid., # 32422, testimony of Lazar Lapidus.
6. Ibid., # 38035, testimony of Morris Penn.
7. LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict against Fischer-Schweder and others, August 29, 1958, in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten*, Bd. II, *Einsatzkommando Tilsit: Der Prozess zu Ulm* (Frankfurt/Main, 1966); and LG-Dort, 10 Ks 1/61, verdict against Krumbach and others, February 5, 1963, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978), Lfd. Nr. 547, pp. 19–20.
8. GARF, 7021-94-419, pp. 36–39.
9. Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų getai ir laikinos izolaivimo stovyklos 1941–1943 metais," in *Lietuvos Istorijos Metraštis*, *The Yearbook of Lithuanian History 1999* (Vilnius, 2000), p. 170.
10. LCVA, R 678-1-1, p. 1.
11. VHF, # 32422.
12. Testimony of Ranana Malchanovna-Kleinštein, in Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, p. 235; VHF, # 4679, testimony of Ranana Malkhanovna.
13. GARF, 7021-94-419, pp. 53 and verso.
14. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
15. *JuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 547, p. 21.
16. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 237–238; Mordecai Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous: Gentile Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1992), pp. 257–258.

VILKIJA

Pre-1940: Vilkija (Yiddish: Vilki), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vilkija/Vilkiia, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilki, Kreis Schaken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vilkija, Kaunas rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vilkija is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 829 Jews living in the town. As emigration was common in the 1930s, by June 1941 around 400 to 600 Jews remained in the town.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately afterwards, Lithuanian nationalists set up a local administration and a police force (a so-called white armband company under Stasys Gudavičius), which implemented anti-Jewish measures. The Germans also established a military commandant's office under SS-Obersturmführer Missenbaum. Jews were marked with the Star of David, forced into labor of various kinds, and robbed and assaulted by local antisemites. Jews were also forbidden to walk on the sidewalks and to associate with Lithuanians.

Sources differ on the first Aktion in Vilkija. One account states that Lithuanian auxiliaries, acting on Missenbaum's orders, arrested between 150 and 200 male Jews on July 7–8, 1941, and conveyed most of them to Kaunas; they shot 21 of them close to Vilkija, near Jagminiškiai village. Another account simply has the Lithuanians killing nearly all the Jewish men in the town on July 15.

In July 1941, the Germans created a ghetto in Vilkija. Details are scant; it may have consisted of nothing more than the synagogue. In mid-August 1941, Jews from several surrounding jurisdictions—Čekiškes, Veliuona, Seredžius, and Lekėčiai—were concentrated there. They totaled 138 people: 23 men and 115 women.[1] At about the same time, approximately 400 men and women were sent away from Vilkija, possibly to the Kaunas ghetto.

On or just before August 25, the remaining Jews were forced to pay a "contribution" of 21,400 rubles.[2]

On August 28, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and 402 Jews—76 men, 192 women, and 134 children—were shot.[3] The shooting was carried out by the 3rd Company of the 1st (13th) Lithuanian Police Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Barzda, in the Pakarklė Forest, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Vilkija. Members of the local police brought the Jews to the shooting site and guarded it.

Eight former policemen of the 3rd Company were accused of participating in the murder of the Jews in Vilkija and in other localities in Lithuania, and their trial was held in Kaunas from September 26 to October 4, 1962. They were found guilty and sentenced to death.[4]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Vilkija can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 349; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in David Gaunt et al., eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 308–310; and Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 248–249.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (e.g., R 1534-1-190 and 193; R 683-2-2); LYA (e.g., K 1-58-47588/3, vol. 2, pp. 227–228); and RGVA (500-1-25).

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NOTES

1. See the report of the head of the police unit in Lekėčiai from August 17, 1941, in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944)*, vol. 2, p. 349.

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2. LCVA, R 1534-1-190, p. 21, as cited by Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province," p. 309.

3. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

4. *Sovietskaia Litva* (Vilnius), October 4, 1962.

VIRBALIS

Pre-1940: Virbalis (Yiddish: Virbaln), town, Vilkaviškis apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vilkavishkis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wirballen, Kreis Wilkowischken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Virbalis, Vilkaviškis rajonas, Marijampolė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Virbalis is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) west-southwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, the town had a Jewish population of 1,233. In the 1930s, emigration reduced that number by about half.

German armed forces captured the town on June 22, 1941, the first day of Germany's invasion of the USSR. As a result, the Jews were unable to evacuate, and almost all remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately after the town's capture, all the prisoners in the local jail were released, including those who had resisted Soviet rule. Lithuanian nationalist collaborators, including some of the released prisoners, organized local groups to take revenge on the Communists and Jews, who were viewed as having supported the Soviet authorities. After a few days, the Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration and a police force, which began to enforce anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forbidden to leave the town or to associate in any way with non-Jews. A curfew was imposed on the Jewish community, and its members also were required to wear yellow patches on their outer garments and to surrender all radios.

On July 7, 1941, on the orders of the Tilsit Gestapo, members of Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office, GPK) Eydtkau (headed by Kriminalobersekretär Tietz, who later committed suicide after being arrested for stealing Jewish property), along with Lithuanian police, arrested all Jewish males over the age of 16 (more than 200 people) and took them to the Raudondvaris estate north of the town. There they were confined in a cellar for several days with no food or water. On July 10, 1941, after being forced to enlarge an existing antitank ditch 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) north of town, they were all shot together with 20 Lithuanians who were accused of having aided the Soviets. Before the massacre, the Jews were forced to undress and hand over all their money and valuables. The shooting was carried out by a squad of Security Police and SD men, led by the head of the Tilsit Gestapo, SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, assisted by Lithuanian policemen.[1]

After the men were shot, the Jewish women, children, and old people were moved into houses on several streets, where ethnic Germans had lived before their repatriation to Germany in 1939–1941; these streets became a ghetto. The town's only dentist, a woman named Sheine Pauzisky, was appointed head of the ghetto. Using her connections with prominent Lithuanians in the town, she managed to open a food shop for the ghetto, which was run by a Lithuanian who ensured that adequate supplies were available to the Jews as long as the ghetto existed. Young girls and women were used for various types of labor in the town. Lithuanian farmers also came to the ghetto to recruit women and girls for work. Some treated them badly, but others helped Jews to hide at the time of the massacres.

On July 29, 1941, the women who were ill, old, and unable to work were taken from the ghetto and shot, possibly together with a few elderly men and the remaining Jewish children and their mothers. After the war, a former midwife in Virbalis provided a description of a mass shooting in a meadow near the town, which reportedly took place about three weeks after the first Aktion. Significant details in her account include the absence of any Lithuanian policemen on this occasion and the fact that two sons of a local peasant also were shot for attempting to bring the Jews awaiting execution some food. According to the witness, the number of victims is estimated to have been between 200 and 300, including a number of children. One severely wounded Jew managed to climb out of the mass grave and returned to the town, but then he died there of his wounds.[2]

After the second Aktion, the authorities reassured the remaining women that no more evil would happen to them and informed them that their husbands were working at different jobs not far away. Some Jewish women in the ghetto even gave money, valuables, and clothes to Lithuanians who promised to take them to their husbands. Those women working on farms, however, discovered the true fate of those who had disappeared and tried to convince the others when they returned to the ghetto. At some time in August, the Jewish women and children from Kybartai were also moved to the Virbalis ghetto.

On September 11, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. All the remaining Jews were loaded onto carts driven by Lithuanians and were taken to prepared pits, where they were all shot.[3]

In a postwar letter, an ethnic German from the region wrote to a Jewish survivor: "Many [Jews] went into hiding with Lithuanian farmers. But due to the long time, some were discovered and killed together with the farmers."[4] Among the few who hid successfully were Bela Mirbach and her mother, who hid on the farm of a Lithuanian teacher, and Bela Rosenberg, whose family had previously owned a farm.

On August 29, 1958, a court in Ulm, Germany, sentenced several individuals, including Hans-Joachim Böhme, to various terms of imprisonment for participation in the shooting of the Jews in Virbalis and other places in July 1941.

On October 12, 1961, a court in Dortmund, Germany, sentenced another former Tilsit Gestapo official, Gerke, to three years and six months of imprisonment. He also took part in the Aktion in July 1941.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Virbalis during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 412; "Virbalis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996),

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pp. 254–259; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Virbalis can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/2582-2615, 14079-14080); GARF (7021-94-419); LCVA; and YVA (M-9/12[6], 798; M-33/987, 995; Koniuchovsky Collection O-71/154, 157, 158; O-33/1348).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Verdict of LG-Ulm against Fischer-Schweder et al., August 29, 1958, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 182–183; verdict of LG-Dort against Krumbach, Gerke, and Jahr, October 12, 1961, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 521.
2. See *JuNS-V*, vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 206–207. It is possible, however, that this is a description of the final liquidation Aktion a few weeks later. According to this witness, the Jews who were shot had been confined for about three weeks in a red-brick building in Virbalis, guarded by the Lithuanian police.
3. YVA, M-9/12(6); M-33/987, 995; Koniuchovsky Collection O-71/154, 157, 158.
4. Ibid., O-33/1348, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

VYŽUONOS

Pre-1940: Vyžuonos (Yiddish: Vizhun), village, Utena apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vyžuonos/Vizhuonos, Utena uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wischuny, Kreis Utena, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vyžuonos, Utena rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vyžuonos is located 13 kilometers (8 miles) north-northwest of Utena. In 1923, there were 367 Jews living in Vyžuonos (27 percent of all residents).

German armed forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists started looting Jewish property and Jewish men were required to perform forced labor. Two Jewish women were murdered when they brought food to their men in the forest.

According to the account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, already on June 26, 1941, all the Jews were driven out of their homes and were forced to reside together in two small alleys, which became an improvised ghetto. According to Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, the Jewish houses were marked with the word *Jude* (Jew) as a service to the Germans.

On June 27, several Jewish families were arrested and taken to a nearby forest to be murdered. On June 29, armed Lithuanians arrested another group of Jewish young men and women. They took them to a farm and held them there for several days without food or water. The women were raped, and then all of them were murdered and buried nearby.

The remaining Jews in Vyžuonos lived in the ghetto for more than one month. A local Lithuanian woman, Ona Eigelienė, visited the village in early August and observed that the Jews were praying there all night. The next morning they were loaded onto carts and were driven away, clearly aware of their impending fate.[1]

On August 7, the Jews of Vyžuonos were taken to the Rašė Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Utena to be murdered together with other Jews from the region.

Eigelienė also witnessed the sale of Jewish property in Vyžuonos after the Jews had been killed: "The partisans were displaying items in the window. There was a huge crowd of customers. The things were cheap. We were so shocked that we returned home immediately. The priest said nothing in church."[2]

Only two Jews are known to have survived the Holocaust in and around Vyžuonos: a young woman who had papers showing that she was of Tatar origin and a man who worked for a Lithuanian farmer.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Vyžuonos during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 277–280; "Vyzuonos," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 226–229; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 892.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: USHMM (RG-50.473*0058) and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1539; M-33/971.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.473*0058, testimony of Ona Eigelienė.
2. Ibid.

WIDZE

Pre-1939: Widze (Yiddish: Vidzh), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vidzy, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Widsche, initially Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vidzy, Braslav raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Widze is located 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Wilno. Of about 3,000 inhabitants on the eve of the war, the majority were Jewish, but there were also Poles, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Tartars, Russian Orthodox, Old Believers, and Roma (Gypsies) in the town.[1]

The Red Army occupied Widze on September 17, 1939. The so-called transition from capitalism to socialism was a difficult one. Some wealthy Jews and refugees were among

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those deported to Siberia, and others had to adapt to the new Soviet social structures to avoid this fate.

Shortly after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Soviet authorities abandoned Widze, taking almost every available vehicle, and a period of lawlessness ensued. Before the arrival of a German garrison in the town, local antisemites formed a self-defense force and started arresting, beating, robbing, and murdering Jews. This lawlessness continued until a German military commandant arrived and restored a semblance of order in mid-July 1941.[2]

The German commandant issued instructions in mid-July that no Jews were to be killed or robbed without his permission, and the Jews breathed a sigh of relief. Jewish women baked cakes for the German commandant. The commandant established a Judenrat, headed by Lipa Levin, which had the task of passing on German instructions and also ensuring that they were fulfilled. To meet the demand for a "contribution" from the Jewish community, each family had to surrender to the Judenrat some of its cash or treasured possessions, such as engagement rings or Sabbath candleholders. Other restrictions included the introduction of the wearing of the yellow star and a prohibition on Jews using the sidewalk or visiting public places.[3]

Assisted by local collaborators, the Germans also began driving Jews to forced labor, making them perform the dirtiest and most humiliating work. At first, only the men were required to work, but soon women had to work as well. Women worked, for example, in the community's welfare organizations, as cleaners or gardeners, and in the knitting factory, making clothes for the Germans.[4] Sporadic killings also continued. For example, according to one account, in the fall of 1941 Shapiro and his wife were murdered in the Jewish cemetery for 7 kilograms (15.4 pounds) of gold.[5]

Initially, the German authorities established a local Belorussian police, later called the Schutzmannschaft, headed by Yan Gadzhon, with Stefan Zhokovska as his second in command.[6] In April 1942, the area around Widze was transferred from Gebiet Glebokie in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Gebiet Wilna-Land in Generalkommissariat Litauen. At about this time, the Belorussian police officers in Widze were mostly replaced by Lithuanians.[7]

The ghetto was formed in early 1942.[8] All the Jews were forced to move onto Tatarskaia Street, near the houses of study and the synagogues. A mixed crowd of hooligans taunted and attacked the Jews as they made their way into the ghetto with their heavy loads. Germans and local policemen stood at the entrance to the ghetto to check for restricted items. When such items were found, the Jews were beaten in punishment and the property confiscated. Christians soon moved into the homes vacated by the Jews.[9]

Inside the ghetto, the new inmates had no room even for the few items they had brought with them. There was poor sanitation, people had to sleep on the floor, and the women had to cook in turns, sharing the same stove. Overcrowding in the houses, which held as many as four families, inevitably led to arguments. Somehow this fighting at least distracted from the many other existential problems, as families worried constantly about feeding their children and staying alive. A number of ghetto inmates, especially the elderly, died of weakness and disease. The favorite pastime of the children was the "Funeral Game": they would cover the table with a black rag and raise the roof with their wailing and lamenting.[10]

The local police constantly guarded the ghetto fence to limit contacts with non-Jews and control those entering the ghetto. The only way out was as part of a work brigade. Those working outside the ghetto were sometimes able to trade items for food with the non-Jewish population. Those trapped inside could trade only by throwing valuables over the fence to obtain food that was thrown in by local inhabitants.

On March 23, 1942, the Germans escorted about 50 Jews from Dryswiaty into the Widze ghetto. Jews were also brought to Widze in early 1942 from the shtetls in Drujsk (around 1,000 people), Opsa, Dubene, and Koziany.[11] The ghetto population was augmented slightly by the arrival of a few half-dead survivors from places where much of the Jewish population had been murdered, such as Ignalino and Święciany. On August 29, 1942, according to a letter from the social administrative office (Urząd Socialny) of the Wilna Gebietskommissar, 1,505 Jewish men, women, and children were living in the Widze ghetto, which was now subordinated administratively to the ghetto in Święciany. Of these, 721 were able to work and 520 were employed.[12] Subsequently most of these Jews were transferred to Święciany in the fall of 1942. Horses and carts arrived to move the Jews, each with small bundles, to the railway station in Nowe Święciany. From Święciany, most Jews were sent on to the Wilno ghetto or were murdered in Ponary. Only about 80 Jews (the craftsmen and their families) remained in Widze at this time, but these Jews were also sent to Święciany later.[13]

By the summer of 1942, the Jews in the Widze ghetto knew it would soon be liquidated, and most Jews accepted the transfer to the Święciany ghetto. Rumors circulated about Russian partisans living in the surrounding forests. Noel Svirsky and his friend Zalman Zilber organized a group of nine people planning to escape to the woods and join the partisans. However, owing to German warnings, they were afraid of the collective punishment that would be meted out to those remaining in the ghetto, once their absence was known. This group left the ghetto shortly before the transfer of most of the Jews to Święciany. Eventually they formed a larger group with other Jewish escapees from Koziany, as the Soviet partisans would not accept them without weapons. Even obtaining food was very difficult in the forests without arms.[14] For example, local peasants who found Jews outside the ghetto were offered a reward of 15 kilograms (33 pounds) of salt or sugar. The Germans also burned down local villages in an attempt to deny food and support to the Soviet partisans. Under these adverse conditions, some Jews even returned to the ghetto to face almost certain death, but others managed to form or join organized partisan units offering resistance to the Germans and their collaborators.[15]

Among the survivors from Widze were Zelda Skop (born 1931), who also survived concentration camps in Latvia

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(Kaiserwald) and Germany (Stutthof) after being transferred to Święciany, and Jenny Chinitz (née Luba Misuszczyn), who escaped to join the partisans after being in the Święciany and Wilno ghettos.[16]

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Gershon Vainer and Yitshak Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz: 'Ayera b-hayeha u-ve-khiliona* (Tel Aviv: Widze Association in Israel, 1977), contains several detailed accounts describing conditions in the ghetto and also contains some witness statements from a postwar Polish trial in Koszalin in 1962.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews in Widze under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3601); IPN (e.g., SOWr 127); LCVA (R 626-1-24; R 614-1-336); VHF (# 3743); and YVA (e.g., 2846/99-S [Noah Svirsky]).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*.
2. Hina Koritsk-Lifthin, "Memories from the Era of the Holocaust in Vidz," pp. 470–478, here p. 472; Noah Svirsky, "Holocaust and Resistance," pp. 167–181, here pp. 169–170; and testimonies from the Polish trial in Koszalin in 1962, pp. 481–483—all in ibid.
3. Koritsk-Lifthin, "Memories from the Era of the Holocaust in Vidz," pp. 470–478.
4. Svirsky, "Holocaust and Resistance," pp. 172–173; Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*, p. 473.
5. Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*, pp. 482–483. According to another witness, the Shapiro couple may have been killed during the initial thefts and murders.
6. Ibid., p. 482.
7. See Shlomo Yahilchik, "Years of Trouble and War," in ibid., pp. 393–396.
8. Ibid.
9. Svirsky, "Holocaust and Resistance," pp. 173–174.
10. Ibid., pp. 173–175.
11. Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), p. 153. The Jewish population of Dryswiaty was 85 at the time of the German invasion. Five craftsmen with their families remained in Dryswiaty after March 1942. On Drujsk, see Schmuel 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), pp. 334–335. According to one account, there was an earlier transport of women and children to the Wilno ghetto in February 1942; see Sarah Dembovski (Korb), "In the Ghetto of Vidz and in the Concentration Camps," in Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*, pp. 459–462. On Dubene, where 90 families lived, see Spector and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 336.
12. LCVA, R 626-1-24, p. 34, and R 614-1-336, p. 299.
13. Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*, pp. 457, 476–477.
14. Svirsky, "Holocaust and Resistance," pp. 167–181.
15. Koritsk-Lifthin, "Memories from the Era of the Holocaust in Vidz," pp. 470–478.
16. See *Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors 2000* (United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 2000); and VHF, # 3743, testimony of Jenny Chinitz, July 7, 1995.

WILNO

Pre-1939: Wilno (Yiddish: Vilne/Vilna), city and województwo center, Poland; 1939–1940: Vilnius, apskritis center and capital of Lithuania; 1940–1941: uezd center and capital of Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilna, Kreis center, Stadthauptmannschaft and center of Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vilnius, rajonas and apskritis center, capital of the Republic of Lithuania

Wilno is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) east-southeast of Kaunas. On June 24, 1941, when German troops entered Wilno, approximately 60,000 Jews were in the city. In the previous two days, after the start of the German invasion, about 3,000 Jews managed to escape. At the same time, many Jewish refugees from western Lithuania arrived in Wilno.

The first German Security Police detachment to arrive in Wilno was Einsatzkommando 9. In July 1941, this unit, together with the Lithuanian Ypatingas Burys (special troops), murdered about 10,000 Jews near the Ponary railroad station, not far from Wilno.[1]

The Germans ordered the establishment of a 10-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) on July 4, 1941. By the end of the month it had been expanded to 24 members, and Shaul Trotski was appointed as its head. Within a few days, rumors of the massacres, soon confirmed, spread back to the Judenrat.[2]

At the start of August 1941, a German civil administration took over from the military in Wilno. The city's Stadtkommissar was Hans Hingst, and the Gebietskommissar for

Jewish and Lithuanian police guard the entrance to the Wilno ghetto, n.d. Pictured at left is the chief of Jewish Police, Ferdinand Beigel.
USHMM WS #64118, COURTESY OF WILHELM BEGELL

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the surrounding rural region (Wilna-Land) was SS-Sturmbannführer Horst Wulff. Franz Murer served as assistant to Hingst for Jewish affairs, policing, and judicial questions, among other tasks.

On the orders of the German authorities, the Lithuanian civilian and police forces imposed restrictions on the Jews, including markings and a curfew. The Germans stole Jewish money and property.

In August 1941, Einsatzkommando 3 took over responsibility for Wilno. The report of its leader, SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, recorded the number of Jews killed in Wilno during August, September, and October as 21,105, about 70 percent of whom were women and children.[3]

Local Lithuanian planning for a ghetto in Wilno had started at the end of June 1941. The German military commandant, Zehnpfennig, decided on July 11 that no more than 20,000 Jews should be confined within the ghetto, and he instructed the local Lithuanian authorities to make proposals concerning its borders.[4]

Under the new civil administration, Generalkommissar von Renteln ordered Hingst to establish a ghetto. Hingst selected the old part of the city from among several Lithuanian proposals, as most Jews already lived there.[5] The ghetto was established in early September 1941. Formally, Hingst, together with the Lithuanian authorities serving under him, oversaw the ghetto. Murer also played a leading role in its administration. The German Security Police, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3 in Kaunas, handled security; they assigned the Ypatingas Burys to guard the ghetto perimeter and to conduct mass killings.[6]

The resettlement of the Jews into the ghetto took place on September 6–7, 1941. Lithuanian policemen drove the Jews out of their homes, and Lithuanian Self-Defense officials forced them into the designated ghetto areas.[7] The sick and those unable to walk were left in their homes temporarily.

Some 40,000 Jews were crowded into two separate ghettos, whose combined area had previously housed only about 4,000 people. The small ghetto included Jatkowa, Żydowska, and parts of Gaon and Glezer Streets. The large ghetto included Oszmiańska, Dziśnieński, Jatkowa, Żmundzka, Rudnicka, Szpitalna, and Straszun Streets. At this time, the Judenrat was liquidated, and separate Jewish Councils were created for the two ghetto areas.

Overcrowding was extreme. Several families had to share a single room, and each person was allotted only 1 to 2 square meters (11 to 22 square feet). Some of the buildings in the ghettos were not connected to the local sewage system. Initially, there was only one public bath, but a second opened later. However, their use by so many people may have contributed to the spread of infectious disease.[8] A hospital with more than 150 staff treated some 3,000 patients in 1942.[9]

A Judenrat report from October 1941 stated that the daily ration for each ghetto inmate was 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of potatoes, 50 grams (1.8 ounces) of cabbage, 30 grams (1 ounce) of carrots, and 20 grams (0.7 ounces) of turnips—produce that normally was used to feed cattle.[10] On April 9, 1942, the Generalkommissar issued the following regulations: nonworking Jews would receive half the rations issued to the local population; working Jews would receive a full bread ration; and Jewish workers necessary for the war effort would receive full rations, equal to the local population.[11]

The ghetto exits were sealed with barbed wire, windows and doors along the ghetto boundary were barricaded, and the telephone lines were cut. For each ghetto there was only one gate, located in the main ghetto on Rudnicka Street. The ghetto was guarded internally by about 200 Jewish policemen, under the command of Jacob Gens. At the beginning, Lithuanian auxiliaries guarded the exterior of the ghetto. In August 1943, external security was made the responsibility of the German police.

After the sealing of the ghetto in September 1941, the number of its inhabitants was reduced drastically by a series of additional mass killings. They took place several times per week, with about 1,000 victims on each occasion, mostly people unable to work. During September, most of those not registered for work were transferred to the smaller ghetto, known as Ghetto no. 2. On October 1, 1941, on Yom Kippur, the Germans conducted a large Aktion during which several thousand Jews were taken to Ponary and shot. In mid-October 1941, Ghetto no. 2 was completely liquidated, and the remaining 6,000 to 8,000 inmates were chased to Ponary and shot.[12] Through the end of October, about 5,000 to 7,000 Jews were killed in the first "yellow certificate Aktion," and about 2,000 more Jews were killed in the second yellow certificate Aktion in early November, as the ghetto was brutally searched for any Jews in hiding. During the next Aktion, which took place at the end of November/early December 1941, 200 ghetto inmates were executed, and during the "pink certificate Aktion" on December 20 and 21, 1941, about 400 more Jews were killed. At this time, some Jews in hiding physically resisted efforts to extract them.[13]

After December 1941, the situation in the Wilno ghetto became relatively stable for about a year and a half, until the events leading up to the ghetto's liquidation in September 1943. In February 1942, there were probably about 17,200 Jews in the ghetto: 14,200 legals, receiving bread rations, and about 3,000 illegals, many of whom were gradually legalized during 1942.[14] Still, repressive Aktions continued sporadically. The reasons for arrest included illegal acquisition of food, use of false documents, illegal trade, planned escape from the ghetto or the workplace, staying outside the ghetto with false documents, and ownership of valuables. In most cases, the punishment was execution, described in the documents as "dealt with according to orders" or "liquidated."[15]

On September 30, 1941, Hingst ordered that wages for male Jews, aged between 16 and 60, should be 0.20 Reichsmark (RM) per hour; for female Jews, 0.15 RM per hour; and for younger workers under 16, 0.10 RM per hour. The wages increased in June 1942.[16] These rates applied only to private companies. The German local employers, military employers, and the city of Wilno paid only half of these amounts, as they had to transfer the other half to the city authorities. If the employer

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provided the working Jews with a warm soup, he could deduct 0.30 RM from their daily wages. Jewish laborers could be hired only through the Labor Administration in Wilno. The police station in charge of the ghetto controlled the Jews leaving the ghetto. Only Jews assigned by the Labor Administration with a corresponding pass could leave the ghetto, in groups, under escort, for their workplaces. Jews could not buy food or wood and take them into the ghetto. Deliveries of these goods were organized by grocery companies and the city administration.[17]

The places that employed Jews in Wilno included the Kailis factory, which made fur products; workshops for cars; a Jewish labor camp on Antakolskų Street; and another Jewish labor camp whose inmates worked for the German Security Police. Outside of Wilno, Jews were used to dig peat, especially in the areas of Biała Waka, Bezdany, Rzeszy, Podbrodzie, Nowa Wilejka, and Ignalino. One of the largest outside labor sites was the Giesler Company camp, which built and repaired railroad tracks for the Wehrmacht.[18]

In April 1942, a ghetto theater opened, and there was also an orchestra, a music school, and two choirs. A public library contained some 45,000 books, many of them in Polish. A number of sporting events also were organized. These activities gave Jews the opportunity to free themselves from the pressures of ghetto life for a few hours and represented a form of passive resistance to Nazi oppression. Three synagogues served the needs of the faithful inside the ghetto.[19]

In July 1942, the Judenrat was dissolved, and Gens was appointed head of the ghetto, while remaining chief of the Jewish Police. On July 12, Gens announced: "The basis of the ghetto is work, discipline and order. Every resident of the ghetto who is capable of work is a pillar on which our existence rests."[20] Thus Gens pursued a strategy of survival through labor, trying to make the Jews useful to the Germans. The ghetto administration included departments for police, labor, industry, supply (primarily food), health, housing, social welfare, and also culture.

In the fall of 1942, the ghetto administration under Gens assumed responsibility for the remaining small ghettos to the east in Gebiet Wilna-Land. Over the following weeks these ghettos were consolidated, with some Jews being transferred to labor camps and others being selected and shot. During the final liquidation of these ghettos in late March and early April 1943, some Jews were sent to labor camps and others to the ghetto in Wilno, while some 4,000 others were shot.[21] This shooting severely undermined morale in the Wilno ghetto, as it showed that Gens was powerless.

Between January 1942 and September 1943, Zionists, Bundists, and Communists came together to plan armed resistance in the Fareynikt Partizaner Organizatsye (United Partisan Organization, FPO). The leader was the Communist Yitzhak Witenberg. For a certain time, another smaller armed group under the leadership of "Jechiel" was active, and in 1943 it managed to establish contact with the FPO. The FPO was in contact with the Jewish Police, as Joseph Glazman had a senior position in both organizations. However, in the spring of 1943, when relations between the German authorities and the Jews deteriorated markedly, the FPO demanded armed resistance. Gens, aware that resistance would threaten the very existence of the ghetto, increasingly acted against the FPO's plans, although he allowed some resistance fighters to leave for the forests.

In July 1943, after the capture of two non-Jewish Communists who had contacts to the FPO, the Germans demanded that Gens hand over Witenberg, believing he was part of the city's Communist resistance. Witenberg was briefly arrested but then escaped with the aid of FPO fighters. Gens then spread word that the Germans would destroy the ghetto if Witenberg did not surrender. Eventually, on July 16, Witenberg surrendered voluntarily and committed suicide in jail. Abba Kovner then became the leader of the FPO.

After this crisis, some groups of the FPO decided to escape to the surrounding forests to join up with the Soviet partisan units. One group, including Glazman, was ambushed on the way to the forest, and most were killed. The Germans then conducted severe reprisals, killing the families of those who had fled the ghetto.

Following Heinrich Himmler's order of June 21, 1943, for the transformation of remaining ghettos into concentration camps, there was a further intensification of anti-Jewish policy in the Wilno region. The Security Police dissolved five labor

Wilno ghetto partisan commander Abba Kovner (center) poses with Ruska Korczak (left) and Vitka Kempner (right) on a street in Wilno the day of the city's liberation, ca. July 13, 1944.
USHMM WS #76842, COURTESY OF VITKA KEMPNER KOVNER

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camps over the following weeks, murdering most of the inmates, as they feared these Jews would flee to join the Soviet partisans. Then in August 1943, a series of deportations to Estonia started, which spread alarm among the Jews and further undermined trust among the Jews in Gens's leadership. In total, according to German figures, 7,126 Jews were sent to Estonian concentration camps for the extraction of oil shale in four deportations (on August 6 and 24 and on September 2 and 4, 1943).[22] From early September the ghetto was sealed off, and even the Wehrmacht was denied access. No additional food entered the ghetto, and prices rose immediately. Gens ordered a new registration on September 6, which recorded 9,637 Jews (2,157 men, 5,827 women, and 1,653 children).[23]

In mid-September, SS-Obersturmbannführer Göcke, the commandant of the new Kauen concentration camp, was briefly given responsiblity for the Wilno ghetto.[24] Over the next few days, the ghetto was liquidated. Gens was shot on September 14, 1943, signaling the failure of his attempts to placate the Germans. The Germans had decided to liquidate the ghetto, fearing the development of widespread Jewish resistance inside the ghetto, similar to that encountered in Warsaw.

The man in charge of the liquidation of the Wilno ghetto was SS-Oberscharführer Bruno Kittel. On September 16, 1943, about 1,500 Jews were sent to the military motor pool (Heereskraftpark, HKP) in Wilno; after that, another 1,500 Jews were sent to the Kailis fur factory. Dozens of people were sent to work for the Security Police and at the military hospital. During the Aktion between September 22 and 24, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and other auxiliary police units together with German SS and Order Police took part. About 1,600 Jewish men were deported to Estonia, and between 1,400 and 1,700 Jewish women were sent to the Kaiserwald camp near Riga. More than 3,000 people were killed, either in the ghetto or probably by shooting at Ponary. The search for Jews in hiding continued for a number of days. Several thousand Jews remained at the various work sites that now became labor camps.

In the period between July 2 and 7, 1944, the camps and workshops at the HKP, the fur factory, the Security Police, and the hospital were liquidated; most of these Jews were murdered in Ponary. The Jews working for the Security Police, together with their families, were transferred to Fort IX in Kaunas and shot.[25]

One of the main German perpetrators was Martin Weiss, who served in the Security Police office in Wilno. He organized and led the Lithuanian special unit (Ypatingas Burys) that conducted the mass murder of Jews in Ponary and was the Security Police officer responsible for the Wilno ghetto. On February 3, 1950, the regional court in Würzburg (file Ks 15/49) found Weiss guilty of murder and sentenced him to life in prison. His colleague, August Hering, was also convicted and received the same sentence.

Franz Murer was handed over to the Soviet authorities by the British after the war and was sentenced to 25 years in prison. He was released, however, in 1955 and repatriated to Austria in connection with the Austrian State Treaty. Simon Wiesenthal subsequently undertook efforts that resulted in a trial in Austria in the 1960s. Murer was initially acquitted, and despite a reversal by the Supreme Court in 1963, no further punishment was administered.

The courts and tribunals of the Lithuanian SSR charged a number of people with participation in mass murder at Ponary. Among the accused were the following members of the Lithuanian special unit, Ypatingas Burys, who were sentenced to death on January 29, 1945: Juozas Augustas, Borisas Baltutis, Mikas Bogotkevicius, Jonas Divilaitis, Jonas Macis, Vladislava Mandeika, Jonas Ozelis, Kozlovskij, Stasys Ukrinas, and Povilas Vaitulionis. Julius Rackauskas was sentenced to 25 years in prison on March 15, 1950.[26]

The following persons were sentenced by Polish courts for participation in the mass killings at Ponary: Witold Gliwinski, Jozef Miakisz, Wladyslaw Butkun, and Jan Borkowski.[27]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Wilno during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002); I. Guzenberg, ed., *Vilnius Ghetto: List of Prisoners*, 2 vols. (Vilnius: Jewish Museum Vilnius, 1996); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965); Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982); Arūnas Bubnys, "Massacre of Vilnius Jews and Vilnius Ghetto 1941–1944," *Genocydas ir Rezistencija* 2:14 (2003); Solon Beinfeld, "The Cultural Life of the Vilna Ghetto," in *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, vol. 1 (1984); Kazimierz Sakowicz, *Ponary Dairy, 1941–1943* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); N.N. Shneidman, *The Three Tragic Heroes of the Vilnius Ghetto* (Oakville, Ontario, 2002); and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002).

Important survivor sources include Rachel Margolis, *A Partisan from Vilna* (Brighton, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2010); A. Sutzkewer, *Getto Vilna* (Tel Aviv: Shavi, 1947); Yitskhok Rudashevski, *The Diary of the Vilna Ghetto, June 1941–April 1943* (Tel Aviv: Ghetto Fighters' House, 1973); Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947); and Wladimir Poroduminskij, ed., *Die Juden von Wilna: Die Aufzeichnungen des Grigorij Schur 1941–1944* (Munich: DTV, 1999).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL (R 91/10); BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; CDJC; GARF; IfZ; IPN (e.g., SOOl, IIK 59/76; SOW, IVK 130/73, I KR 37/74, IVKR 228/77); LCVA (e.g., R 626-1-14; R 677-1-11; R 685-4-28; R 689-1-2, 10; R 691-1-4, 28); LVVA; LYA (Case No. 11713, vol. 1); MA; NARA; RGVA; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.120*0127, oral history with Nissan Reznik; Acc.1999.A.0108 [Gebietskommissar Stadt Wilna]); VHF; WL; YIVO (e.g., RG-223, no. 282); and YVA (e.g., O-3; O-18; O-33; JM/1951).

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NOTES

1. LCVA, R 677-1-11, p. 1; R 691-1-4, p. 33; R 1436-1-38, p. 91; R 689-1-2, p. 19; R 691-1-28, p. 109.
2. Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 66–67.
3. LCVA, R 685-4-28, p. 8; R 626-1-14, p. 182; Sta. Frankfurt am Main, 4 Js 1106/59.
4. LCVA, R 643-3-4152, pp. 80, 82, letters of Feldkommandantur 814 to the citizens' committee, July 11, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.3.2.
5. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.3.2, cites the interrogations of Murer in LYA, Case No. 11713, vol. 1, pp. 49, 58–59, 72–73, as well as other sources in support of this interpretation.
6. LCVA, R 691-1-4, p. 190.
7. Ibid., R 689-1-10, pp. 4, 9, 15, 18, 33–34, 37, 38a.
8. Ibid., R 614-1-286, p. 70.
9. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 121, 315.
10. LCVA, R 626-1-14, p. 120.
11. Ibid., R 689-4-950, pp. 518–519; LG-Würz, Ks 15/49, case against Martin Weiss and August Herring.
12. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 126, dates its liquidation on October 21. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 139–142, notes that according to the Jäger report, 2,367 Jews were killed in Wilno on October 21, but the Germans continued to comb the empty ghetto for Jews in hiding for several days afterwards.
13. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 149–163.
14. Ibid.; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 302–303.
15. LCVA, R 730-2-84, p. 112; R 1673-1-1885; R 1673-1-3313; R 1673-1-526; R 1673-1-1151.
16. Ibid., R 626-1-11, p. 232. The new rates were: for male workers between 16 and 60, 0.30 RM; for female workers between 16 and 60, 0.25 RM; for younger laborers, 0.20 RM. See also R 1550-1-2, p. 198.
17. Ibid., R 626-1-4, p. 11.
18. Guzenberg, *Vilnius Ghetto: List of Prisoners*, vol. 2, pp. 24–59.
19. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 318–327; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 183, 271.
20. As quoted by Shneidman, *The Three Tragic Heroes*, p. 109.
21. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 359–362.
22. BA-BL, R 91/10, WeWiKdo Vilnius, Bericht September 1943.
23. YIVO, RG-223, no. 282, Protocol of the meeting of the section leaders in the Wilno ghetto, September 20, 1943.
24. BA-BL, R 91/10, Aktenvermerk WeWiKdo Vilnius, September 13, 1943, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.8.2.
25. Bubnys, "Massacre of Vilnius Jews"; Sta. Frankfurt am Main, 4 Js 1106/59.
26. LYA, K 1-58-27968/3 and K 1-58-16944/3.
27. IPN, SOOl, IIK 59/76; SOW, IVK 130/73, I KR 37/74, and IVKR 228/77.

WORNIANY

Pre-1939: Worniany, village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vorniany, Ostrovets raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Worniany, initially Rayon Ostrowiec, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Swir, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vorniany, Astravets raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Worniany is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-northeast of Wilno. In 1921, there were 240 Jews living in the village, out of a total population of 300.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 25, 1941. Most of the Jews remained in Worniany at the start of the occupation. Just prior to the Germans' arrival, gangs of local residents and farmers plundered Jewish shops and homes and killed at least two Jews.[1] A local police force was then appointed, which restored order, but abuse of the Jews continued under the new local authorities.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) based in Mołodeczno governed Worniany. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Initially Worniany became part of Gebiet Wilejka, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. From April 1942, it was in Gebiet Wilna-Land, within Generalkommissariat Litauen.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Worniany. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which was chaired by Herschel Magid. The Jews were forbidden to leave the village or associate in any way with non-Jews. Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David. Jewish land and livestock were confiscated, and Jews were required to perform forced labor. Initially, they were put to work pulling weeds from between the cobblestones or on other cleaning jobs. Then some were sent to work for farmers in the fields. The Judenrat played a role in the selection of Jews for forced labor and in the collection of property needed to meet German demands.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, according to one source in October,[2] the Jews of Worniany were moved into a ghetto. It was set up along four narrow streets in a number of small wooden houses. The ghetto was enclosed with a fence and barbed wire, and local policemen guarded the entry gate. Those moving into the ghetto could only bring with them what they could carry in their arms. Only Jews assigned to work were permitted to leave the ghetto. Overcrowding in the ghetto was severe, with 15 to 20 people sharing a single house, and the Jews suffered from hunger and deprivation.[3] A number of Jews who had escaped from small towns in Lithuania reached the Worniany ghetto in the fall, bringing news of the mass killings of Jews throughout Lithuania.

On October 15, 1941, SS men, German Gendarmes, and local police surrounded the ghetto, and the Jews were told to assemble in front of the Bet Midrash. The Germans then arrested the rabbi, his son, and 15 others. For a bribe, they agreed to release the rabbi and his son in exchange for 2 others. Then the prisoners were taken to a large pit, where they were shot and buried. However, several of the men survived the ordeal and escaped from the pit. A few days later the Germans returned to the ghetto and took a group of young men

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for work in a distant forest, cutting wood. Subsequently these men returned to the ghetto.

The head of the Judenrat, Herschel Magid, resigned his position after defending his wife from drunken local policemen, who were rampaging in the ghetto. He then bribed the Germans to send him to join the group working in the forest, to avoid expected retribution from the local police. Yudel Weinstein succeeded him as head of the Judenrat. The workers in the forest and others managed to smuggle some food into the ghetto, which they acquired by barter with local farmers. By May 1942, most of the ghetto inhabitants—men, women, and children over 12—were working daily outside the ghetto, and a number prepared hiding places in the forest or even fled from the ghetto. At the end of May 1942, 198 Jews were registered as living in the Worniany ghetto.[4]

In August 1942, the remaining Jews in Worniany were transferred to the Michaliszki ghetto. Then in March 1943, in turn they were transferred with the other Jews in Michaliszki to the Wilno ghetto.[5] In Wilno, the Jews deemed unfit for work were separated from those who were physically fit and were shot in Ponary, while the Jews judged fit for work were sent to various labor camps. About 10 Jews from Worniany, mainly from among the latter group, managed to survive the war. The priest in Worniany, Janas Sielewicz, assisted a number of Jews of the region by organizing hideouts for them in the surrounding villages. He was named as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.[6]

SOURCES The main published source on the fate of the Jewish community of Worniany during the Holocaust is "Worniany," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 307–309.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-11); LCVA (e.g., R 743-2-5525); NARB (845-1-63); VHF (# 1675, 42723, 42811, 45647); and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q/110).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 42723, testimony of Malka Wainsztain.
2. A. Mal'dis, "Velikolepnye semerki," *Sovetskaia Belorussiia* (Minsk), September 30, 2008.
3. VHF, # 45647, testimony of Sarah Resnick.
4. Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), p. 640.
5. GARF, 7021-89-11, p. 33. This file (pp. 14–19) contains a list of the names of 169 Jews.
6. Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions*, pp. 113–114.

YLAKIAI

Pre-1940: Ylakiai (Yiddish: Yelok), village, Mažeikiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Mažeikiai/Mazheikiai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Illoken, Kreis Moscheiken, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Ylakiai, Skuodas rajonas, Klaipeda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Ylakiai is located 281 kilometers (175 miles) northwest of Wilno. According to the 1923 census, there were 409 Jews (41 percent of the total population) living in the village. By mid-1941, emigration—particularly in the 1920s and 1930s—had somewhat reduced the number.

German armed forces occupied Ylakiai on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration (district head: Vaitkus) and a police force (chief of the police: Strikaitis) that began persecuting the Jews. All the Jewish men were arrested at once and placed in the synagogue, which according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report was declared to be a "ghetto" for the Jews.[1] Among the Lithuanian perpetrators, one was the owner of a restaurant who hacked off the beards of elderly Jews with a knife.

The Jews remained in this synagogue under the guard of armed Lithuanians for about 10 days. On the evening of July 6, 1941, the Jewish males were escorted out of the synagogue to the Jewish cemetery and were shot there with submachine guns and rifles. Then the women and children were herded into the synagogue, and during the night of July 6, 1941, they also were shot at the Jewish cemetery to the southwest of the village.[2]

After the liberation of the village in 1944, three graves were found in the Jewish cemetery. One contained about 300 corpses of men, women, and children; the second held about 100 corpses; and in the third, there were 3 corpses.[3]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Ylakiai during the Holocaust can be found in "Ylakiai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 330–332.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ylakiai can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-423); LCVA; USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 19); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-94-423, pp. 28–35.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 27 and reverse.

ŽAGARĖ

Pre-1940: Žagarė (Yiddish: Zhager), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Žagarė/Zhagare, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schagarren, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen: post-1991: Žagarė, Joniškis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

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Žagarė is situated 64 kilometers (40 miles) north of Šiauliai, on the border with Latvia. In 1923, there were 1,928 Jews living in Žagarė (40 percent of the town's population).

On June 28, 1941, during the first week of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, members of the LAF (Lithuanian Activist Front) in Žagarė set up a committee of 4 people, of whom Stanislovas Kačkys was the chairman. (This is probably the person known to Jewish survivors as "Statkus," a Lithuanian from Žagarė who previously had good relations with the Jews.)[1] The committee decided to organize an armed squad to maintain order. Approximately 30 to 50 men, mostly former Šaulys (nationalist paramilitaries) and policemen, joined the squad. They were armed with rifles and pistols. On June 29, 1941, the Red Army and most of the remaining Soviet officials abandoned Žagarė. The Žagarė Activists arrested those supporters of the Soviets who remained behind. On the order of the Activists' headquarters, 8 of the arrested people, including the Jews Ayzenshtat and Lazerson, were shot. The Žagarė police chief, Samaitis, directed the Aktion.[2]

Persecution measures against the Jews started once the supporters of the Soviets had been dealt with. The LAF Headquarters imposed a "contribution" of 30,000 rubles on the local Jews.[3] On July 25, 1941, Silvestras Rakštys, the mayor of Žagarė, repeated proclamation No. 6 issued by the head of the Šiauliai district and issued an order prohibiting those Jews who had fled Žagarė from returning to their homes. After July 26, various other restrictions took effect.

All the Jews of Žagarė were ordered to move to a specifically designated neighborhood, or ghetto, at their own expense. This had to be accomplished between July 26 and August 2.[4] In late July, the Activists made a list of the Jews who remained and began to transfer them to the ghetto. The Jews who lived in nearby shtetls were also moved into the Žagarė ghetto. The area chosen for the ghetto adjoined the marketplace, and it included Daukanto, Vilniaus, Maluno, Pakalnio, and Gedimino Streets. Non-Jewish residents of these streets were moved to other neighborhoods. According to the Jewish survivor Yaakob Kagan, the ghetto straddled the Švėtė River, which ran through town.[5]

On August 22, the chief of the Šiauliai district, Jonas Noreika, informed the local authorities and mayors of the smaller towns in the district that, according to the order of the Šiauliai Gebietskommissar, all the district's Jews and half-Jews had to move to Žagarė by August 29.[6] Therefore, Jews began to be transferred from Šiauliai, Joniškis, Kuršenai, Žeimelis, and other localities. On August 25, the mayor of Žagarė informed the Šiauliai district chief that the ghetto occupied an area of 12,135 square meters (14,513 square yards) and had a population of 715 Jews.[7] By August 29, 949 Jews from other localities in the Šiauliai district had been moved to Žagarė.[8] On September 20, 2,402 Jews and 3,164 non-Jews resided in Žagarė. Lithuanian families were given 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of butter each week per person, while Jews received only 100 grams (3.5 ounces).[9] The ghetto of Žagarė was fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by local Activists and police. Jews were forced to perform various jobs, mainly cutting wood in the forests and chopping logs. Some Jews also collected furniture and household goods from Jewish homes for the Germans. It does not appear that the Žagarė ghetto had its own internal administration, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) or a Jewish Police, as existed in Lithuania's larger ghettos.[10] The ghetto was too short-lived for such institutions. Local rabbis exercised spiritual authority over the ghetto inmates. It is known that Yisrael Reif, the rabbi of Žagarė, was murdered with other Žagarė Jews on October 2, 1941.[11]

In late August 1941, the Žagarė Activists and policemen, headed by police chief Juozas Krutulis, arrested scores of Jewish men in the synagogue and shot them in the Jewish cemetery. Prior to their murder, the Jews were forced to remove their clothing, which the murderers stole. Then they were taken to the pits in groups of 4. The perpetrators, approximately 20 men, were paid 20 to 30 rubles each.[12] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the investigation of Nazi crimes exhumed the grave site in 1944 and discovered the corpses of 38 men.[13] The German commandant of Žagarė, Manteuffel, constantly urged local Activists and policemen to be more energetic in tracking down and eliminating Soviet officials, as well as Jews.[14]

In the last days of September 1941, several local Lithuanians were driven to the town park (formerly Naryshkin Park), where they dug an L-shaped ditch, 120 meters long, 2 to 3 meters wide, and 2 meters deep (394 by 6.6 to 9.8 by 6.6 feet). On the morning of October 2, the Jews from the Žagarė ghetto were ordered to gather in the market square. Commander Manteuffel addressed the crowd in German, assuring them that they would be transported to another location, where they would all be given work to do. The Jewish men, women, children, and elderly people were made to form separate lines. In response to the German's whistle, the Activists and policemen from Žagarė and other towns began to surround the square. Panic arose among the Jews. Some tried to escape. The guards responded by shooting at the groups of prisoners and beating them. Scores of dead and wounded people were left on the square. The survivors were forced to lie on the ground until several trucks arrived. The Jews were then transported to the Naryshkin Park.[15] Money, jewelry, and other valuables were seized from the Jews as they marched to the murder site. At the ditch, the Jews were made to remove everything except their underclothes before lying down in the pit to be shot. The murderers were men from Lieutenant R. Kolokša's Self-Defense unit, which had arrived from Šiauliai, and partisans (Activists) of the Linkuva squad. The Žagarė Activists guarded the ghetto territory and led the victims to their deaths. Several German SS men who had arrived from Šiauliai supervised the killings and also participated in them.

The Aktion continued until very late at night. On the following day, another group of Jews, who had been discovered and seized, were brought to the park and murdered in the same ditch. The report issued by Chief of the German Security Police and SD in Lithuania, SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, stated that on October 2, 1941, 2,236 Jews (633 men, 1,107 women, and 496 children) were killed in Žagarė.[16] During the

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panic that arose on the market square before the executions, 150 Jews were killed, and 7 partisans, who guarded them, were wounded. The ChGK, which examined the mass grave in 1944, found 2,402 corpses (530 men, 1,223 women, 625 children, and 24 infants).[17] The Žagarė ghetto was completely destroyed. The Germans took the Jewish valuables back to Šiauliai.[18]

The Žagarė ghetto existed for only two months, from August until October 2, 1941. Its inmates were Jews from Žagarė and from other shtetls in the Šiauliai region. For this reason, the number of victims imprisoned and murdered in Žagarė exceeded the Jewish population of the town at the time of the German invasion. In the annihilation of the Žagarė ghetto, an active role was played by Lithuanian police forces (Šiauliai Police Battalion 14, the Activists, and policemen from Žagarė, Linkuva, and Užventis).

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Žagarė during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 228–259, here pp. 254–258; and Rose Zwi, *Last Walk in Naryshkin Park* (North Melbourne, Victoria: Spinifex, 1997).

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Žagarė can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/220); LCVA; LYA (Case 45006/3; Case 6458/3; K 1-8-128; K 1-46-1135; K 1-46-1282); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-11.001M, reel 183); and YVA (e.g., O-33/284, Berta Taubman; O-33/1261, Yaakob Kagan; M-9/15[6]).

Arūnas Bubnys

NOTES

1. See YVA, O-33/1261 and M-9/15(6).
2. LYA, Penal Case No. 45006/3, pp. 49–53, interview of Kačkys, August 15, 1958. The first names of Ayzenshtat, Lazerson, and Samaitis are not given in the document.
3. Ibid., K 1-8-128, p. 269, interview of J. Janickis, September 13, 1944.
4. Order issued by the mayor of Žagarė, July 25, 1941, ibid., Penal Case No. 6458/3, p. 48.
5. An excerpt from the interview with A. Plekavičius, October 17, 1944, ibid., K-1-8-128, p. 272; Zwi, *Last Walk in Naryshkin Park*, p. 102, citing the testimony of Yaakob Kagan, YVA, O-33/1261.
6. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 226–227.
7. Žagarė mayor's telephone message to the Šiauliai District Chief, August 25, 1941, LYA, Penal Case No. 6458/3, p. 60.
8. Žagarė mayor's telephone message to the Šiauliai Region Chief, August 29, 1941, ibid., p. 62.
9. Žagarė mayor's official letter to the Žagarė dairy milk processing society, September 20, 1941, ibid., p. 70.
10. Zwi, *Last Walk in Naryshkin Park*, p. 103, citing the testimony of Yaakob Kagan, YVA, O-33/1261.
11. *Zagare, Lithuania: Crime and Punishment*, no. 6 (January 1999): 99.
12. Excerpt from interview with A. Plekavičius, October 15, 1944, LYA, K 1-8-128, pp. 278–279, 284.
13. ChGK report on Nazi Crimes in Žagarė, September 24, 1944, ibid., K 1-46-1135, p. 173.
14. Baranuskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 265.
15. Interview with J. Kukšas, November 11, 1946, LYA, Penal Case No. 6458/3, pp. 36–37; Soviet Lithuania's KGB memorandum on the mass murders in Žagarė and Radviliškis, April 3, 1973, K 1-46-1282, p. 2. There is a memorial to the Jewish victims located in Naryshkin Park. See also BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR Nr. 155, January 14, 1942.
16. "Gesamtaufstellung der im Bereich des Ek 3 bis zum 1. Dezember 1941 durchgeführten Exekutionen," December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 109–117 (copy available at USHMM, RG-11.001M, reel 183).
17. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, vol. 1 (1965), p. 135; conclusion of the Forensic Medical Committee of Experts, LYA, K 1-46-1282, p. 36.
18. Soviet Lithuania's KGB memorandum on the mass murders in Žagarė and Radviliškis, April 3, 1973, LYA, K 1-46-1282, pp. 3, 4.

ZAPYŠKIS

Pre-1940: Zapyškis (Yiddish: Sapizishok), village, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Zapyškis/Zapishkis, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Sapieschyschken, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Zapyškis, Kaunas rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Zapyškis is located 14 kilometers (9 miles) west of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 293 Jews living in the village, 50 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied Zapyškis on around June 24, 1941. Immediately afterwards, Lithuanian nationalists started to rob the Jews on a massive scale. A local administration and police force were established, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews had to wear the Star of David and were required to perform various kinds of forced labor.

On August 7, 1941, the Kaunas district governor issued an order calling for the resettlement of Jews into ghettos by August 15.[1] That same day, all the Jews of Zapyškis were evicted from their homes and moved into a ghetto. According to the research of Christoph Dieckmann, 38 Jews (consisting mainly of women) from the villages of Paežerėliai and Jankai were also concentrated in Zapyškis during August. In mid-August, Lithuanian policemen removed 40 young men from the ghetto and murdered them near the Jewish cemetery.

On September 4, 1941, the remnants of the Jewish community were taken to a site near the village of Dievogala, 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) southeast of Zapyškis, where they were all murdered and buried in a mass grave. According to the report of Karl Jäger, who was in charge of Einsatzkommando 3, 47 men, 118 women, and 13 children (178 people in total) were murdered there.[2]

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SOURCES Information about the ghetto in Zapyškis can be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 438–439; 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), p. 1489; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 290–291; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (e.g., R 683-2-2) and RGVA (500-1-25).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje* vol. 2, pp. 290–291.

2. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

ŽIEŽMARIAI

Pre-1939: Žiežmariai (Yiddish: Zhezmir), town, Trakai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Žiežmariai/Zhezhmariai, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schischmaren, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Žiežmariai, Kaišiadorys rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Žiežmariai is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) east-southeast of Kaunas. In 1937, there were 981 Jews in the town.

German armed forces occupied Žiežmariai on June 24, 1941. Immediately thereafter, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force. Teofilis Kelbauskas was appointed chief of police. These organs soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to wear the Star of David on their clothing, and they were forbidden to appear in public places, to buy food, or to associate in any way with non-Jewish Lithuanians. Individual Jews were arrested and shot, including three members of the Ilionsky family. Jewish homes were searched and valuables confiscated.[1]

In the second half of July 1941, the head of Kreis Traken, Petras Mačinskas, issued orders for Jews to be registered, for Jewish Councils to be established, and for the Jews of the Kreis to be isolated in ghettos. The aim was to prevent Jews from moving about freely from village to village. The local authorities were instructed to make suggestions for places where the Jews could be isolated.[2]

In response to these instructions, on August 5, 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was appointed, which was headed by Benjaminas Benesevičius. His deputy was Dovidas Stražas, and there were five other members. In early August 1941, some of the able-bodied Jewish men were sent to the labor camp in Pravieniškes to cut peat.[3]

Then on August 16, 1941, 193 Jewish men over the age of 14 and 89 Jewish women were arrested "for collaboration with the Soviet authorities and for communist activities." These people were sent to Kaišiadorys and later shot along with the local Jews there. The remaining Jewish women, children, and elderly people were resettled into a synagogue, which in effect became a ghetto for them. The ghetto existed for almost two weeks, during which the Jews received very little food and water.[4]

At the end of August 1941, the Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators liquidated the ghetto in Žiežmariai. The Lithuanian police rounded up and shot all the remaining Jews in the Strošiūnai Forest. In total, 784 persons were executed: 20 men, 567 women, and 197 children.[5] Among the victims were 706 Jews from Žiežmariai and 78 Jews from Rumšiškes.[6]

On September 1, 1941, the head of Kreis Traken reported to the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land that no Jews were living in Žiežmariai, as they had all been murdered.[7]

Several local inhabitants testified, more than 50 years later, regarding certain details of the murders. The women and children were forced to undress before being escorted out of town by armed Lithuanians. The pit had been prepared beforehand by local inhabitants. People in the town heard the shots in the distance. After the pit was filled in, the earth was observed to be moving. Jewish clothing was stored in the synagogue and sold to local people cheaply in the days after the massacre.[8]

In the summer of 1942, the Germans established a forced labor camp for Jews in Žiežmariai. Hundreds of Jews were transferred there from the smaller ghettos (including the ghettos of Holszany and Smorgonie) in Gebiet Wilna-Land, which had previously been part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[9]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Žiežmariai can be found in the following publications: "Ziezmariai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 286–288; Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2002), pp. 16–30; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-431); LCVA (R 1534-1-190; R 617-1-24; R 683-2-2); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-50.473*0105-0108); and VHF (e.g., # 28552 and 45832, regarding the labor camp).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 286–288.

2. LCVA, R 617-1-24, pp. 535–536, protocol of a meeting organized by Kreischef Traken, July 23, 1941, as cited by

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Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6; Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 100–101.

3. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, note that young women were sent to Pravieniškes at this time, while a group of young men were sent to another camp at Palemonos.

4. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 16–30.

5. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941. This source dates the shooting on August 29, 1941. According to Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, the few remaining men were shot on August 27 and the women and children on August 28, 1941.

6. LCVA, R 1534-1-190, p. 3, report of the head of Rumšiškės district to the head of Kaunas region, August 25, 1941.

7. Report of the head of Kreis Traken to Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, September 1, 1941, published in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, p. 109.

8. USHMM, RG-50.473*0105-0108. These witnesses, however, refer to the subsequent labor camp as the "ghetto."

9. VHF, # 28552, testimony of Selma Dunn; # 45832, testimony of Nechama Schneider.

ŻUPRANY

Pre-1939: Żuprany (Yiddish: Zupran), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zhuprany, Oshmiany raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zuprany, initially Rayon Aschmena, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then after April 1, 1942, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Zhuprany, Ashmiany raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Żuprany is located 11 kilometers (7 miles) east-northeast of Oszmiana. According to the 1897 census, there were 415 Jews living in Żuprany (50.3 percent of the total population). On the eve of World War II, there were about 30 Jewish families living in the village.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. At the time of their arrival, Jewish homes were looted by other local inhabitants. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Żuprany at first was part of Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. From April 1, 1942, to the end of the occupation (early July 1944), Żuprany was included in Gebiet Wilna-Land, within Generalkommissariat Litauen.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Żuprany, including the marking of Jews with the Star of David and Jewish homes with a *J*. Jews were required to perform forced labor. In the late summer or fall of 1941, the Jews of the village were moved into a ghetto. According to survivors, it consisted of about three to five houses that were fenced in on the side of the village around the synagogue. One recalls also that most of the adult Jewish men were shot in the woods around the time the ghetto was established.[1]

The remaining able-bodied Jews in the ghetto went out to work daily, providing services such as cooking for the Germans, repairing roads, and cutting wood. They were guarded by local policemen of Polish ethnicity. The ghetto was very overcrowded, with six to seven families sharing a single house; and some people lived in the synagogue, which prevented people from worshipping. Jews were able to barter personal possessions for food with the local population.[2]

At the end of May 1942, there were reportedly 128 Jews in the Żuprany ghetto.[3] The ghetto was liquidated in the fall of 1942 when all the Jews were resettled to the Oszmiana ghetto. Subsequently they shared the fate of the other Jews concentrated in that ghetto.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Żuprany can be found in the following publications: M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kahilat Oshmana* (Tel Aviv: Oshmaner Organization in Israel and Oshmaner Society in the USA, 1969); and "Zhuprany," in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 454.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Żuprany during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-12); LCVA; VHF (# 1921, 4085); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 1921, testimony of Sam Porec; # 4085, testimony of Larry Kushlin, who mentions the murder of the Jewish men.

2. Ibid., # 1921; # 4085.

3. Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), p. 635.

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WEISSRUTHENIEN REGION

Jewish workers make or touch up German and Belorussian business and road signs in the Głębokie ghetto, 1941–1942. In the back, on the right, one worker paints the portrait of a Wehrmacht officer. In German and Belorussian, the markers in front read, "Shunevichy," a nearby village.
USHMM WS #08076, COURTESY OF KARL KATZ

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WEISSRUTHENIEN REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT WEISSRUTHENIEN)

Pre-1941: parts of Baranovichi, Belostok, Minsk, and Vileika oblasts, Belorussian SSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1944: (from August 31, 1941), Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, Reichskommissariat Ostland; post-1991: parts of Beras'tse, Homel', Hrodna, Minsk, and Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien (GkWR) was composed of western Belorussia, most of which was Polish territory in August 1939, apart from the eastern fringe that was in the pre-1939 Belorussian SSR. The German authorities established more than 90 ghettos in GkWR, generally concentrating the Jews into the Rayon centers, although some Rayons contained 2 or more ghettos, including a few in small towns and villages. The period of ghettoization extended from July 1941 until the summer of 1942. It was accompanied by the mass murder of the Jewish population by units of the Security Police (Einsatzgruppen and KdS), Wehrmacht, Order Police, SS, and various non-German auxiliaries. Skilled workers were often selected out and sent to forced labor camps or retained in remnant ghettos, serving a variety of workshops and labor needs.

Precise demographic data on the Jewish population of GkWR in August 1941 is not available, but it is likely there were over 300,000 Jews. Tens of thousands of Jewish refugees had arrived from central and western Poland in the fall of 1939, but many of them were deported to the Soviet interior before June 1941. A further unknown figure is the number of Jews who were evacuated or fled in time or were recruited into the Red Army. As an example, of the 70,998 Jews registered in Minsk in 1939, it is estimated that about 55,000 remained when the Germans arrived on June 28, 1941. Due to the rapid occupation of western Belorussia, a systematic evacuation of personnel, other than key Communist Party and State officials, was not possible.

Jews in western Belorussia were subjected to a wave of looting and sporadic killings during the first weeks of occupation. In the first two months, the rapidly moving Einsatzgruppen, supported by SS, Order Police, and Wehrmacht units, conducted a number of killing Aktions directed against suspected Communists and the Jewish leadership or "intellectuals." In larger towns, for example, Słonim or Minsk, the number of Jews murdered at this time exceeded 1,000. In August 1941, the first large-scale killings of Jewish women and children took place, notably in Hancewicze.

The military administration (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte) prepared the first orders for ghettoization in July and August 1941, but only where this was necessary to prevent Jews from leaving town illegally. In Gebiet Minsk-Land, the military administration charged local authorities with the establishment of ghettos in August 1941, although actual implementation took several more weeks.[1]

The German Field Commandant ordered the creation of the Minsk ghetto on July 19, 1941, initially giving Jews only five days to relocate. They could take with them only what they could carry. The actual transfer took longer to be completed, but soon German guards and local police had instructions to shoot on sight Jews caught outside the ghetto.[2]

On August 31, 1941, the German military administration was officially replaced by the civil administration with the creation of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, as part of Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO). Generalkommissar Kube in Minsk supervised 11 Gebietskommissare for the Gebiete of Baranowitsche, Glebokie, Hansewitschi, Lida, Nowogrodek, Minsk-Land, Minsk-Stadt, Slonim, Slutsk, Wilejka, and Borissow (the latter comprised in the fall of 1941 only the Rayons of Begoml and Pleshchenitsy). In practice, it took several months for the civil administration to become properly established. For example, some Gendarmerie detachments only arrived in November. In the meantime, the military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) of the 707th Infantry Division, based in most towns, retained considerable influence into early 1942. Low-level posts in the local administration were filled by Poles and Belorussians, including the local police (Schutzmannschaft), subordinated to the Order Police.

The impact of the civil administration can be seen from an order issued by the newly appointed Gebietskommissar in Nowogródek on September 26, 1941. This codified restrictions introduced previously by the military and added some new ones. Every Jew had to carry an identity card and wear a yellow star on his or her clothing. Jews were strictly forbidden to leave the town without an official permit, to engage in any form of trade, to attend the market, or to use the sidewalk.[3] Other regulations soon followed for the confiscation of Jewish property.

By October 1941, part of Einsatzkommando 1b had taken over Security Police duties in Minsk from Einsatzkommando 8. German Reserve Police Battalion 11 and a Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion were also dispatched to Minsk from Kaunas. Subordinated to Military Commandant for Weissruthenien Gustav von Bechtolsheim, commander of the 707th Infantry Division, these units conducted a deadly wave of killings south of Minsk in October. It resulted in the destruction of several ghettos established shortly before, including those in Smilovichi, Rudensk, and Uzliany.[4] The same units also descended on the recently established ghetto of Slutsk on October 27, 1941. Since this Aktion had not been coordinated with the Gebietskommissar in Slutsk, it resulted in the murder of needed skilled workers and widespread looting.[5]

On October 30, there were further massacres of Jews in Nieśwież and Kleck. Around 5,900 Jews were reportedly shot

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Jewish men and women wear circular badges in Minsk, ca. 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #07554 AND WS #06316, COURTESY OF YVA

dead in the Slutsk-Kleck area at this time.[6] In Nieśwież, after the Aktion the skilled workers and their families, about 500 people, were given only a short time to move into a remnant ghetto.

Large-scale killing Aktions in some towns, notably in Słonim in November 1941, and in Nowogródek in December, were also accompanied by the ghettoization of those selected for labor. Gebietskommissar Erren in Słonim boasted of having rid his Gebiet of 8,000 unnecessary mouths.[7] Wehrmacht forces from Stołpce, assisted by local policemen, conducted Aktions in early November 1941 in Jeremicze, Turzec, and Mir. Whereas almost the entire population of the small fenced ghetto in Jeremicze was wiped out, in Turzec 100 Jewish men were selected for forced labor at the Nowy Świerzeń sawmill. In Mir, however, a few days later, almost half of the Jewish population managed to hide or escape, as the Jews were forewarned by fugitives from Turzec.

In some small settlements, for example, in Gebiet Slonim, the Wehrmacht initially conducted killing Aktions to clear the countryside (*das flache Land*) of Jews. At the end of 1941, the civil administration began to concentrate Jews from smaller communities (less than 1,000 people) in the main ghettos.

In Gebiet Glebokie, several ghettos were established in the late summer and fall of 1941, including those in Dzisna, Głębokie, and Dokszyce. The small ghetto established in Hermanowicze in August 1941 was dissolved, and its 270 inhabitants were sent to the ghetto in Szarkowszczyzna in November 1941. Some small Jewish communities, such as Jody, were simply wiped out by the local police, while the concentration of Jews from smaller villages into ghettos was only completed later, after the last ghettos were set up in Druja and Brasław in April 1942. This concentration was soon followed by a wave of ghetto liquidations, which left only a few in places such as Postawy, Duniłowicze, and Głębokie by August 1942. During the ghetto liquidations, some specialist workers were transferred to Głębokie to increase production in the workshops based there. Many Jews who went into hiding or fled to the forests to evade the Aktions, however, soon accepted an amnesty announced by the Gebietskommissar and entered the Głębokie ghetto by the fall of 1942. This reflected the difficulties Jews faced in surviving outside the ghettos, rather than any trust in the Gebietskommissar's word.

From December 1941, the German authorities had already begun selecting able-bodied Jews from a number of ghettos

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for work, sending them to various forced labor camps. The recently formed ghettos in Dworzec (Gebiet Nowogrodek) and Krasne (Gebiet Wilejka) took in many of these forced laborers for specific work projects in those towns. These sites have been classified here, nonetheless, as ghettos, as families of local Jews continued to live there alongside the laborers.[8]

In Gebiet Nowogrodek ghettoization came in two or three main phases. In late 1941, ghettos were established first in towns such as Lubcz, Iwieniec, Rubieżewicze, and Nowogródek, which also soon received Jews from neighboring villages. Then in February and March 1942, additional ghettos were established in Korelicze and Dworzec, accompanied by the clearing of Jews from remaining villages by resettlement into nearby ghettos. On March 6, 1942, Gebietskommissar Traub ordered that every Jew found in a village or hamlet in his Gebiet should be arrested by the local police and brought to Nowogródek.[9] In May 1942, the bulk of the Jews of the Gebiet were then concentrated either in Nowogródek or in the Dworzec labor ghetto, with another labor camp set up in Worobjewicze. Those unable to travel, including young children, were shot close to their homes, and many of the remaining Jews of the Gebiet, about 5,500 people, were murdered on August 7, near Nowogródek. After this date the ghetto in Nowogródek, like that in Dworzec, resembled a labor camp more than a ghetto.

In Gebiet Lida, coordinated Aktions were conducted in May 1942 in all of the ghettos in which members of the civil administration selected Jews capable of work and condemned the remainder to their deaths. Only three ghettos for the selected workers were retained, in Lida, Iwje, and Szczuczyn, although some Jews from Gebiet Lida were transferred to other labor ghettos in Weissruthenien.

At least 12 unfenced ghettos or open ghettos have been identified in Weissruthenien, and some ghettos, such as Dereczyn, were only fenced in later, shortly before the liquidation. Some ghettos, such as that in Krzywicze, were only remnant ghettos for selected craftsmen, preserved for a short period after the main Aktion.

Most of the ghettos in Weissruthenien were established in the poorer parts of town, where at least some Jews had lived before, usually in the small wooden houses typical of the region. For example, in Dereczyn, 2,880 Jews were crammed into only 34 small cottages around the synagogue.[10] Notable exceptions included the second ghetto in Mir, in an old rundown castle; the transfer of Grozovo's Jews to a military barracks in Koniukhi; and the ghetto in Wilejka, located in an army barracks. The Dzisna ghetto was not fenced in, but it was isolated by two rivers, with access via a bridge guarded by a German sentry.

Leon Berk, a doctor, has described the overcrowded conditions that developed in the Baranowicze ghetto:

> We were given space to live in a small house that already contained three other families. There were 27 of us all told. There was one kitchen, one bathroom, and nine of us slept in each of the other small rooms in three-tiered bunks. . . . Food was scarce, cooking utensils were at a premium, and competition for use of the stove and the bathroom was inevitable. Every day there were tears and screams. The struggle to keep a family fed and clothes clean and free of lice was a battle they had no hope of winning.[11]

During the course of 1942, units of the Security Police based in Minsk, Baranowicze, Lepel', Wilejka, and other locations organized the liquidation of most ghettos in Weissruthenien. Large-scale killing Aktions were conducted in Minsk and Baranowicze in early March 1942, focused on those incapable of work. Two or more ghettos, separating Jews by their ability to work or type of work, were established in several places, including Dereczyn, Słonim, Głębokie, and Wilejka, usually to facilitate the killing by separating out those unfit for work in advance. In Gebiet Wilejka, the Security Police developed their own methodology of killing, which generally involved herding Jews into a large building such as a barn, shooting the victims inside, and then burning the building to destroy the evidence. This methodology was used, for example, in Dołhinów and Krzywicze in March and April 1942. Following a massive wave of killings in almost all the Gebiete of Weissruthenien between mid-May and the end of July 1942, the Generalkommissar reported that in the last 10 weeks 55,000 Jews had been liquidated. Only in the Gebiete of Baranowitsche and Hansewitschi were such large Aktions still to be conducted, especially in Baranowicze, where about 10,000 Jews remained.[12]

Many of the Jews deported from Central Europe to the Minsk ghetto were murdered in late July 1942, when they were deemed unfit for work, and the occupants of some deportation trains were murdered on arrival, with the assistance of Latvian auxiliaries. Gas vans were also used in some killing Aktions in and around Minsk.

The attitudes of the local population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. Many survivors and eyewitnesses stress the active role of the local police, which generally guarded the ghettos, beat Jews performing forced labor, and robbed Jews repeatedly. In particular, the hunt for Jews in hiding or those who had escaped into the forests was conducted largely by the local police. Only very occasionally did policemen warn ghetto inmates of impending Aktions or assist Jews during roundups.

The establishment of the ghettos offered another opportunity for neighbors to plunder Jewish property. Some Belorussians and Poles bartered food for Jewish valuables and clothing, or took property into safekeeping. Local policemen moved into empty Jewish houses after the Aktions, and Jewish clothing was sold to local inhabitants. The acquisition of Jewish property served as an important motive for local collaboration in anti-Jewish measures.

From the end of 1941, an increasing number of Jews escaped from the ghettos to the growing Soviet partisan movement. Many Soviet units only accepted Jews who arrived with weapons, and some Jews were rebuffed or even murdered. Neverthe-

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less, the escape of up to 20,000 Jews, from the ghettos to the partisans, forced the Germans to accelerate their ghetto liquidations and increase security, converting remnant ghettos into closely guarded labor camps. On September 8, 1942, Generalkommissar Kube instructed the Gebietskommissare that the strong presence of Jews with the partisans could only be countered by the accelerated cleansing of the countryside and by confining needed Jewish workers under close guard.[13]

According to Shalom Cholawsky, in some ghettos in GkWR the Judenrat opposed underground activities as too dangerous for the community, as they invited German reprisals. In others, relations between the Judenrat and the resistance were more amenable, such as in Baranowicze, where the date set for an uprising was postponed by agreement, and the underground agreed to hide its weapons. Only rarely did Jewish Councils actively organize resistance, usually once there was no choice, such as in Nieśwież, where a call to arms was issued just before the liquidation. Setting the ghetto on fire or resisting with primitive weapons aimed mainly at enabling a few Jews to flee. This was the case in Szarkowszczyzna, Zdzięcioł, and other ghettos. The most common response, however, was to prepare hiding places, behind false walls or in cellars and bunkers, with the aim of sneaking out once the Aktion was completed. Sometimes, such as in Slutsk and Słonim, the Germans set the ghetto on fire, to smoke out Jews who had gone into hiding.

Further ghetto liquidations were conducted in the fall of 1942, some as part of larger antipartisan sweeps. Only in a few cases, such as in Stołpce, in September and October 1942, was much attention paid to retaining Jewish laborers, now confined behind a high wooden fence. By the spring of 1943, ghettos remained only in a few locations, including Minsk, Lida, Nowogródek, and Głębokie. Only a few thousand Jews from Lida and Minsk were transferred west into the concentration camp system in the fall of 1943, and very few of them survived. In October 1943, the Minsk ghetto was the last in the region to be liquidated.

The history of the ghettos in the GkWR illustrates the flexible and partially decentralized nature of Nazi ghettoization policies. Examples of almost all ghetto types (destruction, open, enclosed, labor, and remnant) can be found in the region, and patterns of ghettoization varied widely among the respective Gebiete. Whereas in Gebiet Minsk-Land, ghettoization was implemented very early by the Wehrmacht, to be followed by rapid destruction, in other Gebiete, such as Nowogrodek, Slonim, and Glebokie, ghettoization was applied piecemeal and only completed in the spring or summer of 1942. This then coincided with the main wave of ghetto liquidations, which proceeded from around April through to the winter of 1942–1943. Due to the large Jewish population in this region, and the important role played by Jews as craftsmen, economic interests led to the temporary exploitation of Jewish labor alongside the destruction process. Nevertheless, security was also a major issue, and the large-scale escape of Jews to join the partisans prompted the Germans to liquidate all remaining ghettos by the fall of 1943.

Postwar portrait of Fira Kaplan, a survivor of the Minsk ghetto, 1947.
USHMM WS #49757, COURTESY OF ESFIR LUPYAN

SOURCES Among the secondary works dealing with the fate of the Jews in the ghettos of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, the following are recommended: Bernhard Chiari, *Alltag hinter der Front. Besatzung, Kollaboration und Widerstand in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998); Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–44* (London: Macmillan in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1999); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999); and Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982).

Of use in helping to identify smaller ghettos were the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 4–6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000–2007); Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot.*

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Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005); and 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).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat'ko, and Natalia Redkozubova, eds., *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, 1998); Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998); R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izdatel' E.S. Gal'perin, 1997); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; AUKGBRBBO; AUKGBRBGrO; AUKGBRBMO; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; CDJC; GABO; GAGO; GAMINO; GARF; GAVO; IfZ; IPN; MA; NA; NARA; NARB; OSI; RGASPI; RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; YIVO; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 524–525, and 530. See also, e.g., USHMM, RG-18.002M, reel 5, R70-5-47, p. 21.
2. See NARB, 4683-3-397, pp. 6–7, and 359-1-8, pp. 1–2.
3. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 24, 7021-81-112.
4. NARB, 378-1-698, p. 4; and 651-1-1, pp. 3–7.
5. N-Doc. 1104-PS; see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 546, pp. 800–810.
6. BA-MA, RH 26-707/2, Report, November 10, 1941.
7. CDJC, CXLVa-8, Report of Gerhard Erren, January 25, 1942.
8. AŻIH, 301/2907; and BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 73/67, Shmuel Gurion, July 26, 1968; and BA-L, B 162/1472, pp. 8649–8671.
9. Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 156–158.
10. AŻIH, 301/2140 and 4695.
11. Leon Berk, *Destined to Live: Memoirs of a Doctor with the Russian Partisans* (Melbourne: Paragon Press, 1992), p. 70.
12. N-Doc. 3427-PS. See also NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15; and *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 247–249.
13. USHMM, Acc. 1996.A.0169, file 15, fr. 1217–1246.

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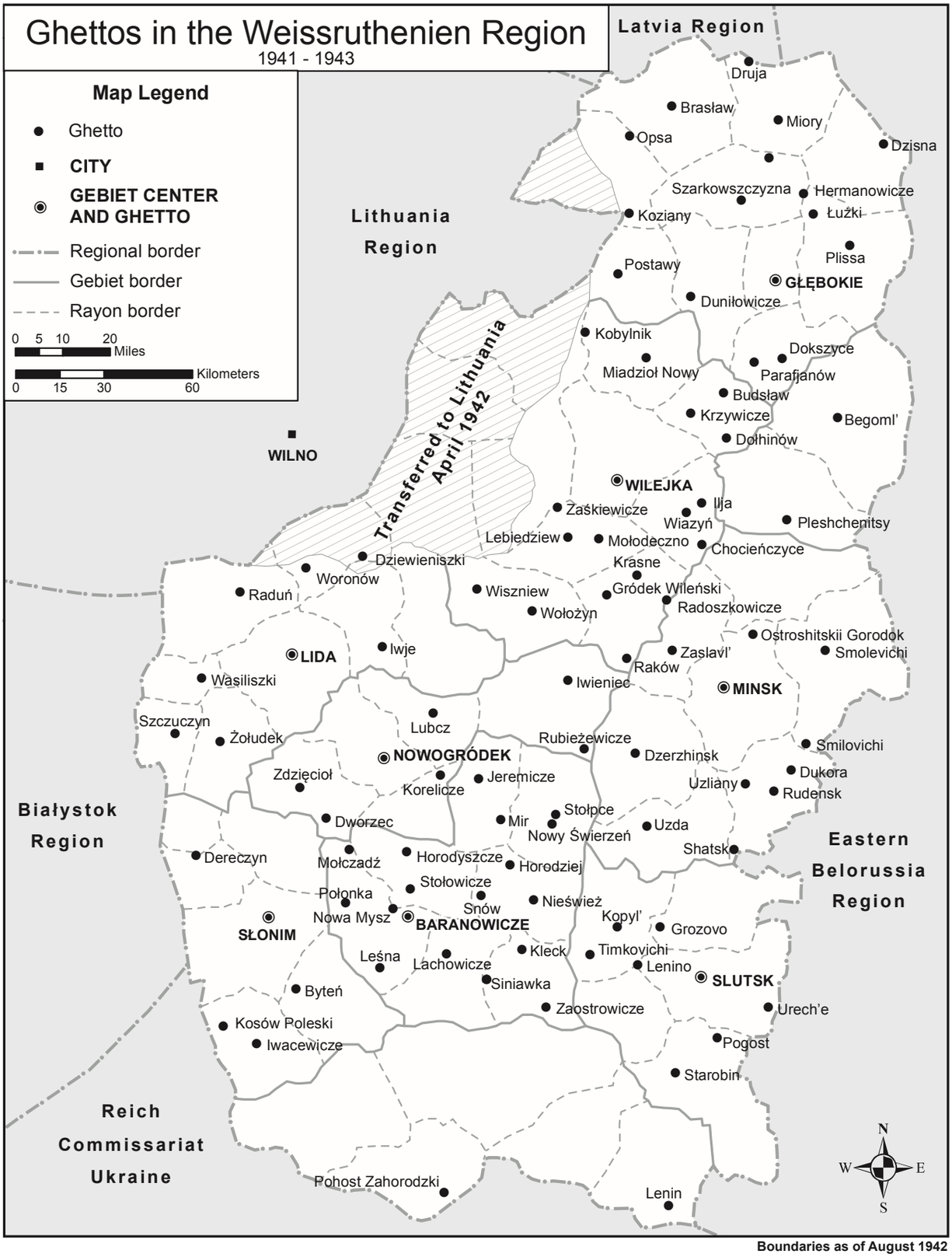

Boundaries as of August 1942

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BARANOWICZE

Pre-1939: Baranowicze (Yiddish: Baranovits), city and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Baranovichi, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Baranowitsche, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Baranavichi, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Baranowicze is located about 150 kilometers (93 miles) southwest of Minsk. According to the 1931 census, Baranowicze had 22,181 residents, including 9,423 Jews. By the time of the German invasion in June 1941, the Jewish community stood at about 12,000 (out of a total population of some 25,000).

Baranowicze was initially administered by a series of military command posts—first Feldkommandantur (FK) 815, then, by August 1941, Ortskommandantur (OK) 826—which sometimes issued contradictory instructions.

Baranowicze student Leon Tec in the mid-1930s. Tec attended medical school in Wilno before immigrating to Palestine in 1940.
USHMM WS #43992, COURTESY OF NECHAMA BAWNIK TEC

By September 1941, a civil administration had established itself in the city and gradually assumed authority from the military, which was composed of elements of the 707th Infantry Division. The Gebietskommissar in Baranowicze was Rudolf Werner. There was also a Hauptkommissar in Baranowicze, Friedrich Fenz, who was superior to Werner and responsible for several of the surrounding Gebiete, but Werner was the more visible official for Baranowicze's Jews. Initially, the local mayor was a man named Sobolewski, but a local Belorussian named Voytenko soon replaced him. A detachment of German Schutzpolizei, commanded by Hauptmann Kurt Mischlewitz, was responsible for keeping order. The detachment was assisted by a local police force under the leadership of the Belorussian Bachar.[1]

By early 1942, a permanent outpost of the Security Police and SD (KdS-Aussenstelle) had been established in Baranowicze. Its commander from April 1942, SS-Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder, was killed by Soviet partisans on June 9, 1942. He was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer Woldemar Amelung. A squad of auxiliaries, including Lithuanians and Latvians, as well as Belorussians, commanded by Lithuanian Józef Gurniewicz ("Litwin"), operated under the command of the Security Police. It played an active role in the shooting of Jews and Communists in Gebiet Baranowitsche, as well as providing guards for the nearby Kołdyczewo concentration camp.

The ghetto was established by the civil administration in mid-December 1941. The ghetto area was located within the confines of Cerkiewna, Wilno, Poniatowski, and Parkowa Streets, about 150 meters (492 feet) from the office of the Gebietskommissar. The area contained only about 60 buildings to house more than 10,000 people, which resulted in terrible overcrowding. Within a few months, control over the ghetto was transferred to SS-Obersturmführer Schlegel, head of the SD at the Baranowicze Security Police post.

The Judenrat was instructed to erect a barbed-wire fence 2.5 meters (about 8 feet) high around the ghetto. It also posted the names of Jews with their new addresses inside the ghetto. From the end of December, the ghetto was guarded by local policemen armed with rifles and dressed in black uniforms with gray cuffs.

Only a few German officials and SD men were permitted to enter the ghetto. Jews could only leave under guard and with the permission of the SD. The Labor Exchange within the civil administration assigned Jews to specific work tasks. However, the SD also supervised the labor assignments, as it was the main point of contact for the Judenrat.

Ghetto inmates worked at a large number of military bases, construction sites, factories, workshops, public utilities, and offices. Among the offices employing significant numbers of Jews were the military base (Heereskraftpark) (610 people); the Luftwaffe base (120); Organisation Todt (OT) (100); the railway (160); the airport (300); the carpentry factory (55); the rope-making factory (40); the construction site for the Kołdyczewo concentration camp (30); and the Gebietskommissariat

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(25). In addition, from 40 to 260 people worked for the Security Police and SD, mostly in various workshops for tailors, carpenters, shoemakers and glove-makers, and watch repairers. Smaller groups of Jews also worked in the bakery, the sewage department, the military garage, and the medical warehouse. Working hours were strictly enforced. The tailor Moisei Kaplan was shot for being just five minutes late for work.

There was a hospital in the ghetto supervised by Dr. A. Abramovski. With the Judenrat and Jewish police, he arranged for the inspection of houses to check on sanitary conditions and prevent epidemics.[2] They ordered people to wash in the Jewish bathhouse and disinfect their clothes. The daily ration was only about 100 to 200 grams (3.5 to 7 ounces) of bread per day for a working person and 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of grain per month, with an occasional potato.

Several accounts mention that the Germans demanded Jewish girls be supplied for a local brothel. According to Shmuel Jankielewicz, the Judenrat averted the implementation of this order with bribes.[3]

In January, there were rumors about a forthcoming Aktion. At night, people started to build hiding places in the ghetto. On the morning of March 3, 1942, just before the Purim holiday, nobody was allowed to leave the ghetto. That night the ghetto was divided into eastern and western parts, the inhabitants split between them: workers in the east, nonworkers in the west. On March 4, at 8:00 A.M., trucks arrived at the ghetto gate. Policemen and Lithuanians in groups of three cleared the Jews from the western half, took them by truck to a nearby crossroads, and shot them.

On March 5, at 9:00 A.M., police and Lithuanians entered the ghetto. At 9:45 A.M., the senior German officials from the civil administration and police, including Giesecke, deputy Gebietskommissar Max Kranke, and commandant of the ghetto Schlegel conducted a selection. At 1:00 P.M., Józef Gurniewicz, the commander of the Lithuanians, took the chairman of the Judenrat, Izykson, and his widely respected secretary, Genia Mann, to the mass grave, ordered them to dance, and then shot them. At 2:00 P.M., the Aktion was over. The ghetto commandant, Schlegel, ordered the Jewish police to cover the graves where more than 2,000 people lay dead. Most of the Jewish police force was then murdered.[4]

After the Aktion, some 8,000 Jews remained. Schlegel ordered the deputy chairman of the Judenrat, Józef Leitman, to resume work as usual. The new chairman of the Judenrat, Shmuel Jankielewicz, fulfilled all the orders of the German administration, including some private demands. A new Jewish police force was formed, headed by Józef Rotkiewicz, but his deputy A. Warszawski, who was also in the underground, had more authority. Despite the severe losses, Jewish children still received improvised instruction, and Jews continued to pray, for example, in the house of Reb Mendel Goldberg.[5]

Some houses in the cleared part of the ghetto were used as workshops, but the ghetto remained split into two parts (productive and nonproductive), linked by a narrow passageway. Jews working outside the ghetto were escorted to work by German soldiers or company representatives.

In the fall of 1941, some Jews had fled to Baranowicze after massacres in the surrounding towns. After March 1942, more Jews arrived from places like Stołpce, mainly as skilled workers.[6] There were also Jews from Horodyszcze, Nowa Mysz, Stołowicze, Nowojelnia, Mołczadź, Kleck, and other places in the ghetto. At the end of August 1942, 654 ghetto inmates were sent to Mołodeczno to work on the railway line to Wilejka.[7]

After the March Aktion, groups of Jews began to organize resistance in the ghetto. The first meeting was in the office of the Jewish police on March 17–18; a number of policemen, including the chief, Warszawski, were members of the underground. Jewish youths smuggled weapons into the ghetto with the help of young girls working outside during the day. At the same time, the underground also tried to establish contact with partisans operating in the surrounding countryside.

Soon more than 200 Jews were in the underground, and despite some rivalry, they agreed to work together. Initial plans for an uprising in July were abandoned. The leaders decided to wait for the next large Aktion, to avoid endangering the rest of the ghetto. Meanwhile, the ghetto fence was reinforced with an additional row of barbed wire.

On September 22, 1942, the day after Yom Kippur, the German police initiated another Aktion without warning, spoiling the underground's plans for an uprising. Only small groups managed to frustrate the Germans by hiding and escaping. The Germans and local auxiliaries escorted the Jews from the ghetto to the square in front of the Gebietskommissariat, then took them by truck to gravesites near the villages of Grabowiec and Gliniszcze. Belorussian and Lithuanian policemen participated in the Aktion. Many Jews hid in bunkers, and the ghetto was sealed off for more than a week.[8]

According to the available sources, some 6,000 people were murdered, either by shooting at the pits or by suffocation in the gas vans between September 22 and October 2. The use of gas vans is confirmed by Maita Shamshonowicz, who was assigned to clean out the vans afterwards. Probably some 200 Jews managed to flee to the forests during the Aktion.[9]

After the Aktion, Reb Mendel Goldberg was appointed head of the Judenrat, and Dr. Józef Lubraniecki commanded the ghetto police. The remaining Jews had no illusions about their probable fate. On December 12, 1942, a Jew named Judel Ostrowski killed a German and himself using a hand grenade. Five days later, as columns of Jewish workers left for their workplaces, the Germans started the final Aktion in the ghetto. The group that worked for the civil administration was loaded onto a truck, taken to the Jewish cemetery, and shot. On the third day, there were still shootings inside the ghetto. Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Latvian police searched the ghetto thoroughly for those in hiding.[10] The clearing of the ghetto continued for several weeks, as many Jews were still hiding in the ghetto. It is probable that about 3,000 people were murdered in the liquidation Aktion.[11] Some groups that worked for various German organizations were kept alive longer, as late as the autumn of 1943, before also being shot.

It is estimated that of the more than 12,000 Jews who passed through the Baranowicze ghetto, about 750 probably

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Group portrait of Jewish survivors from Baranowicze, 1944, commemorating the 3,000 Jews murdered in Baranowicze on Purim, March 4, 1942.
USHMM WS #12422, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

escaped, but only some 250 survived to the end of the war. A number of Belorussians, Poles, and even German soldiers are mentioned as helping Jews on various occasions. Worthy of particular mention is the Pole Eduard Chacja, who worked in the Catholic cemetery. He helped scores of Jews, giving them food and shelter before assisting them to reach the forests.[12]

SOURCES Firsthand accounts of the Baranowicze ghetto can be found in the following publications: Avraham Shemu'el Shtain, ed., *Baranovits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Baranovits be-Yi'sra'el, 1953); B.P. Sherman, *Baranovichskoe getto: Koldychevskii lager' smerti: Spravka-kharakteristika krupnykh prestuplenii fashistov v gor. Baranovichi i raione v 1941–1944 gg.* (Baranovichi: B. Sherman, 1997); Nehama Zukerman, ed., *Ha-Ma'avak le'Chayim shel Yehudei Baranowicze: Kovets Zichronot al ha'Sho'ah shel Nitzolei Ghetto Baranowicze ve Lokhamav* (Tel Aviv: Arieli Press, 1992); and Yoysef Fuksman, ed., *Baranovitsh in umkum un vidershtand: Materyaln un dokumentn, zikhroynes un gvieseydesn . . . fun hurbn* (New York: Baranovitsher Farband of America, 1964).

The following survivor memoirs are also relevant: David Mishenka (Kolpynicki), "Nikto ne khotel umirat" (unpub. MSS); Leon Berk, *Destined to Live: Memoirs of a Doctor with the Russian Partisans* (Melbourne: Paragon Press, 1992); Avraham Lidowski, *Ba-Ye'arot: Reshimot shel Partisan Yehudi* (Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz Hameuchad, 1946); and Samuel Lato, *From Ghetto to Guerrilla: Memoir of a Jewish Resistance Fighter* (Palm Beach Gardens: Preeminent, 2006).

Since Yehuda Bauer's excellent essay "Jewish Baranowicze in the Holocaust," in *Yad Vashem Studies* 31 (2003): 95–152, includes a detailed analysis of the underground, and Shlomo Kless's "The Judenrat of the Baranovichi Ghetto, 1942–43" (available online at www.jewishgen.org) describes the functions and history of the Judenrat, these aspects are sketched only briefly here. Other secondary works published (in Russian) in Belarus include: B.P. Sherman, *And the Land Was Terrified* (Baranovichi, 1990); *Pamiats': Baranovichi and Baranovichi District* (Minsk, 2000); and Hartmut Russ, "The SD in Baranovichi (1941–1943) in the Context of the Local Occupational Period," *Belarussian Historical Review* (Minsk) (June 1998). Of interest also is Alexander Tatarenko, *Madness* (Belarus, 2004).

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports for Baranowicze and some German documentation can be found in NARB (e.g., 845-1-6 and 861-1-1). Additional captured German documentation can be found in BA-BL; GABO; and NARA. A number of German, Polish, and Belorussian criminal investigations have information on the events in Baranowicze, especially the Eibner investigation (Sta. Oldenburg 2 Js 138/68) and the Renndorfer case (Sta. Mü I 113 Ks 1/65a-b). There are also many relevant testimonies in AŻIH; FVA (# 927); VHF, and YVA (e.g., O-33/35, 2681, and 11523).

Tamara Vershitskaya and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. See GABO, 995-1-5, pp. 21–22, for a list of local policemen in Baranowicze in early 1942.

2. Dr. Shabtai Shternfeld, "The Health Service in the Ghetto," in Shtain, *Baranovits: sefer zikaron*, p. 506; Bauer, "Jewish Baranowicze," pp. 13–14.

3. Shmuel Jankielewicz, "At the Ruins," in Shtain, *Baranovit: Safer zikaron*, p. 500.

4. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 11, 1.3.-31.3.1942, published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 308, gives the figure of 2,007 Jews shot in Baranowicze in early March 1942. E. Lidovsky, in Ohtain, *Baranovits: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 467–469, dates the Aktion on March 3, 1942, and states that the Germans intended to shoot 3,000 Jews but did not find sufficient people among those selected as unfit, so they also took some of those who had received work permits.

5. Dr. Lewinbuk in Shtain, *Baranovits: Sefer zikaron*, p. 561; YVA, O-33/11523, testimony of Rachel Litwak.

6. Josef Reich, *Vald un Flamen* (Buenos Aires, 1954), p. 71, notes that some 400 Jews were sent to Baranowicze from Stołpce in early August 1942.

7. Jankielewicz, "At the Ruins," p. 503.

8. NARA, T-77, reel 1159, p. 141, Lagebericht der Aussenstelle Baranowitschi des Rüstungskommandos Minsk, Ende 1942.

9. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 703; the date of the Aktion is confirmed in Jankielewicz, "At the Ruins," p. 502; YVA, O-33/35, testimony of Maita Shamshonowicz, March 1957.

10. Jankielewicz, "At the Ruins," p. 505; NARA, T-77, reel 1159, p. 141.

11. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 705.

12. Chacja was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations, but unfortunately his file (YVA, M.31/13) from 1962 does not contain much detailed information. See also YVA, M.31/3254.

BEGOML'

Pre-1941: Begoml', *town*, *Dokshitsy raion*, *Minsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Begoml*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Borissow*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Biagoml'*, *Dokshytsy raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

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Begoml' is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 206 Jews living in Begoml' (10.1 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town at the start of July 1941, approximately 10 days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into or voluntarily enlisted in the Red Army. Over two thirds of the Jewish population remained in Begoml' at the start of the occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military command post (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. In the fall of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Begoml' was officially incorporated into Gebiet Borissow, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. However, the civil administration took several months to become established, and the military authorities still played an important role until the end of 1941.[2]

Shortly after the occupation began, the Ortskommandantur introduced regulations calling for the registration of all Jews; in addition, all Jews were required to wear an armband or a large yellow Star of David. The Jews were also compelled to perform various kinds of forced labor. In September 1941, all the Jews of the town were resettled into a ghetto. The Germans liquidated the ghetto on October 2, 1941.[3] According to one source, a total of 148 Jews were shot in the cemetery.[4] The mass shooting was probably carried out by a detachment of the SD based in Borisov, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 8, assisted by the local Belorussian police.[5]

On October 16, 1941, another 23 Jews from nearby villages were shot in Begoml'. On October 21, 4 Jews who had been in hiding were killed.[6] Another 34 Jews were killed in the village of Otrubok,[7] and 5 more in the village of Kraitsy.[8]

At the end of December 1941, the Gendarmerie outpost in Begoml' sent to Borisov 13 Jews who had been brought to Begoml' on December 27, 1941, from the village of Domzheritsy. These Jews had found refuge in Domzheritsy with other Jews still living there after fleeing from Mstizh, when the Jews of that village had been shot in August. The group consisted of 5 women and 7 children from Mstizh, as well as Leja Gurevich, a Jewish woman originally from Begoml'.[9]

The Gebietskommissar in Borisov reported in August 1942 that the Jewish Aktion in Begoml' had taken place before the civil administration had been established, and most of the property was probably taken by the SD or the Wehrmacht. The remainder was collected by the mayor and paid into the budget for the local Rayon administration.[10]

Soviet civilians watch as German troops burn their homes in Begoml', n.d.
USHMM WS #81336, BELORUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE OF DOCUMENTARY FILM AND PHOTOGRAPHY

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Jews in Begoml' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-1); NARB (370-1-486); USHMM (Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 14); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. The city of Borisov remained under military administration until 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-87-1, p. 11 (reverse side).
4. *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995), p. 166. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 270 Jews were shot on October 2, 1941. This number is probably too high; GARF, 7021-87-1, p. 11 (reverse side).
5. NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 3–7, Lagebericht des Reserve-Polizeibataillons 11, October 21, 1941; see also, however, Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, in RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114. According to Vincas Bartusevicius, Joachim Tauber, and Wolfram Wette, eds., *Holocaust in Litauen: Krieg, Judenmorde und Kollaboration im Jahre 1941* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), p. 314, this document mistakenly spells *Begoml* as *Bicholin*, probably a corruption of the Polish spelling *Biehomla*. According to information from the trial of David Ehof, the Aktion in Begoml' was carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, possibly before October 2, 1941; see Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 599.
6. GARF, 7021-87-1, p. 11 (reverse side).
7. Ibid., p. 56 (reverse side).
8. Ibid., p. 72.
9. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 14 (YVA, M41/306), Gendarmerie Aussenposten Begoml to Kreisführer der Gendarmerie in Borissow, December 28, 1941.
10. NARB, 370-1-486, p. 25, Gebietskommissar Borissow to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, August 9, 1942.

BRASŁAW

Pre-1939: Brasław, town and powiat center, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Braslav, raion center, Vileika oblast',

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Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Braslaw, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Breslau, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Brasław is located about 200 kilometers (125 miles) north-northwest of Minsk. In 1921, 1,130 Jews resided in the town; and in 1925 there were 1,900 Jews.

Of the 5,000 inhabitants of Brasław on the eve of World War II, some 3,000 were Jews.[1]

On June 28, 1941, the German army entered Brasław. Shortly after the start of the occupation, the German commandant ordered all the Jews of Brasław to assemble at the triumphal gate built by the Soviets. There, the Jews were surrounded by German security forces and divided into two groups, one composed only of men, the other of women and children. They were then escorted 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. On the road, the Germans shot Szlojm Zylberg and Chaim Milutin for attempting to escape. As he was dying, Milutin cried out, "Jews, avenge our blood!" The remaining Jews were taken to a marshy area and were held there against their will. When they were finally released, the Jews discovered that the local population had looted their homes.[2]

A few days later, the Germans started to requisition Jews for forced labor. The Jews of Brasław often worked 12 hours per day, sometimes without food or drink. They were escorted to work in columns and were guarded by a selected local "street brigade."[3]

During Hanukkah in the middle of December 1941, Jews were massacred in the nearby township of Jody. As a result, some Jews from Brasław began to flee and hide in the forest. The Catholic priests Szlenik, Kowalski, and Wasilewski gave some material and spiritual help to the Jewish population. They reprimanded their parishioners for excesses committed against the Jews.

On June 30, 1941, the local German commandant (Ortskommandant) started to recruit a local police unit from among local ruffians sympathetic to the Germans. A Pole named Jasiński was the commander. Other policemen included Kriwko, Stefan Żuk, Malinowski, Masara, Czesław Kolkowski, Żarniewicz, and Stanisław Nowicki.[4] Sucharewicz was one of the most brutal participants in the persecution of the Jews. In the fall of 1941, responsibility for the local police was transferred from the Wehrmacht to German Gendarmes, once a civil administration had been established. Among the men based at the Gendarmerie outpost in Brasław were Johannes Czapp, Willy Dittmann, Otto Haymann, Paul Kontny, Leo Leidenroth, Ludwig Müller, Ernst Schreiber, and Waldemar Schulz.[5]

In September 1941, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Brasław. Its members were Icchak (Yitzhak) Mindel (chairman), Chayim Munic (secretary), Mazeh (a teacher), Wolf Fiszer, Gerszon Klioner, Sasza Tempelman, Hirsz Fridman, Leib Walin, Szienkman, Rafał Fiszer, Ulman, and Ksil Dajcz. The Jewish community of Brasław basically trusted the Judenrat and did not comprehend fully the role it was forced to play by the German authorities. Each day the Jews organized a meal and celebrated prayers, as read by Rabbi Zahorie. At this meal, refugees from other ghettos were welcomed.[6]

The Jews built a small-scale "coffee" grain factory, where 15 people worked. There was also a factory for leather hides employing 20 Jews, and another for the production of jam, employing 10 Jews. Many Jews believed that their lives would be spared if they could make themselves useful to the Germans. Initially, working Jews received 330 grams (11.6 ounces) of bread per day; this was reduced to 250 grams (8.8 ounces) in November 1941. Later, the distribution of daily rations was stopped altogether.[7]

On April 1, 1942, on the eve of Passover, the Germans established a ghetto in Brasław. Thanks to the efforts of the Judenrat, the ghetto was set up on the former Piłsudski Street, where three quarters of the Jews already lived. The ghetto was surrounded on two sides by lakes: Lake Driwiat and Lake Nowiat. The third side was enclosed by what was called the Castle Hill (Góra Zamkowa).[8] The Jewish social-administrative house in Brasław (*dom gminy*) was closed down. Living conditions in the ghetto were ameliorated slightly as the road to the marketplace bisected Piłsudski Street, such that Jews were still able to exchange some goods with local non-Jews. There were no medical services, however, and medicine was almost impossible to obtain. The Jewish workers lived in one ghetto. A second ghetto was established in Brasław, in which the elderly, infirm, and those unable to work resided, referred to as the "dead ghetto." The second ghetto was located between the mill and one of the bridges. Jews were also forcibly resettled into the Brasław ghettos from the following nearby villages: Dubene, Jajsi, Słobodka, Druisi, and Turmont. The Jews from the first ghetto worked on cleaning projects and road repairs, among other tasks assigned to them by the Germans.

When the murder of Jews started in the neighboring towns, 3 Jewish residents from the Brasław ghetto, Zusman Lejbowicz, Wolf Fiszer, and Szlojme Musen, began organizing an armed resistance group. They operated a clandestine radio, which began transmitting at the end of May 1942. There were 250 people in the resistance. They planned to escape from the ghetto into the forest on the day of its liquidation. On June 2, 1942, the Gendarmerie demanded that the Judenrat hand over 100 girls to work in Słobódka, 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Brasław, to clean the barracks.[9]

On June 3, 1942, at 4:00 A.M., SS men, German Gendarmes, and local police arrived in Brasław and surrounded the ghetto. A general panic ensued as the Jews tried to save themselves by escaping. Young people resisted with whatever they had available, and many tried to hide in places they had prepared. Among the first to be shot was the head of the Judenrat, Mindel, who went to the German overseers to see what he could do. Under the command of Otto Haymann, the head at the Gendarmerie post in Brasław, the Germans started shooting and set the ghetto on fire.[10] Nearly 2,000 Jews were rounded up at the police station.[11] The Jews were forced to hand over all items of value. On June 4, columns were formed, each consisting of 50 people. The Germans and local police escorted them with Rabbi Zahorie at the front to ditches that

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had been prepared and shot them there. The pogrom lasted for several days, as many Jews went into hiding.

After about two days, the German commander announced a halt to the shooting and sent some Jews to call to those still hiding that they would not be harmed if they came out. However, this was only a ruse; many of the remaining Jews emerged from hiding, but a few days later they were again rounded up and shot by the Germans and local police.[12]

In August or September 1942, the ghetto in Brasław was repopulated by a number of Jewish craftsmen from the nearby ghetto in the village of Opsa.[13] This "second ghetto" in Brasław existed until March 1943, when the Germans and the local police again surrounded it and drove the Jews to the pits to murder them. On this occasion some Jews decided to fight. About 10 of them barricaded themselves in a house inside the ghetto and resisted with weapons, killing several of their foes before the Germans destroyed the house with grenades.[14]

Only about 70 Jews from Brasław survived the war. Some of them, like Mojżesz Belak and 19 others, joined the partisan detachment of Sazykin, which operated between Wilno and Minsk. The detachment carried out a variety of operations against the Germans, including blowing up truck convoys.[15] Other Jews escaped successfully to the ghetto in Widze, from which they were sent to the labor camp in Podbrodzie to work in the sawmill. A few were hidden with the help of local inhabitants, such as the Szczerbiński family, or Michal Kizlo, who saved Niuta Kantor and Stanisław Szakiel.[16]

SOURCES A yizkor book dedicated to the community of Brasław and a number of smaller communities in the vicinity was prepared by Ariel Machnes and Rinah Klinov, eds., *Emesh Sho'ah—: Yad li-kehilot: Gevidmet di kehile's Braslav*, *Opsah*, *Okmenits*, *Dubinah*, *Zamosh*, *Zarats'*, *Ya'isi*, *Yod*, *Slobudkah*, *Plusi*, *Kislovshts'iznah*, *Rimshan* (Israel: Irgun yots'e Braslav veha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1986). It contains a number of short survivor accounts in Hebrew, which are also briefly extracted in English and Yiddish. One account of Jewish resistance in the "second ghetto" can be found in Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947).

Documentation regarding the plight of the Jews in Brasław under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3140 and 5873); BA-L (B 162/1390-91); NARB (370-1-483); Sta. Dortmund (45 Js 1/00); Sta. Hannover (2 Js 388/65); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1908). Testimonies by residents of Brasław in the form of witness protocols can also be found in the following Polish court files: SAOl, I K 140/50 (case against Stanisław Nowicki); and SAGd, I K 6/49 (case against Marian Niedźwiecki).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, pp. 612–627.
2. Ibid., p. 607; see also BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 32, 37.
3. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, pp. 605–606; and BA-L, B 162/1390, pp. 32, 37.
4. Testimony of Jan Pietkun, August 23, 1947, SAOl, I K 140/50, pp. 6–8; testimony of witness Krystyna Turowska, February 15, 1990, IPN, branch in Koszalin, Kpp 6/90.
5. Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 1/00.
6. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 610.
7. AŻIH, 301/3140, testimony of Mojżesz Bielak, January 23–27, 1948.
8. AŻIH, 301/5873, testimony of Borys Ulman.
9. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 602. These girls were killed on the following day with the rest of the Jews.
10. AŻIH, 301/1541, testimonies of Tojbe Fiszer, Lejbowicz, and Zusmann, June 1946.
11. The figure of 2,000 is given in a German report by the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie, July 1, 1942; see NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15.
12. AŻIH, 301/1541, testimonies of Tojbe Fiszer, Lejbowicz, and Zusmann, June 1946; see also statement of Kalman Pincow on November 20, 1962, BA-L, B 162/1391, pp. 981–983.
13. The Jewish population of Opsa was 334 out of a total population of 714 in 1921. According to a German report dated July 1, 1942, there were still 300 Jews in a ghetto in Opsa on that date; see NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15.
14. YVA, 1631/98-R and M-1/E/1908. See also Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, p. 160; and Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 599.
15. AŻIH, 301/3140, testimony of Mojżesz Bielak, January 23–27, 1948.
16. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, pp. 595–596.

BUDSŁAW

Pre-1939: Budsław, *village*, *Wilejka powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Budslav*, *Krivichi raion*, *Molodechno oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Budslaw*, *Rayon Kriwitschi*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Budslau*, *Miadzel' raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Budsław is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) north of Minsk. According to the 1921 census, there were 121 Jews living in Budsław.[1]

German armed forces occupied the village on July 2, 1941. A German military commandant's office governed the village in the summer of 1941; in September authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Budsław became part of Gebiet Wilejka within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Budsław, including requiring Jews to wear yellow patches in the shape of a Star of David, using all Jews aged over 12 for forced labor, and restricting Jews from leaving the limits of the village. In addition, Jews were forced to mark their homes with identifying signs, and a curfew was imposed. At the end of July 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to establish a Judenrat.[2]

The first Aktion in the village took place in late August or the first half of September, 1941. A group of German soldiers

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led by four officers rounded up more than 50 Jews, including some children. They were then taken to a clearing in the nearby forest, where the Germans shot them so they fell into large pits that had been dug by local farmers.[3]

The remaining Jews probably lived in a form of open ghetto in the village until September 1942. At this time, German and local police forces, possibly reinforced by men of the 3rd Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion, who were assigned to Budsław on August 22, 1942,[4] shot most of these Jews, about 100 people, in the forest. The few Jews that remained were murdered in October 1942, along with several Belorussians and Poles accused of underground activity, and Budsław was proclaimed to be "cleansed of Jews" (Judenrein).[5] A few Jews managed to escape from the ghetto before it was liquidated and joined the Soviet partisans. The lists of names prepared by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that 196 Jews were shot in Budsław in the period 1941–1942.[6]

SOURCES Information about the murder of the Jews of Budsław can be found in the following publications: "Budslaw," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 135–136; and in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 48, 74, 89.

Documents of the ChGK regarding the extermination of the Jews of Budsław can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-7); and NARB (845-1-63).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. "Budslaw," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:135.
2. Ibid., p. 8:136.
3. GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 2, 100; and NARB, 845-1-63, p. 17, give the date of August 25, 1941; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, date the Aktion on September 13, 1941.
4. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 400.
5. GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 92–93, 100; and Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-Kehilot*, 8:136.
6. GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 37–40.

BYTEŃ

Pre-1939: Byteń (nad Szczarą), town, Słonim powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939-1941: Byten, raion center, Baranovichi oblast' Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Byten, Rayon center, Gebiet Slonim, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Bytsen', Ivatsevichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Byteń lies on the Szczara River, about 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Baranowicze. On the eve of World War II, there were over 880 Jews in Byteń. With the outbreak of war in 1939, about 200 Jewish refugees from central Poland settled in the town.[1]

On Wednesday, June 25, 1941, German soldiers entered Byteń. A German military administration was not set up until July 12. The names of the officers in charge were Leutnant Schmidt and Wachtmeister Lipmann.

It was around this time that the Germans issued an order to form the Judenrat. The list was drawn up in consultation with the community rabbi, Ben-Tsion Yafa. In addition to Rabbi Yafa, the Judenrat consisted of Yirshl Yudkovski (the chairman), Efrayim Karelitsh, Yisrael Rozhanski, Marek Rabinovitsh, and the dentist named Arbuz. The Germans put a local non-Jew, Vasily Raykhov, in charge of the town and set up a police force consisting of local peasants, commanded by a Pole named Skibiński.[2]

Forced labor became part of the daily routine for the Jews of Byteń. Besides having to work on the roads, Jews worked on a variety of other menial tasks. At first, the soldiers supervising the roadwork treated the Jews with relative decency; however, later on, soldiers merely passing through the area would beat Jews they saw at work. The lot of those who were sent to work at the railroad station at Domanowo was particularly bad.[3]

In November, the Judenrat received word from Słonim that 10 Gendarmes would soon be stationed in Byteń. The Jews were ordered to prepare and furnish a house in which to quarter them.[4] The Gendarmerie post leader was Adolf Noack. Among the other Gendarmes were Max Schulke, Hirche, Hanefthaler, Weber, and Schwarz. The official task of the Gendarmerie was to organize and supervise the local police and represent the SS in the town. But as far as the Jews could tell, their primary role was to harass them, frequently inspecting Jewish houses.[5]

On March 15, 1942, the Germans expelled the Jews from Iwacewicze, a neighboring village with a Jewish population of about 600. They were not given anywhere to go and could only bring with them what they could carry. Temperatures were dangerously low. About 400 of the Iwacewicze Jews headed in the direction of Byteń. When the first refugees arrived, and the Jews of Byteń learned what had happened, the Judenrat organized major efforts to prepare food, shelter, and medical care for the refugees.[6]

The office of the Gebietskommissariat issued the order to form a ghetto in May or June. The ghetto itself consisted of 48 houses and the large Bet Midrash, which was transformed into a residence. The ghetto had a population of about 1,200; hence, the overcrowding was extreme. The constraints on space prevented the Jews from bringing all of their few remaining possessions into the ghetto. The local non-Jews quickly looted whatever they had left behind. The Gendarmes announced that any Jew caught outside the ghetto without permission would be killed.[7]

A handful of Jewish craftsmen—the so-called useful Jews—were given special permission to live and work outside the ghetto. This group also included a few Jews who were able to pay large bribes to the authorities.[8]

Forced labor continued, but now the workers had to come and go in columns, under strict German supervision. The rudiments of cultural life continued as well. A barn and a

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stall were turned into ad hoc places of prayer, which held twice-daily services. Rabbi Yafa attended one makeshift synagogue, and Rabbi Liberman, along with Rabbi Rakhman, the former rabbi of Iwacewicze, attended the other. Other members of the community continued to provide religious education for the children. A refugee from Łódź named Dr. Vodnik organized a sanitary commission.[9]

The black market was the only means of obtaining food available to the Jews. Every day, a few peasants would secretly bring food to the ghetto fence and exchange it with Jews—usually for clothing or other goods.[10]

On June 29, 1942, a large Judenaktion took place in Słonim; the Jews of Byteń found out about it a few days later. In response to the Aktion in Słonim, they built bunkers and other hiding places in anticipation of the liquidation of the ghetto.[11] On July 24, 1942, a rumor spread that peasants from the countryside had been put to work digging pits. The Jews suspected the real purpose of these pits and prepared to hide in their bunkers.[12] Before dawn on the next day, one of the few Jewish policemen went from door to door, telling people to go to the bunkers, as the ghetto had been surrounded by Gendarmes and Baltic police auxiliaries (Hilfspolizei). Not long thereafter, local Belorussian police and German Gendarmes entered the ghetto and began to round up the Jews. A force of about 80 Hilfspolizei, as well as an SS/SD squad had been brought in to carry out the Aktion.[13]

The Germans expected that the Jews would try to hide. Consequently, the ghetto was searched thoroughly by the local police, who discovered many of the hiding Jews, sometimes shooting them on the spot.[14] The rest of the Jews were either driven on trucks or forced to walk to the pits that had been dug between the villages of Zapolie and Rudnia, a few kilometers from Byteń.[15] The "useful Jews" living outside the ghetto were actually the first to be brought to the pits.[16] There, the SS men shot both groups of Jews and covered the mass graves.[17] Members of the 2nd Company of Landesschützen Bataillon 915 were employed to keep civilians at a distance while the Aktion was taking place.[18] The local police also took the Aktion as an opportunity to loot. Peasants came and looted whatever had been left behind.[19] Twelve Jews who worked at the sawmill at Blok-Byteń, and had special permission to spend the nights there, were also killed on the same day.[20] According to one survivor, the Germans themselves announced that 840 Jews had been killed and 360 remained.[21]

It seems that the order to carry out the Aktion came from the Gebietskommissariat in Słonim at the beginning of June. Alfred Metzner, a party official from the Gebietskommissariat, and Walter Bonke, the Gendarmerieleutnant in Słonim, appeared in Byteń on the morning of the liquidation, ostensibly to give Noack the order to begin.[22]

After a few days, the hidden Jews came out of their bunkers. The Gendarmerie then gathered them together in the Bet Midrash and examined them to determine their ability to work. They were told they had only one month to live and were put to work clearing out the Jewish houses and bringing whatever they found there to the Gendarmes. Surviving artisans were allowed to continue practicing their trades.[23]

In the summer of 1942, rumors reached Byteń of partisan activity in the area. Jews began escaping to the forests to join the partisans in August.[24] Escape was not easy: Gendarmes, local police, and the local part-time militia (the *samachowa*) guarded the town. Jews were dependent on Christians to tell them how to get around the guard posts, to give them places to hide once they escaped, and to serve as go-betweens with Jewish partisans in the forests.[25] Occasionally, the peasants would double-cross the Jews, denouncing them and keeping Jewish possessions. Nonetheless, 200 Jews managed to escape in the following month, many of them joining Unit 51, an important group of Jewish partisans originating mainly from Iwacewicze, Kosów Poleski, and Słonim.[26]

On August 13, 56 skilled workers were transferred out of the ghetto. On Saturday, August 29, at 4:00 A.M., an SS unit, accompanied by Lithuanian auxiliaries, arrived and surrounded the ghetto. After daybreak, the Lithuanians and SS, along with the local police, entered the houses of the ghetto and rounded up residents. Later that morning, they marched the Jews on foot to the pits near Zapolie and shot them. The Gendarmes took any Jewish clothing they wanted and left the rest for the peasants. The plundering of Jewish homes in the ghetto by the local population began immediately.[27] In mid-September, the remaining Jewish workers and their families were shot inside the town.[28]

SOURCES Sources on the Byteń ghetto are extremely limited. There is a fairly lengthy yizkor book, Dodl Abramaovitsh and Mordekhay V. Bernshtayn, eds., *Pinkes Biten: Der Oyfkum un Untergang fun a Yidisher Kehile* (Buenos Aires: Bitener Landslayt in Argentine, 1954), which contains two extensive survivor accounts of the Nazi occupation of the town. Nachum Alpert's *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry: The Story of the Jews of Slonim during the Holocaust*, trans. Max Rosenfeld (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989) was also consulted for information about the events in Słonim and the German administration of the district.

There is a section of the trial verdict in the case against Gerhard Erren examined in BA-L (B 162/14527; see also B 162/5087-5101 for the investigative files [II 202 AR-Z 228/59]). The trial is focused on Słonim but also deals with Byteń, investigating primarily the first Aktion but also mentioning the ghetto, confiscation of property, and the second Aktion. Because the verdict is based on the testimony of German witnesses who had been stationed in the area, it complements the yizkor book well. Some limited information can also be found in the report on Byteń prepared by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, located in GARF (7021-81-102). Finally, there is a trial record of a local policeman from Byteń, Teodor Markuszewski (Skirsiniec), located in IPN (SW Ol 56-59); he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in 1966.

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Dodl Abramovitsh, "Khurbn un vidershtand," in Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, pp. 321–412, here p. 321; and Moshe Pitkovski, "Azoy iz Untergegangen di Yidishe Kehile in Biten," in Abramaovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, pp. 207–314, here pp. 208–209.

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2. Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," pp. 322–324; Pitkovski, "Azoy," p. 209; see also the interview with Byteń survivor Tanya Imber, conducted on August 8, 1994 (WCU).

3. Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," p. 326; and Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 210–211, 213.

4. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 213–214.

5. Ibid., pp. 216–217; Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," p. 330; BA-L, B 162/14527 (Erren Trial Verdict), pp. 4343, 4347; Report of the ChGK, GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 1–31.

6. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 221–224.

7. Ibid., pp. 225–227; Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4344, 4352.

8. Pitkovski, "Azoy," p. 229; and Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4349.

9. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 227–228.

10. Ibid., p. 230.

11. Ibid., pp. 214–215, 228.

12. Ibid., pp. 230–232; and Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4353.

13. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 233 ff.; and Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4343–4354.

14. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 232–236; and Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4345–4346.

15. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 235–236; Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4345; GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 1–31.

16. Pitkovski, "Azoy," p. 229; and Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4349.

17. Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4345.

18. Ibid., pp. 4347–4348.

19. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 233–234, 239.

20. Ibid., pp. 237–238.

21. Ibid., pp. 236–238. One German witness put the number of victims as between 500 and 600, while another put it at about 2,800. The Erren Trial Verdict considers the latter figure too high; see Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4346–4347. According to the ChGK report, two mass graves were found near Rudnia—one contained 900 corpses and the other 80, coming close to Pitkovski's figure of 840. Perhaps the second grave contains victims of the second Aktion. Another account in Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn's *Pinkes Biten* gives the figure as "close to 900" (p. 456). A letter written on July 31, 1942, by Zlata Vishnyatsky, who survived the July 25 massacre, stated that "850 died a black death at the hands of the murderers," and only 350 people were left; see Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 246.

22. Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4347–4351.

23. Ibid., p. 4354; and Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 236–239.

24. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 239–240.

25. Ibid.; and Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," pp. 327–328.

26. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 240–248; Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, p. 469.

27. Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," pp. 331–343; Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 240–241, and 248–250; Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, p. 3; WCU, Imber interview; and BA-L, B 162/5154 (II 202 AR-Z 228/59, Erren investigation, Handakte, Bd. 2), pp. 651–657.

28. Erren Trial Verdict, p. 164; Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, p. 3; and WCU, Imber interview.

CHOCIEŃCZYCE

Pre-1939: Chocieńczyce (Yiddish: Chatzintzitz), village, Wilejka powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Khotenchitsy, Ilia raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Chotsientschitsi, Rayon Ilja, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Khatsenchytsy, Vileika raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chocieńczyce is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Minsk. In mid-1941, the village had a Jewish population of around 80 people.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 3, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of Chocieńczyce. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration.

In July 1941, the Germans subjected the Jews of the village to various forms of humiliation, which were filmed, probably by a German propaganda company. At the end of July, a non-Jew named Zakhar got drunk and tore down Adolf Hitler's portrait in the mill where he worked. The Germans arrested him, but he denied any responsibility, blaming instead two Jews, Iosif Sosenskii and Izrail Tsimmerman, the mill's former owners. These two men were arrested as suspected Communists, but then released following the intervention of deacon Stepan Leshkevich, the village elder (*starosta*), who explained that the Soviets had confiscated the mill from the two Jews during the occupation from September 1939 until June 1941. The Germans then took Zakhar into the forest and shot him.[1]

Jewish survivors remember a German commander named Seidler, who organized an Aktion in the late summer or fall of 1941, in which the Jews were first sent home to collect their possessions. Then they were assembled, including some Jews brought in from surrounding villages such as Ledwienie. The Germans beat the Jews and strip-searched them, taking all their valuables. Subsequently all the Jews were held in a school hall for several days, while a ghetto was being prepared. During this internment Leshkevich helped them by ensuring that they were supplied with some water.[2]

After a few days, probably in October, the Jews were moved into a ghetto located about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) outside the village, which comprised up to five small houses or huts. In total, there were just under 100 Jews in the ghetto. People slept crammed together. Initially the ghetto was not enclosed, but the Jews were forbidden to leave. Later, guards were posted to enforce this regulation, and it was surrounded with a barbed-wire fence.[3]

From the ghetto the men were taken out to work, cleaning and repairing the roads and railroads, while the women did the washing and made soap for the German garrison. No food was provided to the ghetto by the Germans, but the local peasants bartered food with the Jews for their few remaining possessions. Leshkevich also helped with some supplies of potatoes, flour, and grain. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews suffered from the extreme cold, but they used melted

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snow to obtain drinking water. The Jews on work details heard rumors about killing Aktions conducted against other Jewish communities nearby, and some Jews made plans to escape to the forests to join the Soviet partisans.[4]

On March 14, 1942, Soviet partisans attacked the Chocieńczyce estate, which enabled some of the Jews from the ghetto there to flee with the partisans into the forests. In response, the German Security Police from Wilejka conducted a reprisal Aktion against the ghetto in Ilja on March 17, in which about 600 Jews were murdered.[5]

The German Security Police planned to liquidate the ghetto in early June 1942. On the eve of the liquidation, the Jews of Chocieńczyce received warning of the impending Aktion. According to the account of survivor David Rubin, he rushed to Chocieńczyce from Ilja, as soon as he heard about the Aktion against the Jews in Ilja, which took place on June 6–7, 1942.

> I decided that I must quickly let them know what had occurred in Ilja since they were inevitably next. I had to warn them so they could perhaps survive and join me in the fight against the Germans. I continued walking in deep thought for about 16 kilometers [about 10 miles]. At about 1:00 A.M., I arrived at Chocieńczyce. Jumping over the barbed wire and then slowly crawling, I knocked quietly at one of the homes. . . . I told them all that had occurred and that now Ilja had been eliminated, the Germans would get to them next. They needed to escape immediately. The entire Jewish population gathered and discussed what to do. The women cried bitterly and many were afraid of running. In the end, their instinct to survive drove them and they all decided to escape deep into the forest. At 4:00 A.M., as dusk approached, we left Chocieńczyce and began our new life. The men immediately started digging holes in the ground and covered them with tree branches and greenery. Inside, women, children, and elderly people hid in the damp darkness. The young men and teenagers started looking for the partisans. After a few days we were able to get in touch with the Soviet partisan base in the forest about 25 kilometers [16 miles] from where we had left the women, the elderly, and the children.[6]

Most of the Jews—that is, 15 families, or about 70 people—fled to the forest; and thanks to the ingenuity, mutual assistance, and support of local inhabitants, a number of them managed to hide from the Germans and local police for two years and survive.[7] The remaining Jews in the ghetto (13 people) were shot.[8]

SOURCES Published sources on the ghetto in Chocieńczyce include A. Kopelovich, ed., *Sefer Ilyah* (Tel Aviv, 1962); Mikhail Sosenskii, *Nezakonchennaia povest'* (Jerusalem: self-published, 2003); and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 232–233.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Chocieńczyce can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-6); VHF (# 15987, 16803, and 39349); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 232–233.
2. VHF, # 16803, testimony of Mikhail Sosenskii; # 39349, testimony of Sheva Sinder; and # 15987, testimony of Murray Jaros.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. BA-BL, R 58/221, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 184, March 23, 1942; Kopelovich, *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 421–440; and NARB, 861-1-10.
6. David Rubin, "A Tale of Struggling, Toil, and Tears," in Kopelovich, ed., *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 317–338. A full translation of Rubin's article prepared by Eilat Gordin Levitan can be found at jewishgen.org. Others sources credit Starosta Leshkevich with warning the Jews and assisting their escape; see A. Makarkin, "Russkie, obmanuvshie sebia," *Sovershenno sekretno. Mezhdunarodnyi ezhemesiachnik*, no. 6 (Moscow, 2003). After the liberation of Belorussia, Stepan Leshkevich was tried by the Soviet authorities as an accomplice of the Germans in the village of Ilja. Jews from Chocieńczyce spoke out in his defense, recounting how he had helped to save many Jews from the ghetto. No attention was paid to this, however, and the Soviets sentenced Leshkevich to death. See Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 232–233.
7. D. Mel'tser, "Neizvestnaia stranitsa evreiskogo soprotivleniia," *Vestnik* (USA), no. 7 (240), March 29, 2000.
8. GARF, 7021-89-6, p. 53.

DERECZYN

Pre-1939: Dereczyn, *town*, *Słonim powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Derechin*, *Zel'va raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Deretschin*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Slonim*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dziarechyn*, *Zel'va raen*, *Hrodna voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Dereczyn is located 73 kilometers (46 miles) west-northwest of Baranowicze. In 1921, the Jewish population of Dereczyn was 1,346.

Units of the Wehrmacht entered Dereczyn at the end of June 1941. On the initial arrival of German forces, many of the town's inhabitants were gathered in the church, and the Jews feared the worst, as they began to be selected out from the others. However, they were suddenly released again when fighting broke out in the town. A retreating Soviet unit temporarily drove the Germans out, and much of the town was damaged by fire from aerial and artillery bombardment. In the nearby village of Hołynka, shortly after they arrived the German forces murdered up to 140 Jews, probably as a reprisal Aktion.[1]

In mid-July 1941, the initial German military administration introduced a series of anti-Jewish restrictions: Jews had to wear yellow badges on pain of death; Jews aged 14 to 60

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Exterior of the synagogue in Dereczyn, ca. 1920.
USHMM WS #97257, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

were obliged to report for forced labor every day; Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks; and they had to obey a curfew after 5:00 P.M. To monitor compliance with these restrictions, the German commandant also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat).[2]

On October 6, 1941 (at the time of Sukkot), the German authorities forced a group of Jews from Dereczyn to dig a large pit some 45 meters (148 feet) long, 20 meters (66 feet) wide, and 4 meters (13 feet) deep outside the town. The men returned exhausted after 36 hours. It was not clear what the pit was for, but many received the impression they had been digging their own graves.

In November 1941, sometime after authority in the region had officially been transferred to a German civil administration at the end of August, a Gendarmerie post consisting of several German Gendarmes was established in the town. The most prominent Gendarme, whose name was recalled by several survivors, was Fritz Figas. The Gendarmerie also took over responsibility for the local police force, recruited from non-Jewish inhabitants of the area, who in the view of one survivor "were looking for a way to make an easy living."[3]

During the fall and winter of 1941–1942, German officials made a series of menacing demands for large amounts of gold, money, and other valuable materials. Collection of these tributes was organized by the Jewish Council. On one occasion they even had to send a group of Jews illegally across the border to Wołkowysk in Distrikt Bialystok to buy fabric demanded by the Nazis that was not available in Dereczyn.[4] During the very cold winter, Jews were put to work clearing snow. The Jews also had to sell off their last possessions to their Christian neighbors for a few morsels of bread.

The ghetto in Dereczyn was set up in several stages, such that it is not possible to specify a precise date for its establishment. Soon after their arrival, the Germans evicted Jews from some of the best houses, taking them for themselves. Then, during the winter of 1941–1942, the German administration issued certificates to those Jews deemed "essential" on account of their skills as craftsmen, although some Jews were able also to buy such certificates using bribes. These "essential" Jews, consisting of about 500 people, were permitted to live in their own collective area composed of workshops, to which non-Jews also had access in order to request their services. Probably in March 1942, the remaining few hundred Jews from the nearby villages of Hołynka, Jeziornica, and Kolonia Sinaiska were brought to Dereczyn and confined within the same small area as the 2,000 or so "non-essential" Jews living in Dereczyn.

In early March 1942 (at Purim), a couple of hundred men were sent from Dereczyn to work on the highways around Słonim. After some of these men returned to Dereczyn without permission, the German officials and their collaborators arrested them and their families. On April 30, 1942, they took these (approximately 200) people to the large pit near the village of Radziak and murdered them with machine guns and hand grenades. One woman who was only wounded escaped from the pit and returned to Dereczyn. She was subsequently found in the hospital, and the Germans shot her with others from the hospital at the cemetery.[5]

By May or June of 1942, at the latest, the ghetto for the noncraftsmen had become enclosed, and according to one account, some 2,880 Jews were living together crammed into only 34 small cottages.[6] Its area comprised the entire Shulhof (synagogue courtyard) and the premises of the tailor's Bet Midrash, called the Hayatim Shul, up to the "Kamienitzya." The entry to the ghetto was through the yard between the wall to Slutzky's house and the wall to Bebbeh Rabinovich's house. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by the local police. Due to poor sanitary conditions, there were epidemics in the ghetto, and many Jews died of disease and starvation.[7] Gendarme Figas also shot Jews at will on the street.

News of Aktions in the surrounding towns encouraged Jewish youths to organize an underground movement. The underground collected weapons clandestinely and prepared to leave for the forests to join the partisans. However, as it was feared that the Germans would murder the remaining Jews in the event of an escape, the plan was only to use the weapons and flee as a last resort, when an Aktion commenced. Many Jews also prepared bunkers for hiding inside the ghetto, as the expectation of an Aktion increased.[8]

On July 24, 1942, German forces, including Security Police, Gendarmerie, local Belorussian police, and other Lithuanian or Ukrainian auxiliaries, arrived from Słonim on vehicles and surrounded the Dereczyn ghetto. Many of the Jews took cover in their prepared hiding places, but the Germans and their collaborators dragged out those they could find, transporting some of them on trucks to the large mass graves near Grabowa on the road to Zelwa, where they shot them. One survivor managed to leap from the departing trucks and flee successfully. Of those in hiding, about 200 or 300 managed to escape to the forests, but many of these were also subsequently killed, some being denounced by local peasants or captured by the police.[9] In total, about 2,500 Jews were murdered in Dereczyn on July 24, 1942, and over the following days.

Some of those who fled managed to obtain arms and join partisan groups, such as that led by Dr. Yehezkel Atlas. On August 8, 1942, only shortly after the liquidation of the

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ghetto, a Soviet partisan group, including many Jews, attacked the Dereczyn police station and killed five Gendarmes and a number of local policemen. Only about 90 Jews from the Dereczyn ghetto managed to survive until the Red Army recaptured the town in the summer of 1944.[10]

SOURCES The yizkor book (*Sefer Derets'in*), edited by Yekhezkiel Raban and others (Dereczin organizations in Israel and the United States, 1966), is now also available in English, translated by Jacob Solomon Berger, *The Dereczin Memorial Book: A Book of Remembrance Honoring the Communities of Dereczin, Halinka, Kolonia-Sinaiska* (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000). It contains a number of useful accounts relating to the ghetto and the survival of Jews from Dereczyn with the partisans.

Documentation on the destruction of the Dereczyn ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2140 and 4695); BA-L (ZStL/II 202 AR-Z 180/67 and II 202 AR-Z 149/78); LG-Hamb ((50) 19/72); MA (A.200); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.135 and Acc. 1994.A.195); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/2781, O-22/47, O-33/291, M-1/E 2023, 2340, M-11/40).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Masha Kulakowski and Abraham-Hirsch Kulakowski, "This is How the Jewish Community of Dereczin Was Destroyed," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, pp. 195–203.
2. Ibid., here p. 199.
3. Fritz Figas was identified from German investigative material; see BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 228/59 (investigation of G. Erren). Initially the local mayor in Dereczyn was a man named Lewandowski, and the head of the police was a Pole, Limansky; see Shmuel Berenstein, "I Was a Refugee in Oppressed Dereczin," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, pp. 217–218. Subsequently a man named Ivan Sinkevich (Sinkiewicz) became head of the local police.
4. Pesha Feinsilber, "Barely Escaping," in *The Derezin Memorial Book*, p. 208.
5. Kulakowski and Kulakowski, "This is How," pp. 195–203.
6. AŻIH, 301/2140 and 4695, testimony of the accountant Reich. An English translation is available: Y. Reich, "We Were Slaves," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, pp. 211–212. It is not clear whether this number of 2,880 also includes the 500 "essential" workers living outside the ghetto.
7. BA-L, ZStL/II 202 AR-Z 180/67, Dok. Bd., pp. 7–8, statement of Vladimir Varfolomeyevich Ogorodnikov on February 19, 1968; Katya Bialosotsky-Khlebnik, "During the Days of Slaughter," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, p. 242.
8. Kulakowski and Kulakowski, "This is How," p. 202.
9. YVA, O-22/47, testimony of Yosef Kotlarsky, and M-1/E/2340, testimony of Miriam Rosenberg.
10. YVA, O-16/334, testimony of Benjamin Dombrowski; S. Nieger, "The Destruction of the Dereczin Community," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, p. 234; AŻIH, 301/2140 and 4695.

DOKSZYCE

Pre-1939: Dokszyce, town, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Dokshitsy, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dokschizy, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dokshytsy, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dokshytsy is located about 110 kilometers (69 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. In 1925, the Jewish population was around 3,000. Only about 100 Jews managed to flee with the Soviet authorities before the German army occupied Dokszyce on July 3, 1941.

Initially the town was administered by a local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur).[1] In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Dokszyce became a Rayon center in Gebiet Glebokie, where the Gebietskommissar was Paul Hachmann, who, however, on account of illness, was represented during the summer of 1942 by Gebietskommissar Petersen. From early 1942 until the summer of 1942, the SS-und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Głębokie was Wilhelm Schultz. Among the Gendarmes who served at the Gendarmerie post in Dokszyce were Richard Heinzel, Willy Körbis, and Otto Schaak.[2] The Gendarmerie was also responsible for the local police (Schutzmannschaft), which was commanded by Stefan Komulko. In Dokszyce there was also a local Polish mayor, named Kowalewski, who was especially renowned for his cruelty towards the Jews.

The ghetto in Dokszyce was established in November 1941. Its border ran from the bridge to Głęboker Street, to the front side of the synagogue courtyard, then down Polotsker Street to Garden's Beer Hall and the Berezena River, then included the market place up to the side of the synagogue courtyard. It was surrounded by boards, fences, and barbed wire and guarded by the local police. The resettlement took place on November 30, 1941, on a bitterly cold and snowy day. The town's 3,000 Jews were given only half an hour to assemble on the marketplace with all their belongings. The authorities then gave them only three hours to move into the ghetto. Much of their property, including livestock, was confiscated or stolen by the local police during the resettlement. The ghetto area was very overcrowded—between three and four families had to share a single dwelling. However, some of the houses vacated by Jews outside stood empty, due to the high proportion of Jews in the town.[3]

An underground movement existed in the ghetto, established by members of a Zionist organization. The Germans forced the Jewish men to perform heavy labor, and Jewish women also had to work as maids in private households. The Jews received no payment for their work other than some slices of bread, pieces of meat, or a little tobacco.[4] The daily ration was only about 200 to 300 grams (7 to 11 ounces) of bread, and there were cases of death by starvation and disease in the ghetto. Jewish schools were closed down, and most forms of religious observance were prohibited. The Germans took carpenters and skilled craftsmen from among the Jews and organized them in workshops to support the German war effort. Jewish craftsmen had to work with very primitive tools. Every morning, those Jews who had work certificates gathered in the ghetto area and waited for their assignment to specific work details or workshops outside the ghetto. Those craftsmen

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and workers who received written permission to work were able to leave the ghetto. Despite prohibitions, Jews working outside the ghetto were able to obtain groceries by trading with the local population. Discipline at the workshops was very strictly enforced. In one incident, Galman Raskind arrived late for work and was punished with 25 lashes.

A Judenrat consisting of five members, headed by Jakob Botvinnik, was created in the summer of 1941 at the behest of the German authorities, in order to assist with the implementation of their regulations concerning the Jews. In the ghetto the Judenrat was responsible for organizing the work details and also for sanitary conditions, including the administration of the public baths. The Judenrat was obligated to collect valuables demanded by the Germans from the ghetto residents, such as local and foreign currency (including U.S. dollars), gold, fur boots, and fur coats.

On several occasions the Judenrat intervened with the German authorities to try to alleviate harsh conditions. For example, they managed to open a synagogue in the ghetto and even got the ghetto area expanded slightly, adding Keydarum Street, by complaining about the threat of disease.[5] The Judenrat was not directly involved in the Aktions against the Jews. In 1942, the Judenrat organized a system of internal guards (probably the Jewish policemen) that closely observed the activities of the Germans and local police guarding the ghetto, warning the inhabitants about any hint of an upcoming Aktion.

The liquidation of the Dokszyce ghetto took place in three separate Aktions conducted between March and June 1942. In the first Aktion, about two weeks after the Purim holiday, the German Gendarmerie shot some 60 Jews in Dokszyce, apparently intended by the Gebietskommissar as a warning to the Jews against having any contact with the partisans.[6] Borys Kazhinits recalled that the raid started at 10:00 P.M., when Germans and local police entered the ghetto and arrested about 60 Jews, plundering apartments at the same time. The following morning, the police shot those arrested in pits close to the Polish cemetery. The sound of gunfire could be heard in the ghetto: initially continuous salvos and then separate shots, as wounded victims were finished off.[7]

The second Aktion probably took place in early May 1942.[8] At that time, the Jewish population was transferred to a school where Nikodem Derwinski carried out a selection, deciding who would be shot and who would remain in the ghetto. Commander S. Komulko was in charge of the shooting. During this operation, about 400 Jews were killed; apparently most of those released had work permits. After the Aktion, the local German agricultural leader (Sonderführer) and the police chief Komulko compelled the Judenrat to reduce the size of the ghetto along Koszciuszko Street and several of the adjoining small streets.[9]

The final Aktion took place on May 29, 1942, when according to a German report 2,653 Jews were living in the ghetto. On that morning, local police and German forces—Gestapo men (from the Security Police post in Lepel') and German Gendarmerie from throughout Gebiet Glebokie—surrounded the ghetto. On the same day, they had already liquidated the nearby ghetto in Parafjanów. Members of the Judenrat warned the Jews, and many tried to hide in bunkers and other places. When the Germans forced their way into the ghetto, only the members of the Judenrat were waiting in the building of the Jewish Council. One of the bunkers used by ghetto residents was located close to the school, and more than 50 individuals hid there. During this Aktion, the Jews managed to hide so well that the Gendarmerie and the local police spent a whole week searching for them with the aid of trained dogs. During the sweep, the Germans found 15 Russian bullets in the possession of the head of the Jewish Council.[10] Those seized during the liquidation were taken to a gravel pit on the edge of town and shot.[11] The victims were thrown into pits that had been dug by a work detail under the direction of a local policeman by the name of Janowski. Immediately following the mass shooting, the pits were covered with dirt.[12] According to Polish trial protocols, the local policeman Stanisław Wojnicz was particularly brutal during the Aktions against the ghetto. He took small children and killed them by smashing their heads against the walls. When he found Hanna and Benjamin Abezgaus hidden in the ghetto area, they tried to bribe him with 50 rubles to save their lives; but he took the money and attempted to kill them.[13]

The West German authorities carried out a number of investigations into the events in Dokszyce as part of wider investigations into crimes committed in Gebiet Glebokie. However, they were unable to bring to trial any of the major perpetrators in Dokszyce.[14] In 1962, a court in Warsaw sentenced Józef Frąckiewiczow and Stanisław Wojnicz to 15 years, Eugeniusz Gorecki (or Kut) to 12 years, and Nikodem Derwinski to 10 years in prison, for crimes committed while serving in the Schutzmannschaft in Dokszyce.[15]

SOURCES Several personal testimonies about the Dokszyce ghetto can be found in the yizkor book in Yiddish and Hebrew edited by David Sztokfisz, *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov: Monument tsum ondenk fun tsvey Yidishe kehile's* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Dokshits-Parafyanov be-Yi´sra'el uva-tefutsot, 1970).

Documents and witness statements relating to the ghetto in Dokszyce can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/897); GARF (7021-92-214); NARB (370-1-483 and 2841-1-1); USHMM (RG-50.030*0082); VHF (# 9920); and YVA.

The most important German criminal investigations are Sta. Hamburg 141 Js 533/60, Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 16/73, and Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, located in the relevant German regional state archives. Copies of much of this material can also be examined at BA-L. Statements by former inhabitants of Dokszyce can also be found in the Polish trials mentioned above, many of which are stored at IPN.

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-92-214, pp. 3–5, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the Dokshitsy raion dated March 30, 1945, names Captain Klaus as the Ortskommandant in Dokszyce; however, there were probably several successive local military commandants, and it is not clear when Klaus served in the town. On August 9, 1941, the Ortskom-

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mandantur in Dokszyce was OK II/352 (BA-MA, RH/26/221-17), but during the initial German advance, the military commandant's offices frequently changed location.

2. BA-L, ZStL 202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, p. 404.

3. See B. Kazhinits, "The Story of a Partisan," and Mordechai Varfman, "The Holocaust in Our Town," and Y. Shapiro, "In the Dokshits Ghetto," in Sztokfisz, *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov*; BA-L, B 162/27191, vol. 1, pp. 130–132.

4. Kazhinits, "The Story of a Partisan."

5. Shapiro, "In the Dokshits Ghetto."

6. BA-L, B 162/27191, pp. 130–132; Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, vol. 11, p. 2157, vol. 3, p. 114, vol. 12, pp. 2372 ff.

7. Kazhinits, "The Story of a Partisan."

8. Shapiro states that it was around the time of the Lag-Baomer holiday, on May 4 in 1942.

9. Statement of Antoni Masłowski, November 18, 1961, SWW, IV K 160/62, vol. 2, p. 115, gives the figure of 350 victims. According to Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, vol. 2, p. 422, and vol. 12, pp. 2444 ff., some 600 Jews were killed. AŻIH, 301/897, Samuel Margolin states that 595 Jews were killed; he dates the Aktion on May 2, 1942. Most sources indicate, however, that of the 600 arrested, some 200 were subsequently released. See also Shapiro, "In the Dokshits Ghetto," and his May 3, 1966, statement, Kazhinits, "The Story of a Partisan."

10. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie on the Jewish Aktion, July 1, 1942; Varfman, "The Holocaust in Our Town"; BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65, vol. 1), pp. 130–132.

11. Sentence issued on December 29, 1962, SWW, IV K 160/62, pp. 397 ff.

12. Statement of Iwan Biegun, May 31, 1962, SWW, IV K 160/62, pp. 162 ff.

13. Statement of Grzegorz Kantorowicz, November 13, 1962, SWW, IV K 160/62, pp. 227 ff.

14. Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65.

15. See IPN, SWW 715-20. All of these sentences were reduced on appeal. On February 24, 1959, the court in Poznań filed a case against Stefan Komolek (IIDs. 14/59), the leader of the local police in Dokszyce. However, he was not traced in Poland. Among the Jewish survivors who testified in this case were Nohem Markman, Benjamin Abezgaus, and Hanna Abezgaus.

DOŁHINÓW

Pre-1939: Dołhinów, *town*, *Wilejka powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Dolginovo*, *Krivichi raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dolhinow*, *Rayon Kriwitschi*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dauhinau*, *Vileika raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Dothinów is located 41.5 kilometers (26 miles) east-northeast of Wilejka. In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,747 (out of a total of 2,671). At the time of the German occupation, there were approximately 5,000 inhabitants in the town, of which about 3,000 were Jews.

The German army captured the town in the last days of June 1941. At first the Jews did not know how to react. Only a few had made the wiser decision to flee east with the retreating Red Army. The first order of the German military commandant in charge of Dołhinów was that the Jews should form a Judenrat to ensure that German demands on the Jewish community would be carried out. Among the restrictions soon imposed on the Jews were that they must wear a yellow symbol on their clothing; that they could not leave the town; that they were not allowed to assemble or have any conversation or business with Christians; and that they were forbidden to possess cattle, horses, or any valuable property, as all such items were to be surrendered to the German authorities.

After a few days of occupation, the Germans arrested five Jews on suspicion of collaborating with the Soviets. They dragged the suspects out of their houses, took them outside the town on the road to Wilejka, and shot them.

After a few weeks, a food shortage began to take its toll on the Jewish population, whose major means of obtaining food was to barter with the Poles and Belorussians in contravention of German regulations. Some Jews gave their valuables to non-Jewish friends to keep them safe from German searches and demands for contributions. Jews were conscripted for physical labor on a regular basis by the Germans via the Judenrat. Jewish girls also had to work as housemaids for the Germans.[1]

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Dołhinów, which now came under a German civil administration as part of Gebiet Wilejka. The Gendarmerie also controlled the local police force, which included a man named Sadowski.

Under the harsh restrictions imposed by the Germans, virtually all Jewish social and communal activities ceased. There was no more prayer in the synagogue, no more studies in the school, and no more Torah. However, despite the widespread despair in the community, there was only one reported suicide among the Jews. During the fall and winter of 1941–1942, not only Jews became the victims of sporadic killings but also Communist activists and Soviet prisoners of war.

In March 1942, two Jews, named Mincel and Sigalczyk, tried to leave for the forests to establish contact with the partisans. They were intercepted by German guards but managed to escape from prison. The German authorities then threatened Niomka Riyer, the head of the Judenrat, that all the Jews of Dołhinów would be killed if the two were not handed over.

Shortly afterwards, on March 30, just before Passover, the Jews woke up to discover that German forces had arrived in trucks. Together with local collaborators, they began arresting Jews and bringing them to the market square, where a selection took place. A small number of those arrested who were necessary to the Germans were left alive; the rest were taken outside the town, to Lemlin's factory at "Krochmalniyah" on the road to Minsk, where they were stripped of their clothes and shot without delay. Their bodies were thrown into a barn, which was then burned. Jews who were brought to the spot later on were stripped and thrown into the fire alive. On that bitter day, the Germans murdered, with bullets and by burning, some 1,000 of Dołhinów's Jews.

As many Jews emerged from their hiding places, they beheld a horrifying sight: houses broken into and corpses in the

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streets. The Germans issued instructions through the Judenrat to collect the bodies and bury them in mass graves. As the earth was still frozen, it took many days before all the bodies were buried.[2]

While the Jews were still preoccupied with burying the dead in April of 1942, those left alive in Dołhinów were commanded to concentrate exclusively within the boundary of the ghetto, in an area that was bounded on both sides by Borisov Street. The borders of the ghetto were the Great Synagogue (it was outside the boundary itself), the house of the Catholic priest next to the market, and the riverbank. The ghetto was encircled on all sides by a wooden fence topped with barbed wire, and an entrance was constructed to control all those entering and leaving. The Germans instructed the Jews to move into the ghetto and settle themselves within only a very short period of time. First Jews brought in the movable property that they were allowed to take with them. "The most important items were, understandably, foodstuffs and valuable objects, because we thought that it would be possible later on to exchange them for food." The overcrowding was great, resulting in very difficult conditions. In a house where one family had lived previously, five or six families were now forced to live. Life turned to hell. People felt like they were locked in cages. The ghetto was guarded by the local police on the outside and by officers of the Jewish Police on the inside. Barter with the non-Jews continued, albeit in secret. Each day Jews left the ghetto for various physical work tasks, according to German instructions.[3]

One day the Judenrat was ordered to provide 100 workers, comprising 60 men and 40 women. The workforce was to be sent to the train station in Kniahinin, 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of Dołhinów, where they worked in craft workshops for the German Army and in agriculture, with the men and women kept separated from each other. Some of these workers returned periodically to Dołhinów. In Kniahinin, some Jews were shot and Jewish girls were raped when officials of the SS or SD arrived from Wilejka.[4]

On April 28, following the massacre of the Jews in nearby Krzywicze, officials of the Security Police and Waffen-SS from Wilejka arrived in Dołhinów late in the afternoon. Assisted by the Gendarmerie and the local police, these forces encircled the ghetto. Four SS men entered the ghetto and demanded that the Judenrat supply them with tobacco. This demand was promptly met, but many Jews suspected that the murderers would soon return and went into hiding, while others tried to escape to the forest. Over the following two days the ghetto was liquidated except for several hundred skilled craftsmen who were spared immediate death. More than 1,000 Jews were escorted out of town to the east and shot. According to a Waffen-SS report, "the Aktion in Dołhinów was remarkable in that the Jews had prepared proper bunkers as hiding places. For two days we had to search and clear out [the ghetto] partly with the aid of hand-grenades."[5]

A final Aktion against the Jews of Dołhinów was conducted on May 21, 1942, during which the remaining craftsmen were killed. Following this Aktion, the Waffen-SS section reported that "the Jewish question in this town was finally solved."[6]

Only about 200 Jews from Dołhinów survived the war, including some who had served in the Red Army, others who joined the Soviet partisans, and a number who went into hiding. Among the Christians who assisted in hiding Jews were Andrei Stanko in the village of Milcza and Stephania Bogdanovich in the village of Mushenka.

SOURCES Among the available published sources, there are several firsthand accounts by survivors from Dołhinów in the yizkor book, edited by Yosef Krust and Matityahu Bar-Ratson, *Esh tamid—yizkor le-Dolhinov: Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Dolhinov veha-sevivah* (Israel: Irgun yots'e Dolhinov be-Yisrael, 1984 or 1985). There is also a relevant article in the Soviet Yiddish publication *Eynikait* (December 3, 1945).

Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish community in Dołhinów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-L; MA (A-331); NARB (845-1-63); USHMM (Acc. 1994.A.372); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-22/47; M-1/E-1572/1441, 1704/1573, 1873/1721; M-1/Q-1496/288, 2457/626).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Shmuel Alperovitsh, "'Al kidush ha-hayim," p. 238, and Natan Kizinits and Yitshak Kizinits, "'Anuto shel bet-av be Dolinov," p. 360, in Krust and Bar-Ratson, *Esh tamid—yizkor le-Dolhinov.* See also USHMM, Acc.1994.A.372, extract from a published memoir by Ester May.

2. Alperovitsh, "'Al kidush ha-hayim." Alperovitsh gives the number of 640 Jews as being murdered on this day. According to another account by Sigalczyk, 1,540 Jews were assembled on the marketplace and killed that day; see MA, A-331 (Yaakov Sigalczyk). The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report gives a figure of 900 Jews being shot in April 1942; see NARB, 845-1-63, p. 17. See also BA-L, B 162/1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42), pp. 8691–8714, Soviet protocols taken from local inhabitants of Dolginovo (Dołhinów) in 1970.

3. Alperovitsh, "'Al kidush ha-hayim," and Ya'akov Segeltshik (Sigalczyk), "A Living Testimony for Future Generations [in Hebrew]," in Krust and Bar-Ratson, *Esh tamid—yizkor le-Dolhinov.*

4. BA-L, B 162/1461 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60), pp. 4033–4036, 4042–4044, statements of Esther Tylis and Sonya Markman on June 29–30, 1966.

5. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 247–249, SS-Uscharf. Lipps Aussenstelle Wilejka an Burgdorf, May 27, 1942; Aryeh Rubin, "I Was a Youth at the Time of the Tragedies [in Hebrew]," in Krust and Bar-Ratson, *Esh tamid—yizkor le-Dolhinov.*

6. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue*, pp. 247–249.

DRUJA

Pre-1939: Druja, town, Brasław powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Druya, Braslav raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–44: Druja, Rayon Miory, Gebiet

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Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Druia, Bratslau raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Druja is located about 210 kilometers (131 miles) north of Minsk. The population of Druja on the eve of World War II was about 4,500 people, of which just under half were Jews.

German forces had occupied Druja by early July 1941. Within a few days, a Polish collaborator named Dworzecki drew up a list of some 300 former Soviet activists who were to be arrested and liquidated. Thanks to the efforts of members of the local community, the number of suspects was reduced to 18 people. Shortly afterwards, these people (including at least 1 Jew) were tracked down and killed on a nearby island. They were accused of collaboration, supposedly because they had welcomed the Red Army in September 1939.

The Germans forced the Jews of Druja to perform various kinds of menial labor, including road and railway construction, trash removal, and other degrading work, such as polishing the Germans' automobiles with their hats. After the Germans entered the township, local inhabitants started to rob the Jews. The most notorious person for this was the Polish collaborator Dworzecki. Realizing that they would lose their property if they did not act quickly, many Jews began to hand over items to Christian acquaintances for safekeeping or else to bury their jewelry and other valuables in the ground. The Germans also demanded a large contribution from the Jews, taking hostages to ensure its payment. At least one Jew, Hedesch, was shot as a hostage.

To enforce their regulations, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Druja. Those serving on the council included Zelik Diwiusz, Jakow Rozman, and David Lewinson. The Judenrat was held accountable for ensuring that the Jews completed their labor tasks and for maintaining good sanitary conditions.[1] The Germans also arrested some Jews of the town and sent them to Miory, where they had to build the walls of a German bathhouse and lay pavements on the streets.

A ghetto was established in Druja in late April or early May 1942 on the instructions of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie, Paul Hachmann (due to illness Hachmann was represented during the summer of 1942 by a man named Petersen). It was located between the confluence of the Dvina and Drujka Rivers. Anyone caught leaving the ghetto could be punished with death.[2]

Exterior of the synagogue in Druja, ca. 1924.
USHMM WS #97255, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

The members of the Judenrat in Druja gave help to 21 Jews who escaped from the ghetto in Miory on June 3, 1942, and managed to hide in the nearby woods. A sympathetic Christian peasant delivered a request written by the Jews from Miory to the Judenrat in Druja. Members of the Judenrat collected two bags of flour and also utensils from the prisoners of the ghetto and arranged for the goods to be brought to the fugitives through the mud and cold.

The Jews in Druja also organized some resistance against their German oppressors at the time of the ghetto liquidation.[3] On June 17, 1942, members of the Security Police together with officers of the Gendarmerie from Głębokie (reinforced by Gendarmerie men from neighboring Gebiet Wilejka) arrived in Druja in vehicles. Members of the local police from throughout Gebiet Glebokie also assisted in the operation.[4] These forces surrounded the ghetto and issued instructions for all the Jews to assemble near the railway bridge. According to a German report, fire broke out in the ghetto shortly after it was surrounded. The fire got out of control, and not only the ghetto burned down but also an orthodox church and 10 adjacent non-Jewish houses. While the German forces were trying to put out the fire, they were shot at from inside the burning ghetto. The same report noted that the ghetto had officially contained 1,318 Jews prior to the liquidation Aktion.[5]

The Jews who had been assembled near the bridge were shot into a large mass grave on the banks of the Drujka River. The Jews were ordered to undress and to stand on a plank over the ditch. The executioners shot them in groups of 9 or 10. Two Germans stood at the bottom of the ditch, piling up the bodies. Other corpses of the murdered Jews from the ghetto were also buried in four graves near the Jewish cemetery. The Germans also removed gold teeth from the corpses before burying them. About six days after the murders, decomposing blood and bones were observed emerging from the graves.

Fanya Barbakov, a 19-year-old Jewish girl, wrote a letter while in hiding shortly before her death: "My hand is trembling and I find it difficult to finish my letter. I am proud, for I am Jewish. I die for my people. I did not tell anyone that I am writing a letter before my death. Oh! . . . how I long to live and to do something good with my life. But everything is already lost."[6]

Only about 50 Jews managed to survive the Aktion by fleeing or hiding, then escaping later to the forests. Zemdlona Rozenmann, the wife of Zelman Rozenmann, who witnessed the murders and survived, remembered standing on the plank bridge over the grave. The Germans shot at her, but the bullets missed. She fell into the ditch and lay there until night came. Then she went to see the watchman in the cemetery, who dressed her and hid her in a nearby barn.

Some who escaped were captured later, however, such as Szlomo Musin and his mother, who were arrested next to a pharmacy in the village of Kędzierszczyna. Local peasants attacked them with sticks and axes and led them to the castle

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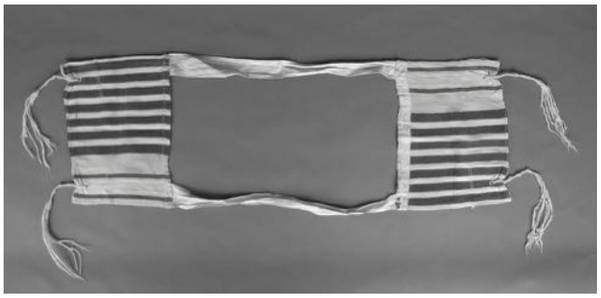

This tallit was found by Chaim Bornstein in a burned-out home near Druja, Poland, in 1945 at the end of World War II. A survivor of the Druja ghetto, he carried it with him while he was in displaced persons camps.
USHMM ACC. 2003.163.1, COURTESY OF CHAIM BORNSTEIN

in Kaminka.[7] The mother was murdered, but the son fought and escaped into the forest to join the partisans. Subsequently, however, the Germans managed to kill him in the village of Kaminka, near Druja, on the night of March 22, 1944. His desecrated body was allowed to hang for three days near the castle before it was finally buried in Druja. After the war, the local Jews placed his body in a coffin and gave him a proper burial. The gravestone bears an inscription in Russian: "Red Partisan" Szlomo Ilicz Musin, born in Druja in 1916.

SOURCES There is a yizkor book for Druja edited by Mordekhai Naishtat: *Sefer Druyah U-Kehilot Miyor*, *Droisk*, *Ve-Le'onpol* (Tel Aviv: Be-hotsa'at Yots'e Druyah veha-sevivah be-Yi´sra'el, 1973). Testimonies by Jewish survivors from Druja can be found in AŻIH (301/3150, 3151, and 5566) and YVA (e.g., M-1E/1216; O-3/731 and 2259; M-2/200; and O-33/515). Information regarding the liquidation of the Druja ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR-Z 37/60) NARB (370-1-483 and 845-1-56). Relevant German postwar criminal investigations include Sta. Hamburg 141 Js 533/60; Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65; and Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 16/73.

Monika Tomkiewicz
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/5566, testimony of Zalman Goldin, October 28, 1946.
2. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1, pp. 412–415, statement of Chaim Scheiner, August 7, 1961.
3. AŻIH, 301/3150 and 301/3151, Commission in Białystok, testimony of Szabtaj Estrow.
4. Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, vol. 1, pp. 46, 101, vol. 2, p. 422, and vol. 12, pp. 2444 ff.
5. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of Gebietskommissar in Glebokie on the "Judenaktion," July 1, 1942.
6. Extract from the letter published in Naishtat, *Sefer Druyah U-Kehilot Miyor*, *Droisk*, *Ve-Le'onpol*, pp. 95–100.
7. AŻIH, 301/5566.

DUKORA

Pre-1941: Dukora, *village*, *Pukhovichi raion*, *Minsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Rudensk*, *Gebiet Minsk-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pukhovichi raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Dukora is located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) east-southeast of Minsk. In June 1941, there were probably about 600 Jews in the village.

German forces occupied the village at the end of June 1941, one week after the Nazi invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this week, some Jews attempted to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were mustered into the Red Army. Around two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Dukora at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration (Ortskommandantur) with a small garrison of troops established itself at the Machine Tractor Station (MTS) just outside the village and set up a local authority in the village. Soon after the occupation of the village, the German commandant ordered the registration and marking of all Jews in the Rayon and their deployment for various kinds of forced labor. After about one month, German soldiers and officers searched Jewish homes and stole their property.[1]

In September 1941, authority was officially transferred to the German civil administration. Dukora became part of the Gebiet Minsk-Land within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer was a Leutnant Kalla. It took several months, however, for the civil administration to take over, and in the meantime the local military commandants continued to run things at the local level.[2] At the start of September 1941, all Jews in the village were relocated into a ghetto, which was located on Smilovichskaia and Bolochannaia Streets.[3]

On October 8, 1941, more than 100 men, Lithuanians of the 2nd (later 12th) Schutzmannschaft Bataillon and German policemen of the 11th Police Reserve Battalion based in Minsk, arrived in Dukora on trucks. According to the report of the German military commandant in Weissruthenien, Gustav Freiherr von Bechtolsheim, the villages of Dukora, Ozernyi, Uzliany, and a nearby forest were searched for Jews, partisans, bandits, and politically unreliable elements. As a result, 618 people were taken prisoner, of whom 617 were then shot. Given that around 300 Jews were shot in Uzliany at this time, it is likely that about half of these victims were Jews from Dukora.[4]

Accounts from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that on that day, armed Lithuanians, Germans, and local policemen gathered together the Jews of Dukora and the neighboring village of Kharvichi, including women and children, and held them on Bolochannaia Street in Dukora. From there they were led under close guard about 300 meters (328 yards) across the Svisloch' River in the direction of Rudensk to a meadow where a large ditch, 20 meters by 40 meters (22 yards by 44 yards), had been dug by about 15 local inhabitants. Here the Germans and their auxiliaries shot the Jews in groups, letting them fall into the pit. Estimates of the number of people killed at this site range between 275 and 394.[5] Postwar testimony given by Lithuanian policemen present at the mass shooting in Dukora indicates that Lithuanian

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officers used submachine guns to finish off any Jews who had only been wounded by the initial salvos fired by their men.[6]

A few Jews managed to escape the roundup, but they were hunted down and killed by members of the German garrison and the local Belorussian police over the following weeks and months. For example, the Germans captured two Jews at the edge of the forest and brought them to the Dukora MTS. There the German commandant gave them shovels and ordered them to dig their own graves before shooting them personally with his pistol.[7]

SOURCES Documents regarding the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Dukora can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-13); LYA (Impulevicius trial records); NARB (651-1-1 and 861-1-8); and YVA (M-33/431).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-8, pp. 206–207.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 46–47; and USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-8, pp. 206–207—this document indicates that the ghetto was established in October 1941 and liquidated in November 1941, but German documentation reliably indicates that the ghetto was liquidated on October 8, 1941.
4. See the report of October 19, 1941, "Kommandant in Weissruthenien," on the Aktions from October 1 to 15, 1941, NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 14–15.
5. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida*, pp. 45–46, 76–77; and GARF, 7021-87-13, pp. 4, 30.
6. LYA, statements of accused Jonas Juozo Davalga, Povilas Povilo Tinteris, and Pranas Jono Planciunas given in the trial against Antanas Impulevicius and others, held in Vilnius in 1962. USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-8, pp. 206–207, also mentions that any Jews who remained conscious in the pit were finished off.
7. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida*, pp. 76–77; USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-8, pp. 206–207, 213 reverse side.

DUNIŁOWICZE

Pre-1939: Duniłowicze, *village*, *Postawy powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Dunilovichi*, *raion center*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dunilowitschi*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Glebokie*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dunilovichy*, *Pastavy raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Duniłowicze is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) north of Minsk. In 1921, there were 685 Jews living in the village (49.9 percent of the inhabitants); this number had risen to about 1,000 by 1925.

At the time of the German occupation of Duniłowicze in late June 1941, local inhabitants, including some ethnic Germans, looted Jewish property. Soon afterwards, a local police force was established with its headquarters on Wilno Street. The following men were among the most active members of the local police: Stefan Rombalski, Stanislaw Gigala, Leonard Sipowicz, Kazimierz Kuckiewicz, Aleksandr Nowicki, Kalikst Rychlicki, Władysław Zajkowski, Konstanty Majewski, and Franciszek Batory.[1]

Almost immediately the local policemen began to abuse the Jews. One officer of the local police force, Sipowicz, was especially known for his cruelty. He beat Jews with whips. Other means of torture included dunking Jewish victims into cold water or forcing them to conduct humiliating physical work.

The ghetto was established in January 1942.[2] According to a German report dated July 1, 1942, 979 Jews were residing in the Duniłowicze ghetto just prior to its liquidation.[3] The ghetto area was close to the center of the town, next to the lake,[4] between Pachowska Street and Głębokia Street.[5] The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and was also separated from the rest of the town by a water canal. There was only one gate, by which Jews left the ghetto to go to work.[6] Jews were put to work in a sawmill, in tobacco fields, and also digging a canal, receiving a daily wage of about 125 grams (4 ounces) of bread. Non-Jews were forbidden to enter the ghetto.[7]

The liquidation of the Duniłowicze ghetto took place on November 21–22, 1942, during which about 900 Jews were murdered.[8] The Aktion was conducted by members of a special unit, which arrived from the office of the Commander of the Security Police (KdS) in Minsk: commanded by Artur Wilke, it consisted of 40 members of the Security Police, 33 Latvians, and some members of the local Belorussian police.[9] On the day of the ghetto liquidation in Duniłowicze, the Germans concentrated together the local police from several nearby towns, surrounded the ghetto area, and set fire to the houses in the ghetto. The Aktion started with the shooting of those Jews hiding inside the ghetto buildings. The Germans also arrested some of the ghetto inmates who had tried to hide and shot them in a large park inside the ghetto. The ghetto liquidation Aktion lasted for two days. After the Aktion, inhabitants from villages nearby were ordered by German authorities to bury the victims next to the Jewish cemetery in a mass grave.[10] During the Aktion, the German authorities ordered the local inhabitants to stay at home and lock their doors, to prevent any escaping Jews from finding refuge with them.[11] On November 22, the second day of the Aktion, the Germans forced several hundred Jews, including men, women, and children, into a barn and set it on fire using gasoline, with the victims locked inside. The German forces also threw hand grenades into the building.[12] During the liquidation, the fire inside the ghetto also spread to surrounding buildings, and the local fire brigade had to extinguish it.[13] The naked bodies of the burned victims were transferred on wagons to their place of burial.[14]

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Some of the Jews in Duniłowicze bought weapons from the local population. A few even managed to travel to Głębokie and purchased weapons secretly from the local police. A large proportion of the ghetto population prepared to resist or evade the ghetto liquidation. Before the Aktion started, many Jews hid in previously prepared hiding places and bunkers. In one incident, about 60 people who were hiding together in a bunker were found because a baby's crying betrayed their hiding place. All of them were shot. In another bunker, about 20 Jews were hiding, but only 7 individuals survived the searches.[15] Witnesses state that some Jews escaped from the liquidation across the frozen lake. Those Jews found hiding outside the ghetto were also shot. Members of the Duniłowicze local police who took part in the liquidation of the ghetto received money, watches, and gold items as a reward for their participation in the murders.[16] The local police also guarded the confines of the ghetto during the Aktion, to prevent any of the victims from escaping. About 40 policemen guarded the ghetto posted at a distance of about 20 meters (22 yards) apart. Every policeman received orders to shoot anyone attempting to flee.[17]

In the fall of 1943, a Gestapo unit arrived from Łuczaj, close to Duniłowicze, and assisted the local police in shooting 20 Jews, all men and women engaged in construction work at the town's agricultural school. Some of the Jews managed to escape during this Aktion. The German police instructed the local population to bury the corpses in the local park.[18]

The State Prosecutor in Hildesheim opened a case against Wilke, accusing him, among other crimes, of participating as a member of KdS Minsk in the murder of the Jews in Duniłowicze and Hermanowicze (see Sta. 9 Js 1274/64).[19] The court for the Wrocław województwo sentenced both Batory and Edward Kusowski to life imprisonment for their participation in the liquidation of the Duniłowicze ghetto as members of the local police.[20]

The regional court in Szczecin (case IN Sb 94/54) sentenced Rombalski to 15 years in 1954 for the shooting of Kleper while serving as an officer of the local police in Duniłowicze.[21] On August 31, 1954, the court for the Szczecin województwo filed a case against Sipowicz, accusing him of participation in the murder of Kleper on racial grounds and also in the liquidation of the ghetto while serving in the Duniłowicze local police force.[22]

SOURCES Documents concerning the fate of the Jews of Duniłowicze can be found in the following archives: NARB; NHStA-H (Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65); OKŚZpNP-Gd (S/200/Zn); SWSz (K 104/54 and IV K 49/54); SWW (IV K 75/67); and YVA.

Monika Tomkiewicz
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Statement of Stefan Rombalski, March 30, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

2. 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), p. 346.

3. NARB, Minsk, 370-1-483, p. 15.

4. Statement of Weronika Myszko on December 6, 2000, OKŚZpNP-Gd, S 2/00/Zn, pp. 466–468.

5. Statement of Anna Podlipska, February 1, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

6. Statement of Edward Kusowski, November 23, 1966, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 1.

7. Statement of Jadwiga Szafarowicz, February 2, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

8. This is the figure given by M. Rajak and Z. Rajak, eds., *Memorial Book of Glebokie* [a translation into English of *Khurbn Glubok*, which was originally published in 1956 in Yiddish in Buenos Aires by the Former Residents' Association in Argentina] (1994), corresponding also with the German report, NARB, Minsk, 370-1-483, cited above.

9. NHStA-H, Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 388/65, vol. 7, p. 1212; vol. 2, p. 412; vol. 8, pp. 1322 ff.; vol. 14, pp. 2721, 2814, 2820, 2824, 2836.

10. Statement of Anna Podlipska, February 1, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

11. Statement of Jadwiga Szafarowicz, February 2, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

12. The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous, *Stories of Moral Courage*, Wanda Anishkewicz; statement of Stefan Rąbalski on April 13, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, the Aktion lasted four days, from November 21–24, and there were 828 victims; see NARB, 845-1-64, pp. 35–36, and 861-1-13, p. 117.

13. Statement of Ignacy Lipski, February 22, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

14. Statement of Helena Norenberg, November 16, 2000, OKŚZpNPBi, S 25/00/Zn, pp. 3–5.

15. YVA, 1900/181 (Boris Friedman), as cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 204.

16. Statement of Ignaci Lipski, February 22, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

17. Statement of Edward Kusowski, November 23, 1966, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 1.

18. Statement of Antoni Czyżewicz, September 29, 1966, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 1.

19. Wilke had already been sentenced to 10 year's imprisonment for other National-Socialist crimes by the court in Koblenz; see LG Koblenz 9 Ks 2/62.

20. SWW, IV K 75/67. The Highest Court in Warsaw, criminal department, reviewed the sentence against Franciszek Batory, and on October 31, 1967, revised it to seven years of imprisonment; see criminal case against Franciszek Batory and Edward Kusowski, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 3.

21. Criminal case against Stefan Rombalski, SWSz, IV K 104/54.

22. Criminal case against Leonard Sipowicz, SWSz, IV K 49/54.

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DWORZEC

Pre-1939: Dworzec, village, Nowogródek powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Dvorets, Diatlovo raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dworzec, Rayon Djatlowo, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dvarets, Dziatlava raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dworzec is located 139 kilometers (86 miles) southwest of Minsk. On the eve of the German occupation in June 1941, the number of Jews in Dworzec was probably just over 400 people, comprising about 75 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. During the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Dworzec. These included the appointment of a Judenrat, the use of Jews for forced labor, and a ban on their leaving the village. Initially, the Jews were still able to move about Dworzec with relative freedom. They were required to wear yellow stars on their clothes, but they were permitted to remain in their own homes.

In late December 1941, about 300 Jews from Lubcz and another 400 Jews from Zdzięcioł (Diatlovo) were brought to Dworzec as forced laborers.[1] More Jewish laborers were brought to Dworzec from Rubieżewicze, Iwieniec, Korelicze, and other places in the first months of 1942. The Jewish laborers were assigned to construction work on and around the site of the former Soviet airfield under the supervision of the Organisation Todt (OT). The work tasks included breaking and hauling rocks, which the Jews transported to the railroad station using a narrow-gauge railway and then loaded onto freight cars. Some Jews were engaged in constructing a bridge using tombstones from the Jewish cemetery.[2]

On March 6, 1942, Gebietskommissar Traub in Nowogródek ordered that following the concentration of the Jews in the Rayon towns of his Gebiet, no Jews were permitted to remain in the other smaller towns and villages.[3] Probably just prior to this, the Jews of Dworzec learned that those incapable of work were to be transferred to the Rayon town of Zdzięcioł. According to the account of Eli Chodok and Ichak Kosower, thanks to a handsome bribe paid to the "Engineer," the order of the Gebietskommissar was rescinded for the Jews of Dworzec, and instead the Germans established a ghetto in Dworzec, which was to contain the nonworking Jews as well as the forced laborers.[4] The ghetto occupied the territory between Molchadskaia, Goncharnaia, and Smutnaia Streets, covering an area of about 300 meters by 500 meters (328 yards by 547 yards). All the Jews were forced to move inside this area; as the ghetto continued to fill up with more forced laborers over the following months, there were about 20 Jews crowded into each house.

The daily ration consisted of a piece of bread and a bowl of soup. There was a bakery within the ghetto, where the Jews baked their own bread. The other main bakery was outside the ghetto. A small squad of about 15 local Polish and Belorussian police guarded the ghetto and escorted the Jews to their workplaces.[5]

In May and June 1942, still hundreds more Jews were brought to Dworzec, following selections conducted before and during the liquidation of several of the ghettos in the area. Among the working Jews sent to Dworzec were those from the Rubieżewicze ghetto who arrived via Iwieniec, and others from Naliboki and other nearby villages. These Jews were all of working age, having been separated from their children and elderly parents during the selections. In Iwieniec, for example, the remaining children and elderly were murdered in the forest nearby, soon after the departure of the working Jews in May. On the arrival of the Iwieniec Jews in Dworzec, there was not enough space for all of them, and some people had to live in a barn.[6]

The guard on the ghetto were not strict, and many Jews left regularly to barter clothes for food with local non-Jews. If caught, however, the Jews could be shot.[7]

By the summer of 1942, increasing partisan activity began to cause problems for the Germans. Some Jews encountered partisans on their forays outside the ghetto, and Jewish youths planned to gain arms and flee to the forests. Most Jews, however, were afraid to leave the ghetto permanently, lest their relatives and friends suffer reprisals.

The Germans liquidated the Dworzec labor camp/ghetto in the second half of December 1942. At this time there were probably about 2,500 to 3,000 Jews living there.[8] Just before the Aktion, a group of local men was ordered to dig pits in the forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the village on the road from Dworzec to Nowojelnia. For the Aktion, German and Latvian SS forces arrived in Dworzec, probably from Nowogródek. The police broke into the ghetto and chased the Jews out of their houses. Some managed to hide in secret hiding places built in advance. For example, in the house of Ted Winestone, 29 people hid during the Aktion behind a false wall constructed by his father. Many Jews were outside the ghetto when the Aktion started. Some were brought back from their work locations, but a number realized what was happening and managed to hide or escape. The head of the Judenrat, Novik, attempted to restrain those Jews who wanted to resist and negotiate with the Germans. When he came back empty-handed and confirmed that there was no more hope, a group of Jews attempted to flee by storming the fence, but they were fired on by the Germans and their collaborators. According to the estimate of Chodok and Kosower, as many as 500 Jews managed to flee or successfully went into hiding. However, the Germans set fire to the ghetto to flush out the Jews concealed in bunkers. Those Jews who were rounded up were loaded onto trucks and transported to the prepared mass graves just outside the village, where the Germans shot them. Local people covered the pits after the massacre.[9]

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Local police forces continued to hunt for Jews in the days after the Aktion, once the SS forces had departed. Some Jews managed to escape from their hiding places in the ghetto and make it into the forest or find shelter with local non-Jews. For example, Reiza Bochkovoch and her daughter Rocha were hidden with the help of Vladimir Vetko for more than a year.[10] According to one account, about 200 Jews survived the Aktion at the end of December and remained in Dworzec for a few more weeks before they in turn were shot.[11] Other sources indicate that at some time after the massacre, probably in 1943, about 50 Jews were caught in the forest near the village and were also shot.[12]

SOURCES Information about the ghetto/forced labor camp in Dworzec can be found in the following publications: B. Kaplinski, ed., *Pinkas Zhetl* (Tel Aviv: Zetel Association in Israel, 1957); and "Dworzec," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 236–238.

Documents regarding the ghetto/forced labor camp in Dworzec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/2907, 2994, 3167, and 3356); BA-L (e.g., B 162/27191); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); MA (A.108 and A.144); NARB; USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 6593, 15385, 24696, and 43261); and YVA (e.g., O-16/436).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65), vol. 1, pp. 135–136, statement of Wolf Solomianski, May 10, 1966; and AŻIH, 301/2907, testimony of Eli Chodak and Icchak Kosower.

2. Testimony of A. Evlanova, November 23, 1976, in Alexander Kruglov's personal archive; VHF, # 15385; BA-L, B 162/27191, vol. 1, pp. 135–136, statement of Wolf Solomianski; Michael Walzer-Fass, ed., *Korelits-Korelitsh: Hayeha vehurbanah shel kehilah Yehudit* (Tel Aviv: Society in Israel and the USA, 1973), pp. 19–34, and 235–244; and AŻIH, 301/2907, testimony of Eli Chodak and Icchak Kosower.

3. Order of Gebietskommissar Traub in Nowogrodek, March 6, 1942, original in the Museum of History and Regional Studies in Novogrudok, collection of documents regarding the war. A facsimile and English translation are published in Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 156–158.

4. AŻIH, 301/2907, testimony of Eli Chodak and Icchak Kosower. BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 73/67, statement of Shmuel Gurion, July 26, 1968, confirms that whereas the Jewish forced laborers arrived without their families, children and elderly Jews native to Dworzec remained in the ghetto, which also made it possible for some children from other ghettos to sneak in and find refuge in Dworzec.

5. BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65), vol. 1, pp. 135–136; VHF, # 15385, testimony of Ted Winestone, and # 43261, testimony of Samual Scherb; and information gathered by Tamara Verchitskaya from Dmitri Vladimirovich Vetko, a resident of Dworzec, born in 1926.

6. BA-L, ZstL /202 AR-Z 73/67, statement of Shmuel Gurion, July 26, 1968; VHF, # 24696, testimony of Genia Nowog (born 1925), and # 6593, testimony of Aaron Oshman (born 1910).

7. YVA, O-16/436, testimony of Mordechai Ralnik; and VHF, # 15385.

8. According to Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 258, 2,500 Jews were shot. From December 11 to 20, 1942, Operation Hamburg, an antipartisan sweep, was conducted in the area north of Slonim, and 2,958 Jews were shot in its course (see *Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten*, no. 38, January 22, 1943). It is possible that these were mainly Jews from the Dworzec ghetto. BA-L, ZStL/202 AR 94e/59, vol. 1, pp. 70–80, gives the date of December 28, 1942, as do several other sources. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 705, gives the date of December 19, citing probably 3,000 victims.

9. BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 73/67, statement of Shmuel Gurion, July 26, 1968; AŻIH, 301/2907; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), pp. 165–166; and VHF, # 15385, testimony of Ted Winestone. Winestone asserts that a gas van was used to kill the Jews, but his version, probably based on hearsay, is unlikely, as other witnesses describe the vehicles as trucks.

10. Information gathered by Tamara Vershitskaya from Dmitri Vladimirovich Vetko.

11. YVA, O-16/436, testimony of Mordechai Ralnik.

12. According to information gathered by Tamara Vershitskaia, the remains of 51 bodies from Dworzec were reburied in the Jewish cemetery in Diatlovo. On June 25, 2006, a new monument was established at the grave by the Diana and Simon Lazarus Foundation. The text on the plaque reads: "To the Nazi victims: 54 Jews from the village of Dworzec, brutally murdered in 1942 [*sic*] are buried here."

DZERZHINSK

Pre-1941: Dzerzhinsk (until 1932: Koidanovo); Yiddish: Koydenov), town, raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Koidanow, Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dziarzhynsk, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dzerzhinsk is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,314 Jews living in Dzerzhinsk, accounting for 15 percent of the total population.[1]

Units of the XLVII Panzer Corps captured the town on June 28, 1941, only six days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. As a result, only a small number of Jews managed to evacuate, and a few were mobilized into the Red Army. It is estimated that around 1,000 Jews remained in Dzerzhinsk at the start of the German occupation. As Dzerzhinsk lay on the main railroad line from Brest to Minsk, much of the town was destroyed by aerial bombardment or in the fighting as the town was captured.

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One Jewish survivor recounts that most of the young Jewish men of the town were killed within the first three or four days of the occupation. One of the young men, Iashke Kitievitsh, jumped from the truck as he was being taken away, but the Germans pursued him and shot him in the fields.[2]

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. Soon after the onset of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered Jews to wear distinguishing armbands and to perform various kinds of forced labor.[3] In August 1941, all the Jews of Dzerzhinsk were moved into a ghetto, which was located on a single street, as most of the rest of the town had been burned.[4]

As of September 1941, authority was officially transferred to a German civil administration. Dzerzhinsk became part of Gebiet Minsk-Land, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. However, it took several months for the civil administration to establish itself in the smaller towns and villages. In the meantime, the Ortskommandantur, now subordinated to Major von Bechtelsheim, the military commander for Weissruthenien in Minsk, continued to exert authority in towns such as Dzerzhinsk into the fall of 1941.

The liquidation of the Dzerzhinsk ghetto was planned for October 20, 1941. According to the report of the German 11th Reserve Police Battalion, however, it had to be deferred for one day, as heavy rains made the soft (unpaved) roads impassable. Then on October 21, the 2nd and 4th Companies of the German 11th Reserve Police Battalion (commanded by Polizei-Major Franz Lechthaler), along with two companies of the attached 2nd Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, shot "1,000 Jews and Communists" in Dzerzhinsk.[5]

Sanzie Shuster, who managed to survive with her husband because they were sent to work at the train station outside the town on the day of the roundup, recalls several details of the events. The Germans and their collaborators collected all the Jews and drove them up the Kolvintshine Hill, where an old castle stood. Here they had prepared a deep, wide pit. The Jews, old and young, were shot in groups and their bodies were thrown into the pit. When Sanzie returned to town at the end of the day, Belorussian women, with tears in their eyes, told her what had happened. They warned Sanzie and her husband to flee and save themselves.[6]

Present at the killing site was a local inhabitant who had observed the digging of the large pits on the night before the mass shooting. He recalled:

> They came from there, women, children, babies, and old people. Jews they were, hundreds of them. The queue led all the way back up the hill as far as the eye could see. The babies were wailing and many of the children were in tears. Their mothers were trying to calm them but the soldiers showed no patience. . . . At the base of the hill, the Jews were put into groups of about 10 or 12. Soldiers forced them to undress and then lined them up in front of the pit. Then another group of soldiers—with rifles—stepped forward. . . . They didn't waste their bullets on the babies and children; they simply used the bayonet.[7]

Another local witness, Ivan Vasilievich Marshak, was ordered by local policemen to dig the pits. According to his account, the Germans brought the Jews to the pits, and then the Lithuanians, about 80 men, took over. The Germans made the Jews lie in the pits, and the Lithuanians shot them. The Lithuanian soldiers stood out from the Germans because their uniforms were yellow (or tan), whereas the German uniforms were green. Men, women, and children were shot; it was a terrible sight. When one group had been shot, another was driven in and made to lie on the corpses. During the shooting, Marshak waited about 50 meters (55 yards) away under German guard. Afterwards he had to help fill in the pit.[8] Two women who were only wounded managed with effort to climb out of the mass grave. However, the murderers caught them and shot them again in the same pit.[9]

At the beginning of March 1942, the German Security Police (KdS) rounded up about 3,000 Jews in the Minsk ghetto and loaded them onto a train at the Minsk-Tovarnaia railway station. From there they were transported to the Dzerzhinsk railway station, where they were shot over two days in nearby pits by men of the KdS from Minsk, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliaries.[10]

A number of Jews from Dzerzhinsk managed to survive. For example, Roza Fridson, the head of the raion health department before the German invasion, took refuge in a nearby village with her 14-year-old daughter. When their hostess found out they were Jews and asked them to leave, they moved to Minsk, where they passed as "Aryans" and worked for the Soviet partisan resistance.[11] A few others also lived under false identity or escaped to join the Soviet partisans operating in the forests around Minsk.[12]

For participation in the murder of Jews in Dzerzhinsk and in other towns and villages in Lithuania and Belorussia in the summer and fall of 1941, seven former members of the 2nd (later 12th) Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, including the former commander of the 1st Company, Zianonas Kiamzura, and the former commander of the 3rd Company, Juozas Usialis, were sentenced to death in a trial held in Kaunas between October 10 and 20, 1962. The former battalion commander, Antanas Impulevicius, received a death sentence in absentia, and the case of one other defendant was remitted for further inquiry.

On January 9, 1963, the Landgericht Kassel (Germany) imposed a sentence of two years' imprisonment on the former commander of the 11th Reserve Police Battalion, Franz Lechthaler. The former commander of the 2nd Company of this battalion, Willi Papenkort, was acquitted.

On July 23, 1979, in a trial in Vilnius, the former commander of the 1st Platoon/1st Company/2nd (12th) Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, Jonas Plunge, was sentenced to death for participation in the murder of Jews in various towns and villages of Lithuania and Belorussia in the summer and fall of 1941.

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SOURCES Some information on the fate of the Jewish community of Dzerzhinsk during the Holocaust can be found in Abraham Reizin, ed., *Koydenov: Zamlbukh tsum ondenk fun di koydenover kdoyshim* (New York: United Koidanover Association, 1955).

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Dzerzhinsk can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-5); LYA (Impulevicius trial record, Vilnius, in October 1962); NARB (651-1-1); VHF (# 24632 and 29487); and YVA (M-33/423).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale/Keter, 2007), 12:267; 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. 38.
2. Reizin, *Koydenov*, pp. 252–253.
3. VHF, # 24632, testimony of Faina Avskerova, and # 29487, testimony of Emma Zanger.
4. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 41, names the location as Pervomaiskaia Street; Reizin, *Koydenov*, pp. 252–253, says that it was on Vilne Gas. These may have been different names for the same street.
5. NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 3–7, situation report of the 11th Reserve Police Battalion (no. 176/41 g), Minsk, October 21, 1941, published in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 472–473).
6. Reizin, *Koydenov*, p. 239.
7. Mark Kurzem, *The Mascot: The Extraordinary Story of a Young Jewish Boy and an SS Extermination Squad* (London: Rider, 2007), p. 279.
8. LYA, statements of Ivan Vasilievich Marshchak (Marshak) in the trial of Antanas Impulevicius and others, held in Vilnius in October 1962, p. 186.
9. Reizin, *Koydenov*, p. 253. In 1971, a monument was placed at the site of the mass graves; see Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 41.
10. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 150–151. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 552, pp. 205–207. This source reports the number of victims as at least 1,000.
11. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 345. Roza was subsequently captured by the Gestapo and sent to the Eruville concentration camp in France, where she was liberated by the French Resistance, which she then joined.
12. Reizin, *Koydenov*, pp. 253, 257; and VHF, # 29487, testimony of Emma Zanger.

DZIEWIENISZKI

Pre-1939: Dziewieniszki (Yiddish: Divenishok), town, Oszmiana powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Devenishki, Oshmiany raion, Belorussian SSR; Dieveniške, Eišiškės apskritis (Devenishkes, Eishishkes uezd), Lithuanian SSR; 1941: Dziewienischki, Rayon Woronow, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; 1942-1944: Kreis Eischischken (Eišiškės), Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Dieveniškės, Šalčininkai rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Dziewieniszki is located 58 kilometers (36 miles) south-southeast of Wilno on the Gawia River; and is surrounded by dense forests. In 1897, the Jewish population in Dziewieniszki was 1,225.

The German army occupied Dziewieniszki on June 25, 1941. The Germans established a local council headed by an antisemitic Polish teacher. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Dziewieniszki was incorporated initially into Gebiet Lida within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. On April 1, 1942, however, the town was transferred to Gebiet Wilna-Land in Generalkommissariat Litauen. This was accompanied by the transfer of power to a Lithuanian local administration.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. A five-person Judenrat was appointed, which was charged with supplying men to the Germans for forced labor; Jews were made to wear distinguishing badges in the shape of the Star of David; and they were forbidden to leave the town limits.

In September 1941, the Jews of Dziewieniszki were herded into a ghetto established in the area of the synagogues.[1] According to the survivor, Iakov Gaukhman, who was transferred into the Dziewieniszki ghetto from Soleczniki in late fall (there was a sprinkling of snow): "[T]he right side of the town was for the Jews—70 percent were already living in this area. At this time the ghetto was unfenced."[2]

When Dziewieniszki was absorbed into Weissruthenien in 1941, other nearby towns became part of Generalkommissariat Litauen (Lithuania). In these towns, the Lithuanians had murdered all the Jews by the fall of 1941. Under strong lobbying from local Lithuanians, the German authorities decided to transfer Dziewieniszki to Lithuania in 1942. When this news became known, it caused considerable panic among the Jews of Dziewieniszki. Therefore, according to one account, the head of the Judenrat bribed the German Gebietskommissar in Lida, Hermann Hanweg, so that the Jews could be moved to Woronów, the nearest Rayon town in Weissruthenien, to prevent their coming under Lithuanian rule.[3] Whether or not it was the result of a bribe, Hanweg ordered the Jews from Dziewieniszki and several nearby villages to be brought to the Woronów ghetto in the second half of December 1941.[4] On the day of the transfer, a detachment of armed men in civilian clothing herded the Jews into the two synagogues, then transported them in wagons to Woronów.[5]

In the Woronów ghetto, the Dziewieniszki Jews suffered from intolerable overcrowding and hunger. All able-bodied Jews were assigned to hard labor, cutting down trees. Ten days

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after their arrival, the Germans arrested 28 elderly Jews from Dziewieniszki and brutally murdered them. Many more Jews from Dziewieniszki were killed in the large Aktion against the Woronów ghetto on May 11, 1942. At this time the ghetto was liquidated, and those Jews deemed fit for work were transferred to the Lida ghetto. On September 17, 1943, the remaining Jews from Dziewieniszki, together with the other Jews from Woronów, Lida, and other places, were sent from Lida to the Majdanek concentration camp near Lublin.[6]

SOURCES Information regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dziewieniszki can be found in the following publications: David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Divenishok; yad vashem le-ayara yehudit* (Israel: Divenishok Societies in Israel and the United States, 1977); Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 254–257; and Arūnas Bubnys, "Holocaust in Lithuanian Province in 1941," on the Web site of the International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania, available at www.komisija.lt.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Dziewieniszki during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF; USHMM; VHF (# 6403); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Shannon Phillips
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Bubnys, "Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941"; and Shtokfish, *Sefer Divenishok*.
2. VHF, # 6403, testimony of Iakov Gaukhman.
3. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, *Vol. 8 Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, 8:254–257.
4. Moshe Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova" (unpub. MSS, 1943, USHMM Archives: RG-3.019).
5. Bubnys, "Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941."
6. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:254–257; and Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova."

DZISNA

Pre-1939: Dzisna, *town and powiat center*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Disna*, *raion center*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dissna*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Glebokie*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dzisna*, *Miory raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Dzisna is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, the Jewish population in Dzisna was probably in excess of 4,500 people.

In the days following the German invasion on June 22, 1941, about half the Jewish population fled, seeking safety to the east. On June 28, the city was shelled by both German and Russian forces, and part of the town burned down, including the synagogues. Many Jews tried to cross the bridge over the Dwina River into pre-1939 Soviet territory, but some were turned back by Soviet officials. Others took refuge in nearby towns and villages, owing to the widespread destruction in Dzisna.

After Dzisna was occupied on July 3, the German military authorities (Ortskommandantur) ordered those people hiding in the countryside to return home. They also forced Jews from neighboring villages into the town, including those from Jazno and Wołkowo. They appointed a local administration with a man named Solintsev as mayor and established a local police force recruited from local Belorussians and Poles. In the summer of 1941, German security forces shot several people as alleged Communist activists.

In late July or August 1941, the Ortskommandant in Dzisna ordered all the Jews to move into a small ghetto area. The ghetto in Dzisna was located close to the Dzisna River, on "Polotzker Gas" and its side streets, as well as half of "Gluboker Gas." This was an area where mostly Jews had lived before the war. Entire families lived in the ghetto, including men, women, and children. Those who had to relocate were only able to bring with them what they could carry themselves. Houses, cattle, horses, shops, and most personal goods had to be left behind. Around 3,000 people were forced into extremely dirty and crowded conditions. Many families (more than 40 people) shared a single dwelling, with three or four families to a room. The ghetto was not fenced in but was effectively isolated by the two rivers, with access only via an iron bridge guarded by a German sentry. Farmers were allowed to cross the bridge to barter food for goods, but Jewish movement was severely restricted.[1]

The Ortskommandant appointed a Judenrat, which had to carry out all German orders. It was composed of five men, headed by Nachum Rochlin; the other members included Gordon and Hausmann. A Jewish police force, headed by Berke Weispapir, was stationed by the bridge to monitor people assigned to forced labor outside the ghetto by the Judenrat. Jews were detailed to sweep the town's streets, clean the police headquarters, clear the rubble from the shelling, and tend a vegetable garden on an island in the Dwina River called Stefan Batory. According to testimony in the yizkor book, work was unpaid and accompanied by beatings. There were no food distributions to the ghetto. People with possessions had to barter for food. However, the Judenrat collected food for the neediest people. Contributions were imposed by the German authorities in the form of demands for money, gold, copper, furs, leather, and furniture, which were accompanied by dire threats.[2] There is also mention in at least one account of German soldiers raping Jewish girls.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the Germans established a civil administration; the town became the center of one of nine Rayons in Gebiet Glebokie, which was headed by Gebietskommissar Paul Hachmann. A small squad of German Gendarmes arrived in Dzisna and took command of the local police (now renamed Schutzmannschaft). The head of the local police was a Pole, Swiniarski, and his deputy was Alfons Bielski.

In the ghetto, the children were not permitted to go to school. Due to the food shortages, some Jews died of hunger.

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The first Aktion took place on March 28, 1942, when a group of 30 Jews were shot, reportedly as a reprisal for the death of the son of the German Gebietskommissar. In early June, news arrived of the liquidation of the ghettos in the nearby towns of Lużki and Miory. This prompted the Jews in the Dzisna ghetto to prepare for the worst. Each night young sentries were posted to alert the inhabitants of any signs of hostile movement. Each household put aside some gasoline to set the houses on fire and thereby deprive the oppressors of any material gain when the Aktion started.[4]

On the night of June 14–15, 1942, a squad of the Security Police from Lepel', reinforced by forces of the Gendarmerie from Wilejka and the local police, surrounded the Dzisna ghetto, which according to German records had 2,181 inhabitants. At 3:00 A.M., the sentries alerted the ghetto that an Aktion was imminent. As the Germans and their collaborators entered the ghetto, some Jews resisted, throwing stones, pieces of iron, and bottles. Jews set their houses on fire, and many tried to flee in the confusion. Some Jews swam across the river, hoping to evade the police guards posted on the banks. A number of Jews were murdered inside the ghetto as the Belorussian police searched the houses, looking for Jews in hiding and seizing any remaining property. Those who were taken alive were escorted out of town to Piaskowe Górki, where they were shot in two mass graves not far from the ghetto.[5]

In total, a few hundred Jews managed to flee to the forest. Some found hiding places with local peasants, but many were turned in or found by the local police over the following days. The Germans offered a bounty of a packet of tobacco and a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of salt as a reward to those assisting them.[6] Some of those who escaped made their way to Głębokie, where the ghetto was still intact, and remained there until the liquidation of that ghetto in the summer of 1943. Others stayed in hiding or joined local partisan units.

On January 22, 1943, the 17 Jewish artisans who remained alive after the ghetto liquidation in Dzisna were murdered by local policemen in the building of the high school.[7]

On May 4, 1965, Alfons Bielski, the deputy commander of the Belorussian police in Rayon Dissna from 1941 to 1944, was convicted by a Polish court of taking part in the liquidation of the ghetto in Dzisna, among other crimes. He was sentenced to the death penalty, but the Supreme Court in Warsaw commuted it to life imprisonment on September 2, 1965.

SOURCES Documents dealing with the fate of Dzisna's Jewish population during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1390-95 [202 AR-Z 37/60]); GARF (7021-92-213); IPN-Kos (IVK 96/64); NARB (370-1-483); USHMM; and YVA.

The yizkor book for Dzisna in Hebrew and Yiddish, edited by Abraham Beilin, Dov Bernstein, and Shalom Tsirlin, *Disnah: Sefer zikaron li-kehilah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Disnah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1969), contains several accounts regarding the Holocaust period, including brief descriptions of life in the ghetto.

Elżbieta Rojowska, Samuel Fishman, and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Beilin, Bernstein, and Tsirlin, *Disnah*, pp. 162, 168, 181; BA-L, B 162/1391 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 2), pp. 849–851, statement of Ester Zwik, October 23, 1961.
2. Beilin, Bernstein, and Tsirlin, *Disnah*, p. 168.
3. Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:303.
4. Beilin, Bernstein, and Tsirlin, *Disnah*, 168–169, 181–182.
5. Ibid., pp. 169–170; NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of the Gebietskommissar in Glebokie on the Jewish Aktion, July 1, 1942; see also IPN-Kos, IVK 96/64, proceedings of the Provincial Court in Koszalin, in the criminal case against Alfons Bielski.
6. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), pp. 163, 261; and Beilin, Bernstein, and Tsirlin, *Disnah*, p. 164.
7. IPN-Kos, IVK 96/64, proceedings of the Provincial Court in Koszalin, in the criminal case against Alfons Bielski; and *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), 6:75.

GŁĘBOKIE

Pre-1939: Głębokie, town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Glubokoe, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Glebokie, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Hlubokoe, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Głębokie is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) north of Minsk. In 1939, just over 5,000 Jews resided in the town.[1]

The German army arrived on July 2, 1941. During the summer, a series of German military commandant offices (Ortskommandanturen) administered the town. Each successive commandant issued new orders, including a series of anti-Jewish measures.[2]

After some time, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first head of the Judenrat was Gershon Ledermann. To prevent the arbitrary seizure of Jews from the streets, the Judenrat assumed responsibility for assigning people to forced labor in accordance with German demands. The Jewish Police rounded up Jews for work. At the work sites, German supervisors and local guards often beat and humiliated the Jews.

On August 31, 1941, authority in the region was transferred formally to a German civil administration, headed by Generalkommissar Wilhelm Kube in Minsk. In Głębokie the Gebietskommissar was Paul Hachmann, who because of illness was represented during the summer of 1942 by acting Gebietskommissar Petersen. Much of the staff of the civil administration did not arrive until November or December 1941, such that the transition from military to full civil control stretched over several months. From early 1942 until the summer of that year, the SS- und PolizeiGebietsführer in charge of the Gendarmerie in Głębokie was Wilhelm Schulz. The Gendarmerie post in Głębokie consisted of 10 to 12 Gendarmes, supported by about 50 members of the local police (Schutzmannschaft).[3]

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Jewish men working in a carpentry shop in the Głębokie ghetto, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #08058, COURTESY OF KARL KATZ

The Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Głębokie on October 22, 1941. The Jews were given only half an hour to move into an area of just a few streets.[4] The ghetto was terribly overcrowded, with several families sharing a single room; most people had to sleep on the floor. The forced relocation of many Jews provided another opportunity for neighbors to loot Jewish property. Young girls helped themselves to items the Jews were unable to take with them in their enforced haste. Local police guards obtained bribes for permitting Jews to smuggle wood into the ghetto for fuel. Non-Jews also sold food illegally at inflated prices, sometimes cheating the Jews in the process.[5]

An inspection visit to Głębokie by officials of the civil administration from Minsk in November 1941 noted that Jewish property had been inventoried and registered on lists. It went on to comment that "since Jews provide the craftsmen and other workers that are absolutely necessary, a liquidation cannot be conducted."[6] The ghetto was surrounded with a wooden fence and watched by armed guards.[7] Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto, and those that went outside to work did so under police escort. Jews were searched on returning to the ghetto, and those caught smuggling might be shot. If not, they were arrested and beaten but could be released in return for a bribe. In December 1941, the Germans murdered more than 100 male Roma (Gypsies) near Głębokie; their children were left to die of cold. At this time Jewish fugitives from other communities brought news of the massacres of Jews conducted in the region, such as in the village of Jody within Gebiet Glebokie, or in many towns in Lithuania. In the winter of 1941–1942, some Jews were moved into the Głębokie ghetto from the nearby village of Królewszczyzna.[8]

On March 25, 1942, the German Gendarmerie assisted by the local police shot 110 Jews from the ghetto. According to the *Memorial Book*, this Aktion was a reprisal taken for the uncovering of a love affair between a Jewish girl and the German Gendarmerie commander Schulz, which subsequently led him to be charged with defiling the race (*Rassenschande*). The local police also exploited this roundup to settle old scores with some Jewish neighbors. Shortly after the Aktion, the area of the ghetto in Głębokie was reduced in size, and Jewish property was stolen from the vacated rooms. German officials and local policemen took the best houses for themselves. Around this time another 800 Jews arrived in the ghetto, including about 250 Jews from the village of Hołubicze, 18 kilometers (11 miles) to the east of Głębokie.[9]

In return for a fee, local policemen offered to warn Jews of forthcoming Aktions. When the Security Police appeared in Głębokie in May 1942, at the start of a new wave of anti-Jewish massacres in the region, the Głębokie Jews began to prepare for the worst and construct hiding places. Remaining valuables were scraped together in the hope that this bribe would encourage the SD to leave. Some 20 Jewish victims were killed as a result of this visit.[10]

In June 1942, the Germans established a separate "second ghetto" in Głębokie for Jews unable to work. Then on June 19, 1942, the Germans conducted an Aktion in the town. German security units and local police arrived in Głębokie and ordered all the Jews from the main ghetto to assemble on the sports field to have their work permits renewed. Here the Germans conducted a selection. Some of the Jews were sent back to the ghetto, and the others were told that they had been selected to go to another town to work. Soon, however, they found themselves being driven brutally about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town to the Borok Forest, where the Germans and local police shot them into prepared ditches. On the next day, the Jews from the unproductive "second ghetto" shared the same fate. According to a report by the Gebietskommissar, 2,200 Jews were killed.

On July 2, the ghetto was again reduced in size, resulting in further property losses.

German reports from the summer of 1942 provide a detailed picture of the wealth officially looted from the Jewish community. Acting Gebietskommissar Petersen calculated that up to August 31, 1942, a total of 358,000 RM had been collected and transferred to the Reich Credit Bank (Reichskreditkasse) in Minsk. The main components of this income were Jewish contributions of about 200,000 RM; profits raised from the sale of clothing, livestock, and Jewish real estate; and income from Jewish labor farmed out on a contract basis, mainly to the Wehrmacht. Not included in this total were 5,875 gold rubles (in coins), almost 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold objects, over 112 kilograms (247 pounds) of silver coins, and 36 kilograms (79 pounds) of Polish nickel coins that were sent to the Reich Credit Bank in Riga.[11]

From the end of May to the middle of June 1942, German forces of the Security Police in Lepel' commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Heinz Tangermann liquidated most of the other ghettos in Gebiet Glebokie. Generalkommissar Kube noted that these forces from the Rear Area, Army Group Center (Rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte) had murdered 10,000 Jews in Gebiet Glebokie without consulting the civil administration in advance. According to Kube, this had disturbed

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preparations already made by the civil administration for the systematic eradication of these Jews. During these ghetto liquidations, hundreds of Jews escaped into the surrounding forests. After the Aktions, most of the skilled craftsmen who had been kept alive were sent to the ghetto in Głębokie, which had become a major center of craft production for the Wehrmacht. The Gebietskommissar reported on July 1, 1942, that 2,200 Jews remained in the Głębokie ghetto, but this number was soon to increase considerably.[12]

In August 1942, the Glebokie Gebietskommissar spread news of an amnesty for Jews in hiding, if they surrendered and came to the Głębokie ghetto.[13] The head of the Głębokie Judenrat, Lederman, passed this message on to Jews in hiding. As a result, hundreds of Jews came out of hiding in the forest over the ensuing weeks, especially with the onset of winter, and made their way to the Głębokie ghetto.[14]

Following the massacres in the summer of 1942, the remaining Jews in Głębokie were put to work in a variety of workshops. According to a report dated October 20, 1942, 1,151 Jews were working on Wehrmacht contracts in Głębokie, including more than 800 involved in knitting socks and other garments. Others worked for the civil administration. A number of Jews were engaged in salvaging Jewish property, which was collected in local warehouses. A large laundry was established to clean the clothes of victims for sale. During the sorting and washing, some Jewish workers recognized items belonging to their own relatives, such as Manye Freydkin, who found the shirt of her murdered husband, Shimon.[15] The German officials stationed in Głębokie took some of the most valuable items and also much of the production of Jewish craftsmen, sending large quantities back to Germany for friends and relatives or to line their own pockets.[16] Dozens of train cars left Głębokie loaded with cloth, leather, wool, footwear, knitted items, and foodstuffs packed by a special office of the Gebietskommissar.

In the fall of 1942, a few youths in the ghetto started to obtain weapons and make plans to flee to the forest. The majority of Jews opposed these preparations, fearing they would only provoke the Germans into destroying the ghetto. Some Jews, however, felt compelled to act, such as Yakov Suchowolski, who as a teenager left the ghetto on December 22, 1942, with a group of armed friends without informing his parents. He returned two weeks later, out of fear that his family might be killed as a reprisal. Indeed, his parents were arrested and shot shortly afterwards, and he only just managed to escape from arrest himself. In the forest he joined up with other mainly Jewish partisans and conducted attacks against isolated German outposts. Suchowolski subsequently returned to the ghetto several times, aiming to train other youths to fight and lead them out into the forest. Other survivors stress that they were not aware of an armed underground inside the ghetto, as those who obtained arms fled to the forest. Nonetheless, the Germans reported encountering some armed resistance during the ghetto's liquidation in August 1943.[17]

Jewish men make wooden shoes in the Głębokie ghetto, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #07973, COURTESY OF KARL KATZ

The liquidation of the Głębokie ghetto does not appear to have been carefully planned but resulted instead from the desertion on August 17, 1943, of a force of 1,700 Russian volunteers (collaborators), the so-called Druschina Battalion, which was stationed around Głębokie. The deserting Druschina unit joined forces with local Soviet partisans and murdered most of the German officials in Dokszyce before attacking the railway station in Królewszczyzna, killing more than 70 Germans and collaborators altogether. The weakened German forces feared an attack on Głębokie, which might link up with the 4,000 Jews in the ghetto. Instead, the Druschina forces probably headed southeast towards Berezino, where another Druschina unit was based. This gave the German forces time to regroup and call in reinforcements. They turned their attention first to the liquidation of the ghetto to prevent the Jews from escaping and reinforcing the partisans.

In Głębokie, events unfolded very quickly. On August 19, SS men came to the Judenrat and confiscated its funds and any remaining valuables. The guard around the ghetto was dramatically increased during the night, and at 4:00 A.M. on August 20 an SS officer instructed the Judenrat that all Jews were to report in two hours to be deported to Lublin. When the Jews responded by trying to escape, a hail of bullets greeted them. The Jews then took cover in cellars and attics, and a very one-sided battle ensued in the ghetto over the following days. The German forces, assisted by the local police, tried to smoke out the Jews by setting the buildings on fire or throwing hand grenades into the cellars and hiding places. A number of Jews managed to sneak out under cover of darkness, but more than 3,000 were shot or burned alive, mostly in or close to the ghetto. Much of the town was destroyed during the ghetto's liquidation, and the manhunt for escaped Jews continued for weeks afterwards.[18]

Some 7,000 Jews passed through the Głębokie ghetto, stemming from at least 42 different communities. Only a small fraction survived, either by joining Jewish or Soviet partisan groups or by hiding in the forest or with non-Jews who helped to conceal them.

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SOURCES Information on the Jews of Głębokie are in the following: *Memorial Book of Glebokie* [a translation into English of *Khurbn Glubok* by M. Rajak and Z. Rajak] (Buenos Aires: Association of Former Residents of Glebokie in Argentina, 1994); Martin Dean, "Die Enteignung 'jüdischen Eigentums' im Reichskommissariat Ostland 1941–1944," in Irmtrud Wojak and Peter Hayes, eds., *"Arisierung" im Nationalsozialismus: Volksgemeinschaft, Raub und Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2000), pp. 201–218; Jakow Suchowolskij, "Es gab weder Schutz noch Erlösung, weder Sicherheit noch Rettung. Jüdischer Widerstand und der Untergang des Ghettos Glubokoje," *Dachauer Hefte* 20 (2004): 22–38.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/25); BA-L (e.g., B 162/1390-94); GARF (7021-92-212); NARB (e.g., 370-1-481); Sta. Hannover (2 JS 388/65); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.078*01; RG-18.002M; and RG-53.002M); VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. 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), p. 433; and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale/Keter, 2007), 7: 642–643, "Glubokoye."

2. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 23–40.

3. Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–44* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 125, 137; and BA-L, B 162/1394 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 5), pp. 1893–1896, statement of Bruno Weiss, August 16, 1968.

4. NARB, 845-1-206, p. 154, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, dated March 23, 1945, states that the ghetto covered the area of Karl-Marx, Engels, Red Army, and Red Partisan Streets, but these are the names given to the streets once the Red Army had recaptured the town in 1944.

5. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 46–51; see also Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat'ko, and N.A. Redkozubova, eds., *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archives of the Republic of Belarus, 1998), pp. 83–84, Gebietskommissar to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, July 10, 1942.

6. USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 11 (NARB), 370-1-55, Inspection report on visit to Głębokie on November 14, 1941.

7. BA-L, B 162/1394, pp. 1893–1896, statement of Bruno Weiss, August 16, 1968.

8. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 44–57; NARB, 845-1-206, p. 156. The ChGK report gives a much higher figure of around 1,000 Roma murdered around Głębokie altogether. Spector and Wigoder's *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 679, indicates that the transfer from Królewszczyzna did not occur until April 1942.

9. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 58–61; BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 362–446, statement of Abraam Feldscher, August 3, 1961.

10. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 60–64; on the wave of killing in Gebiet Glebokie, see Adamushko, Knat'ko, and Redkozubova, *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus*, p. 75, Gebietskommissar to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, July 1, 1942.

11. Adamushko Knat'ko, and Redkozubova, *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus*, p. 107, Gebietskommissar Glebokie to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, September 4, 1942, and pp. 66–67, Gebietskommissar to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, June 22, 1942.

12. Adamushko Knat'ko, and Redkozubova, *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus*, p. 75, Gebietskommissar to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, July 1, 1942; and International Military Tribunal, ed., *The Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (*IMT*) [Blue Series] (Nuremberg, 1947), 32:279–281, 3428-PS, Report of Generalkommissar Kube to Reichskommissar Hinrich Lohse, July 31, 1942.

13. USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc.1998.89, "Survival in German-occupied Poland," p. 46; and Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), p. 155.

14. BA-L, B 162/1390, pp. 362–426, testimony of Schabtai Edelmann (aka Estrow), August 14, 1961. See also AŻIH, 302/47, diary of Yitzhak Aron.

15. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, p. 94.

16. Ibid., pp. 94–100.

17. Suchowolskij, "Es gab weder Schutz noch Erlösung," pp. 29–32; BA-L, B 162/1391, p. 918, statement of Miriam Chanciska, and p. 968, statement of Chlawne Gelersztejn, November 25, 1962.

18. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 120–130; Suchowolskij, "Es gab weder Schutz noch Erlösung," pp. 32–35; and NARB, 370-1-481, Report of August 22, 1943. Survivor accounts recall the ghetto being bombed from the air, but the German report notes rather that one week earlier aircraft bearing German insignia had circled for a while before bombing the monastery where the German police had their headquarters.

GRÓDEK WILEŃSKI

Pre-1939: Gródek, town, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodok, Radoshkovichi raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodok, Rayon Radoschkowitschi, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Haradok, Maladzechna raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Gródek is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Minsk. At the time of the German occupation, there were about 150 Jewish families (about 1,000 Jews) residing in the town.

Units of the German army entered Gródek in early July 1941. Initially a German military commandant's office was responsible for administering the area. At the end of August, a civil administration was established, and Gródek became part of Rayon Radoschkowitschi in Gebiet Wilejka. The German Gebietskommissar in Wilejka was Kreisobmann Schmidt. In the fall of 1941, a local Gendarmerie post was established in Gródek, which also took over the local Belorussian police force. The local mayor was a man named Producha.[1]

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Group portrait of students and teachers at the Hebrew language Tarbut school in Gródek, May 1928. The children hold Hebrew signs with mottos of sayings from the sages.
USHMM WS #28973, COURTESY OF FANYA SZUSTER PORTNOY

In the summer of 1941, the newly established local Belorussian police arrested several former officials of the Soviet village council, who were then shot in the town's old castle. This event was witnessed by some of the town's Jews.[2] The Germans also established a Judenrat to implement their orders. Its chairman was Ephraim Recki; the other members were Nachman Swirski, Isaak Bunimowicz, Szmaiohu Cukerman, and Chanan Moszkowski.[3] The Judenrat assigned Jews to work on constructing a barracks for the German forces, felling trees, and railroad construction work. In the fall of 1941, on the orders of Gebietskommissar Schmidt, the Jews were requested to surrender items of value, such as watches, furs, money, 2,000 suits of clothes, and bed linen. The Judenrat tried its best to fulfill these demands, collecting the items from the Jews, in the hope of appeasing the German authorities with the aid of bribes. There was also a Jewish police force, which protected the inmates of the ghetto and did not cooperate with the Gestapo.[4]

There were some individual shootings of Jews, but unlike many neighboring communities, there was no large-scale massacre in the summer or fall of 1941.

The Germans established a ghetto on March 13, 1942, which was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.[5] The ghetto was based around the two red-brick synagogues. The Jews were all concentrated in about 20 old homes near the two synagogues.

On hearing of the massacres in other nearby towns, a group of 7 Jews from Gródek, including Yehuda Adelman and Gershon Zofeh, prepared a dugout in the forest nearby and intended to slip through the barbed-wire fence to hide there when they suspected the SS was coming to liquidate the ghetto. In May 1942 the German authorities transferred about 50 local Jews to the nearby town of Mołodeczno to work at a new radio station.[6]

At the beginning of June 1942 a German official humiliated the Jews by harnessing Rabbi Moshe and two other Jews to a wagon and making them pull other Jews through the streets of the town. The Germans and Belorussians mocked them as they passed by.[7]

Two days later the Germans began the liquidation of the ghetto; 20 trucks with several squads of police, led by Gebietskommissar Schmidt, arrived. They screamed "Juden! Raus!" and combed the town for Jews. The Jews were collected together in the park between the two synagogues, next to the deep well where the Jews fetched their water.

There was a selection, and healthy men were sent to the right; the others, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were sent to the left. The people were ordered to get into the trucks and were crammed together with about 50 or 60 others. It was announced that they would be transferred to Krasne for forced labor. Small children were not all loaded onto the trucks; some were simply killed by being thrown into the well. Among a group of 20 people who were in hiding, a baby began to cry, and one of them suffocated the child to prevent the group from being captured by the SS.

Some of the men noticed that the trucks behind them with the women and children turned off to the right into the forest. They suspected that they would all be killed, and Michael Lidski shouted: "Let us jump! Let us at least die resisting!" More than 50 Jews leaped from the trucks and ran into the forests. The German forces pursued them, killing some and recapturing others; but according to Adelman, 36 young men got away, disappearing into the forest.[8] The remaining people capable of work (about 400) were transferred to the ghetto and labor camp in Krasne. The 700 or so women and children were locked in a barn that was set on fire, and any that attempted to escape the flames were shot. Local peasants buried the corpses. A Jew, Fivele Saposhnik, who returned to the ghetto briefly at night from the Mołodeczno labor camp later in June, found that it was like a ghost town with the smell of burned human flesh.[9] The Germans left 15 Jewish specialist workers alive at the time of the massacre, but they murdered them all as well two months later.[10]

More than 50 Jews from Gródek served in the Soviet partisan movement, and a number survived the war. Some, like Lazar Chazanovsky, remained in the forests after their escape at the time of the massacre, while others joined the partisans from the Krasne labor camp. Among the units they served in was one commanded by Colonel Kuznetzov. In early 1943, Jews from Gródek were involved in a partisan attack on the German garrison in the town, killing several of their enemies.

SOURCES Yehuda Adelman's memoir *Heroes without Medals* (New York: Vantage, 1983) provides information on the fates of a number of survivors from Gródek. In spite of some serious weaknesses—for example, blaming Nazi Germany for the Katyn massacre of Polish officers committed by the Soviet authorities—this volume also serves as a kind of Memorial Book for the Gródek community.

Documentation on the Gródek ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1473 [II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 43]); and YVA (M-9/1194).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStl 202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, pp. 393, 409, lists five members of the Gendarmerie in Gródek: Brose, Fischer, Stehling, Strauss, and Winkler. Among the members of the local police were men named Kolysko and Smolsky; see also Adel-

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man, *Heroes*, pp. 103–104; and YVA, M-9/1194, statement of Mojsze Baran.

2. Adelman, *Heroes*, pp. 21, 28. It is unclear whether there were only 5 or 15 victims of this Aktion.

3. YVA, M-9/1194, statement of Mojsze Baran.

4. Ibid.; and Adelman, *Heroes*, p. 21.

5. YVA, M-9/1194, statement of Mojsze Baran.

6. Adelman, *Heroes*, pp. 21–23; YVA, M-9/1194—Baran states that on May 1, 1942, 200 young Jews were sent to the Krasne work camp.

7. Adelman, *Heroes*, pp. 21–23.

8. For the names of some of those who fled, see ibid., p. 44.

9. Ibid., pp. 23–26. Saposhnik was captured shortly after this and interrogated by Gebietskommissar Schmidt about his possible contacts with other escapees from Gródek (pp. 42–44).

10. YVA, M-9/1194, statement of Mojsze Baran.

GROZOVO (AKA KONIUKHI)

Pre-1941: Grozovo, village, Gresk raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Grozowo (Grossoff), Rayon Gresk, Gebiet Sluzk, Reichskommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Hrozava, Kopyl' raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Grozovo is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 149 Jews living in the town of Gresk and 527 more in the villages that comprised the Gresk raion, primarily in the village of Grozovo.[1]

The Germans entered Grozovo at the end of June 1941. Due to the unexpectedly rapid German advance, only a small number of Jews were able to escape eastward ahead of the German forces. Throughout the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the area, until it was replaced by a German civil administration from September 1941. The Gebietskommissar in Slutsk was Gauamtsleiter Heinrich Carl, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Lieutenant of the Schutzpolizei Müller.[2]

In August 1941, the Slutsk detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 organized and carried out an Aktion in Gresk, during which 51 Jews were shot for their alleged "communist activities."[3]

In September or October 1941, the German authorities in Grozovo established a ghetto for most of the Jews of the village in the military barracks in the nearby village of Koniukhi, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Grozovo. At least 400 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto with the exception of five families of craftsmen, who were permitted to remain in Grozovo. The ghetto area was not guarded.[4]

On December 19, 1941, a German punitive detachment (probably part of Einsatzkommando 8) from Gresk, assisted by local Belorussian police, rounded up the Jews of the ghetto. Those who attempted to flee were shot on the spot. The German forces then transported the Jews on trucks to a grave site in the forest about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from Grozovo, where they shot them. At least three Jews, including the survivor Isaak Yazvin, managed to avoid the Aktion by hiding in a stable about 150 meters (164 yards) from the ghetto.[5]

In May 1942, the German police forces from Gresk arrived in Grozovo and shot the remaining Jewish craftsmen and their families in a ditch not far from the village of Mikhaletsy. Subsequently, Soviet partisans, including some Jews who had escaped from the Kopyl' ghetto, attacked the German garrison in Grozovo.[6] The area was liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944. Among those responsible for the Aktions against the Jews in Grozovo and other crimes against the local population in Rayon Gresk were the Gendarme Schwarz, who was based in Gresk from 1942 to 1944, and the local policeman Taras Khramsevich, who was tried by a Soviet Military Tribunal in 1944.[7]

SOURCES Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews of Grozovo and Gresk can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); BA-L (B 162/7574); and GARF (7021-82-4).

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 70. The village of Grozovo had by far the largest Jewish population in the Gresk raion.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. Ereignismeldung UdSSR No. 73, September 4, 1941, BA-BL, R 58/217.

4. BA-L, B 162/7574, II 202a AR-Z 204/67, statements of Pawel Zhuk, March 2, 1970, and Isaak Yazvin, March 19, 1970; GARF, 7021-82-4, p. 14. The witnesses speak of some 700 Jews confined within the ghetto, but this number is probably too high, given the pre-war population of Grozovo and other data on the number of victims.

5. BA-L, B 162/7574, II 202a AR-Z 204/67, statements of Pawel Zhuk, March 2, 1970 and Isaak Yazvin, March 19, 1970; GARF, 7021-82-4, p. 14, gives the date of December 18, 1941, for the murder of the Jews held in the "Koniukhi ghetto."

6. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 383.

7. BA-L, B 162/7574, II 202a AR-Z 204/67, statements of Pawel Zhuk, March 2, 1970, Isaak Yazvin, March 19, 1970, and Taras Khramsevich, August 16, 1944.

HERMANOWICZE

Pre-1939: Hermanowicze, village, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Germanovichi, Sharkovshchina raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Hermanowicze, Rayon Scharkowschtschina, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Germanovichy, Sharkoaushchyna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Hermanowicze is located about 160 kilometers (100 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. There were 350 Jews living in Her-

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manowicze in 1931.[1] German forces occupied the village in early July 1941. At the time of the German arrival, the non-Jewish local population looted Jewish property. The German occupation forces established a Jewish Council and ordered all Jews to wear a yellow Star of David; within a month, they forced the town's remaining Jews into a ghetto. The occupiers made the Jews destroy their synagogue and burn all ritual objects and books.[2] Then, in the fall of 1941, on orders of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie, some 60 Jewish families—altogether 270 people—were sent to the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto.[3] The non-Jewish population of Hermanowicze prevailed upon the Gebietskommissar to allow the families of the brothers Khona-Hirsh and Iosif Sosnovik, who were pharmacists, to continue to live in the town so the pharmacy could function.[4]

On November 17, 1942, a punitive unit from Szarkowszczyzna shot Boris Sosnovik while trying to escape, but Iosif Sosnovik was able to flee; he was subsequently sheltered by the Arliukevich family in Podorszczyna. His son Jakov was saved by Maria Kozinets, who was later awarded the honor of Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem. Edliu Milner was hidden by the family of Efrem Savel'evich Ivanov. Partisans captured and killed the collaborator Rutnikovich, who had murdered nine Jews.

SOURCES Documentation on the German occupation of Hermanowicze and fate of the Jewish population can be found in GARF (7021-92-224) and YVA (O-3/1779); there is also a relevant testimony in the personal archive of A.E. Raychonok (PAAR). The Hermanowicze ghetto is mentioned briefly in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 221.

Gennadii Vinnitsa and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:311.
2. Testimony of Frantishek Kuntsevich in the personal archive of A.E. Raychonok; Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 221.
3. Act Concerning the Crimes Committed by the German-Fascist Invaders on the Territory of Hermanowicze Village Soviet, Sharkovshchina Raion, Polotsk Oblast', Belorussian SSR, April 4, 1945, GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 186; 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), p. 510. See also **Szarkowszczyzna**.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 221, testimony of Iosif Sosnovik.

HORODYSZCZE

Pre-1939: Horodyszcze, *town*, *Baranowicze powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodishche*, *raion center*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Horoditsche*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Haradzishcha*, *Baranavichy raen*, *Beras'tse voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Horodyszcze is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Baranowicze. On the eve of the German occupation, there were probably around 1,000 Jews living in the town.

German mobile forces of Army Group Center entered Horodyszcze on June 27, 1941. In the first days of the occupation, German security forces murdered about 20 people, both Jews and Communist activists.[1] A German military administration was in charge of the town during the summer and fall of 1941, recruiting an indigenous police force from local residents.

On the morning of October 20, 1941, German forces of the SS from Baranowicze under the command of Waldemar Amelung arrived in Horodyszcze. Amelung demanded a large contribution from the Jewish Council (Judenrat) and also ordered about 80 male Jews to report with spades to the main square. These men were transported in trucks to the forest in Pogorzelec, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, and then to the Misznowszyna Forest, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Horodyszcze. On the pretext of digging defensive trenches, the Jews were made to dig large pits in both forests. The German forces then shot these men such that their bodies fell into the pits.

On October 21, 1941, the head of the Security Police in Baranowicze, Amelung, demanded that all Jews report to the main square. A selection was conducted, and about 70 skilled craftsmen (shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, and carpenters) with their families were set apart and placed in a building located on the square. The remaining Jews, including many women, children, and the elderly, more than 1,000 people altogether, were then transported by truck or escorted by the Belorussian police and Lithuanian collaborators to the pits, where German security forces shot them. A small group of 7 men was also selected and taken to the concentration camp at Kołdyczewo near Baranowicze.[2]

Berl Kraviets, a Jew from Nowogródek, was passing by Horodyszcze with a group of Jews escorting cows to Baranowicze at the time of the roundup. As they passed Horodyszcze, they saw trucks taking Jews to be slaughtered. Kraviets even had a chance to say farewell to his cousins, because as they were led to the trucks, the road was blocked by the cows. He could see them clearly, but they only bowed their heads. They were told that they were being taken to work. As Kraviets was returning from Baranowicze, he noticed that most of the Jewish population was now missing. Only a few Jews were held in the ghetto.[3]

After the mass shooting, the remaining craftsmen, together with those Jews who subsequently emerged from hiding, were placed in a ghetto in Horodyszcze on Słonim Street, where several houses were surrounded by barbed wire. Jews from neighboring small villages were also resettled in the ghetto.[4] In November 1941, a Gendarmerie post under the command of Meister Henning was established in Horodyszcze, and it also took over control of the local police based in the town. The mayor of Horodyszcze was Alexander Jakimowicz.

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In 1942, George Dynin, a Jewish teenager living outside the ghetto and pretending to be a Pole, learned from his mother, who worked as a translator in the mayor's office, about plans of the Germans and the local police to kill the remaining Jews in the ghetto. He twice passed this information to the Jews, but very few managed to escape from the ghetto in time.[5]

At the beginning of May 1942, the Germans and local police collaborators rounded up 35 Jews in the ghetto and shot them near the Orthodox church. German-led police forces shot the remaining 100 Jewish specialist workers in August 1942.[6] In November 1942, the Germans shot 100 Gypsies at the Protoslav cemetery in the town.[7] According to a Gendarmerie report from March 1943, 13 Jews who had escaped from ghettos in the Baranowicze area were captured and shot by a patrol consisting of two German Gendarmes and 30 local policemen in the village of Krasiewicze in the Rayon Horoditsche.[8]

SOURCES Documents on the fate of the Jews of Horodyszcze during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2229); BA-L; GABO; GARF (7021-81-102; 7021-148-316); NARB (845-1-6); Sta. Oldenbourg; Sta. Mü I; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/296, testimony of Yehuda Szimszonowicz).

Information on the extermination of the Jews in Horodyszcze can be found in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), p. 287. There is also a short article by Major W. Godsey, "Dos Tor Nit Zain Geshenkt!" *Einikait*, December 14, 1944, p. 2.

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-81-102, p. 37.
2. The account of this Aktion is a compilation from the following sources, which contain conflicting information on certain details: AŻIH, 301/2229; Sta. Oldenburg 2 Js 138/68, vol. H II (Soviet documents), pp. 46–50, statement of Felix I. Lichuta, December 11, 1967; Sta. Mü I 117 Js 2/72 (Göbel investigation), p. 803, statement of Jewish survivor Judel Samsonowicz; and GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 37–38, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for Gorodishche (Horodyszcze), April 20, 1945, which indicates there were 1,440 Jewish victims, but this number appears to be too high. According to another source, Hannes Heer, "Extreme Normalität. Generalmajor Gustav Freiherr von Mauchenheim gen. Bechtolsheim. Umfeld, Motive und Entschlussbildung eines Holocaust-Täters," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 2003), p. 739, more than 1,000 Jews were shot.
3. Chaim Kraviets, "Slaughters," in E. Yerushalmi, ed., *Pinkas Navaredok* (Tel Aviv, 1963), pp. 263–272. An English translation by O. Deltycki is available on jewishgenorg.
4. Sta. Oldenburg 2 Js 138/68, vol. H II (Soviet documents), pp. 46–50, statement of Felix I. Lichuta, December 11, 1967.
5. "From George Dynin," published in the newsletter of the American Gathering, *Together* (July 2006), p. 18.
6. GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 37–38, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for Gorodishche (Horodyszcze), April 20, 1945; NARB, 845-1-6, p. 32, gives the figure of 235 victims, but this is probably the total for the three main Aktions in 1942.
7. R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal'perin, 1997), p. 117.
8. GARF, 7021-148-316, p. 89, Gendarmerie Meister und Postenführer in Horoditsche Buchholz an den Gendarmerie Gebietsführer in Baranowitsche, March 17, 1943.

HORODZIEJ

Pre-1939: Horodziej, *town*, *Nieśwież powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodeia*, *Nezvizh raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodeja*, *Rayon Neswish*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Haradzeia*, *Niusvizh raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Horodziej is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Baranowicze. The precise number of Jews living in Horodziej at the time of the German occupation is not known, but it was probably somewhere between 700 and 1,000.

The Germans occupied Horodziej in late June 1941. By this time most of the town had been destroyed by German bombardment, and only 25 out of 460 houses remained standing. Shortly after the arrival of German forces, the local military commandant established a Judenrat composed of 12 people, which also supervised a small Jewish police force of 4 men. Male Jews between the ages of 12 and 55 and women between 15 and 50 were subjected to forced labor from 7:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. every day. The Judenrat was obliged to collect a series of extortionate "contributions."[1]

In July, the Germans and local police arrested 15 Soviet workers in the town, 3 of whom were shot on the spot.[2] The Germans appointed a local Belorussian police force in Horodziej, which was commanded by Bolesław Mackało (Matskalo). Mackało was killed by Soviet partisans in 1943. His deputy was Corporal Sergei Usowicz. From the fall of 1941, Horodziej was under German civil administration, as part of Rayon Neswish in Gebiet Baranowitsche, where the Gebietskommissar was Rudolf Werner. The local Belorussian police post in Horodziej was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post based in Nieśwież.

In late summer, Jews were obliged to surrender all gold and silver items and also to wear a "star of shame" on their chests and back. In addition, they were forbidden to trade with Christians, which made it very hard for them to feed themselves. Those who worked were supposed to receive a daily ration of 220 grams (7.8 ounces) of bread and half a kilogram (1.1 pounds) of potatoes, while those who did not work received half this amount.

In the fall of 1941, the Jews managed to bribe the German Ortskommandant to let them trade with Baranowicze for 10

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weeks in order to secure their food supplies. When a Christian complained about this illegal trade, however, the two Jews who organized it, Hershl Celoticki and Khaim Melekh, had to report to the German commandant's office, where they were both tortured and beaten to death.[3]

No details are available on the establishment of the ghetto in Horodziej, though it was certainly in existence by the summer of 1942. During the winter of 1941–1942, a group of eight Jews were shot by the local Belorussian police in the Jewish cemetery in Horodziej.[4]

As the summer of 1942 approached, the Jews began to suspect that the end was drawing near. The local police engaged in skirmishes with partisans in the area, and the Germans introduced a regular roll call to ensure that no Jews had fled to the partisans. At this time, the Jews began to prepare hiding places in the ghetto in preparation for an Aktion.[5]

On July 16, 1942, a Security Police task force, including a number of Lithuanian policemen, arrived in Horodziej. First the local police surrounded the ghetto, then the German forces and their collaborators rounded up the Jewish inhabitants before escorting them to the pits. Some were transported on trucks, but most were marched on foot, under close escort by the local police. On the way to the killing site, the guards shot several Jews who were unable to keep up. Approximately 1,000 Jews were shot in Horodziej on this day.[6] In the distance, the sound of machine-gun fire could be heard for four or five hours. News of the killing soon spread to the remaining Jews in the nearby Nieśwież ghetto.[7]

Elena Vasilevna Bezhentseva, a local resident, subsequently described the scene in the town:

> Early in the morning the so-called ghetto was surrounded by police. The people were ordered to gather in the square. Some citizens swallowed the fascists' bait, but those people not wanting to go to the square were forcibly brought out by the policemen, who went through the living quarters and carried out a thorough search. After all the people had been driven out into the square the Germans arrived in trucks (about 50 men) and began a brutal punishment. They laid them all on the ground side by side, face down, and people who tried to raise their heads were brutally beaten. People who protested were shot on the spot. The children were mostly killed with sticks. After lengthy taunting, they began to load the assembled people onto trucks. . . . [A]fter this they were taken outside the town, where they were shot in a prepared ditch with machine guns. . . . The following night after the execution, one woman and her daughter, whose names I do not know, managed to crawl out of the "ditch of death."[8]

Active participants in the massacre included the local police chief, Mackało, Alexander Kudlach, and Lavrentii Konosh.[9] Local policemen also searched the ghetto for Jews in hiding after the Aktion was completed.

Shortly after the massacre of the Jews, the chief of the local Belorussian police in Horodziej, Mackało, gave orders for the head of the Judenrat, Zygmuntovich, who had been kept alive, to be escorted back to the ghetto by two local policemen. On arrival Zygmuntovich removed 25 rubles in gold coins, which had been hidden in the wooden beams of a house. Mackało took the gold from him, and when Zygmuntovich was unable to produce further valuables, he was escorted away and shot from behind by Mackało personally. Other members of the police also took Zygmuntovich's boots and other Jewish clothing to trade with the local peasants for home-brewed vodka.[10]

Two policemen from Horodziej, Alexander Kudlach and Lavrentii Konosh, were tried and executed in the fall of 1944, and another, Alexander Sen', was tried and sentenced to death in 1950.

SOURCES Documents on the murder of the Jews in Horodziej can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBMO; AŻIH (301/2509); BA-BL; BA-L; GARF (7021-81-102); IPN; NARB (845-1-6); WCU; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2509, testimony of Yitzhak Menakher, May 2, 1947.
2. NARB, 845-1-6, pp. 54–56.
3. AŻIH, 301/2509.
4. AUKGBRBMO, Archive File No. 14792, pp. 17–18, statement of the accused Kudlach, July 31, 1944.
5. AŻIH, 301/2509.
6. The precise number of Jews killed in Horodziej is not known. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) Report dated February 4, 1945, mentions 1,000 Soviet citizens who were "tortured to death." The accused Alexander Nikolaevich Sen' in his own trial file gives the figure of more than 1,500 victims, which is almost certainly too high; see AUKGBRBMO, Criminal Case 35930, Archive File No. 902, pp. 39–42, interrogation on June 16, 1950. A local partisan, who gave evidence in the Kudlach and Konosh case, Mikhail K. Kananovich, estimated 700 victims in Horodziej, which is probably more reliable; see AUKGBRBMO, Archive File No. 14792, p. 27, statement dated July 12, 1944.
7. This account is based mainly on the detailed evidence in the case against A.N. Sen', AUKGBRBMO, Criminal Case 35930, Archive File No. 902, pp. 96–98, statement of M.F.K., June 7, 1950, pp. 99–102, statement of I.A.N., June 5, 1950, and pp. 171–173, in which the Soviet investigators conducted a crime scene visit to check out the evidence of the above two witnesses, concluding that they both had a clear view of the march route as described in their statements.
8. NARB, 845-1-6, pp. 54–56. This incident is described also by Menakher; see AŻIH, 301/2509. According to his account, of three women who crawled out from the graves, two were chased back into town by shepherds and shot there.
9. GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 95–98; see also AUKGBRBMO, Archive File No. 14792, case against Alexander S. Kudlach and Lavrentii I. Konosh (1944).
10. AUKGBRBMO, Archive File No. 902, Criminal Case 35930, pp. 23–25, 45–56, 71–72, 126–127, 208–230, and 331–

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337. AŻIH, 301/2509, gives a different account of this incident, naming the Jew initially kept alive as Lefkovich, based on hearsay from local Christians.

ILJA

Pre-1939: Ilja, town, Wilejka powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Ilia, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ilja, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Il'ia, Vileika raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ilja is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Minsk. In 1921, 586 Jews lived in the town (40.2 percent of the total population). Roughly the same number of Jews lived in Ilja on the eve of World War II.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, due to lack of transportation, only a few Jewish youths were able to flee before German forces occupied the town on July 3, 1941. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans arrested and shot those they suspected of being Communist activists, including two Jews.[1] At this time the local non-Jewish population exploited the mood of lawlessness to loot Jewish property.

During the summer of 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ordered Jews to wear yellow patches on their clothing. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to implement German instructions. It also had to organize the collection and surrender of farm animals and valuables. Jews were subjected to forced labor, consisting of humiliating physical work such as cleaning toilets.[2]

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Ilja, under the command of an officer surnamed Frank. Ilja now came under a German civil administration, becoming a Rayon center within Gebiet Wilejka. The Gendarmerie also controlled the local police force, which was commanded by Mikołaj Skabiej. In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Ilja, concentrating the Jews into one part of town, although a few Jews continued to live at the tar factory outside the ghetto. Despite the prohibition on trading with non-Jews, those who performed forced labor outside the ghetto secretly bartered with the local population for food.[3]

On March 14, 1942, when Soviet partisans attacked the Chocieńczyce estate near Ilja, some of the Jews working there fled with the partisans into the forests. In response, on the evening of March 16, 1942, a detachment of the German Security Police based in Wilejka under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Grave arrived in Ilja in several cars. Grave ordered the head of the Judenrat to hand over those Jews who had connections with the partisans, but he refused to cooperate. On the morning of March 17, 1942, the Security Police, the German Gendarmerie, and members of the local auxiliary police surrounded the ghetto and drove the Jews out of their houses by force. By 11:00 A.M., about 700 Jews had been gathered on the market square. During the roundup some elderly and sick persons had to be helped to the place of assembly. Those who did not move fast enough, or who tried to escape, were shot on the spot. The police selected a group of about 40 specialist workers, including tailors, blacksmiths, barbers, shoemakers, and their families, from the Jews gathered on the market square. Realizing the fate of the majority, Rabbi Moshe David Vines called out: "Jews! Brothers! These are our last moments on earth. Let us pray in public confession."[4]

The German forces then escorted those not selected, mainly women, children, and the elderly, to a large building designed for the cold storage of vegetables, fruit, and meat on the outskirts of town.[5] The building contained a large pit, which had been prepared for the storage of ice inside. The police forces cordoned off the area. The Jews were ordered into the building in small groups. During the operation, at least three young persons attempted to escape and were shot. Before entering the barn the victims had to take off their clothes down to their underwear. Then they were driven to the edge of the pit, where four policemen from Wilejka, armed with pistols, shot the Jews in the back of the head. Other policemen reloaded the pistols to save time.

The Aktion took many hours, and at the end, the police poured gasoline on the bodies of the victims and set them on fire to ensure that any possible survivors were also killed. One account mentions that 10 Jewish girls were raped by the German police on the night before they were shot in the mass grave.[6] According to a German Security Police report, a total of 520 Jews were killed in Ilja on March 17, 1942.[7] After the Aktion the German police went through the houses of the ghetto and found approximately 60 additional Jews. These people were escorted to the same pits and were also shot there. Altogether, somewhere between 500 and 700 Jews were killed. The property of the victims was looted, and surviving Jews had to collect and bury those Jews who had been murdered on the streets of the town.

The Jewish craftsmen and their families, as well as some other Jews who had survived in hiding, more than 100 people altogether, were then concentrated in a smaller ghetto, composed of a few houses on "Shul" (Synagogue) Street surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence. A few days after the Aktion, some of the craftsmen were transferred to Wilejka. Their families joined them a couple of months later, shortly before the liquidation of the Ilja ghetto.

There was terrible overcrowding in the small ghetto in Ilja. People slept on the floor with only straw for a bed. Everyone left for work early in the morning and only returned late at night, being checked by the Gestapo at the gate for any hidden food. If something was found, people could be shot on the spot. Nonetheless, Jews still tried to smuggle something in, as there was terrible hunger in the ghetto. A new Jewish Council was formed within the small ghetto, which sought to prevent a further slaughter through bribery with the meager resources remaining.[8]

The liquidation of the Ilja ghetto was conducted on June 7, 1942. Following the murder of a local collaborator by Soviet partisans nearby, a unit of German police arrived in Ilja from Wilejka. All the remaining ghetto inhabitants were herded to the same location as the first Aktion and were shot there. The

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corpses of the victims were splashed with gasoline, set on fire, and burned.[9] At this time, about 150 Jews were shot and buried in pits.[10] Similar Aktions were also carried against the Jews of the nearby villages of Wiazyń and Olchowce, in which up to 100 Jews were murdered altogether, including young children.[11] A number of Jews from Chocieńczyce managed to escape to the forests after they were warned by a Jew fleeing from the Aktion in Ilja.[12] Following the clearance of the Ilja ghetto, local Gendarmerie officials secured remaining valuables. Their failure to promptly hand these over to the Gebietskommissar in Wilejka resulted in an angry exchange of letters between the civil administration and the police authorities.[13] The Red Army liberated the town on July 3, 1944.

In 1979, the regional court in Bochum tried four individuals for their participation in the murder of Jews in Gebiet Wilejka during 1942, including the Aktion against the Ilja ghetto in March 1942. Only one man was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, the remainder going unpunished.

SOURCES The yizkor book for Ilja, edited by A. Kopelovich, *Sefer Ilyah* (Tel Aviv, 1962), includes several accounts by survivors from the ghetto; there is also an extract from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission materials published in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000).

The following archives contain documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Ilja: BA-BL (R 58/221); BA-L (B 162/1472 [II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42]); GARF (7021-89-6, pp. 5–55); LG-Bo (7 Ks 45 Js 3/61); NARB (861-1-10 and 4-29-112); USHMM (RG-18.002M, reel 5); and YVA (M-33/1139).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Bat Sheva, "During the Slaughter, in the Ghetto and in the Forests," in Kopelovich, *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 339–373 (hereafter cited as *Sefer Ilyah*).
2. Ibid.; Yona Riar, "The Holocaust," in *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 421–440.
3. David Rubin, "A Tale of Struggling, Toil, and Tears," in *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 317–320.
4. *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 421–440; and NARB, 861-1-10.
5. NARB, 861-1-10, pp. 26–27, statement of Josef Zhabko on December 21, 1945; BA-L, B 162/1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42), pp. 8747–8752, statement of Stepan A. Medwezkij, December 8, 1970. There are several sources regarding the main Aktion against the Jews of Ilja in March 1942. The descriptions of eyewitnesses in the yizkor book and postwar trials are largely corroborated by the reports of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK). The same date is given in the relevant Einsatzgruppen report and the yizkor book.
6. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg*, p. 180.
7. BA-BL, R 58/221, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 184, March 23, 1942.
8. *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 373–402, 416.
9. NARB, 4-29-112, pp. 138–139, Report of the ChGK, April 24, 1945.
10. LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61, pp. 62–66.
11. 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), p. 1441, gives the figure of 60 Jews of Wiazyń murdered in June 1942. In 1921 Wiazyń had a Jewish population of 137; the village of Sosenka, 76; and Olchowce, 27. See *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965). See also GARF, 7021-89-6, ChGK report for the Ilya raion.
12. *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 317–338.
13. USHMM, RG-18.002M, reel 5 (LVVA), 70-5-24.

IWACEWICZE

Pre-1939: Iwacewicze, *town*, *Kosów powiat*, *województwo poleskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Ivatsevichi*, *Kossov raion*, *Brest oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Iwatsewitschi*, *Rayon Kossow*, *Gebiet Slonim*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Ivatsevichy*, *raen center*, *Beras'tse voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

The town is located on the Grivda River, 136 kilometers (85 miles) northeast of Brest.

By 1939, Iwacewicze had about 1,500 inhabitants, of which around 120 were Jews.

In mid-September 1939, the Red Army occupied Iwacewicze. The Jewish population of Iwacewicze increased by around 300, owing to the influx of refugees from other regions of Poland.

German forces occupied Iwacewicze on June 24, 1941. Before their arrival, only senior Communist Party activists and officials were able to evacuate to the east. The German administration soon declared all state property and Jewish possessions confiscated by the Reich. Within days, they seized residences, cattle, bread, clothing, and all valuables. Jews were thrown out of their homes, which were used as quarters for the German army. The local German commandant established two prisons and a local police force.[1]

Conditions were especially harsh in the prisons, and people sometimes died of hunger. The cells were packed to the brim, and some died of lack of oxygen or simply expired. The occupying forces also conducted public executions, hanging alleged partisans in the main square for sabotage.

On several occasions, the Germans changed the composition of the police force. Initially the policemen were Poles, but suspicions led the Germans to shoot some individuals and replace those in charge. The next group the Germans used for policing consisted of Belorussians, but some of them were subsequently replaced by Ukrainians.[2] There was also a German military garrison in the town, which was located on a major supply route for rail and road transport to the front.

Ben-Tsion Lipman Kopelianskii was appointed the Jewish elder, as he was well respected and educated—having graduated from a commercial school in Warsaw—and could also speak German.[3] The Judenrat collected jewelry and precious metals from the Jews to meet German demands and had to relay all German orders.

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In the second half of October 1941, the Jews of the town were moved into a separate quarter or "ghetto" on the edge of town.[4] Jews from the surrounding villages, including Lubiszczyce (7 kilometers [4.3 miles] to the northeast), were also brought to the ghetto area, which remained unfenced.[5] It was located on a few streets, which ran parallel to the main highway through Iwacewicze, and consisted of a small hotel, a school, and other houses. Every day Jews were escorted out of the ghetto for work, clearing up rubble, or working on road construction projects or at the railway station, during which they were frequently beaten. A number of Jews also worked at the sawmill, managed by a German named Storzinger, who promised to protect them in return for generous bribes.

The Jews received a minuscule ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day. The blacksmith Abram Zhuchowicki and his son, Aron, worked repairing German trucks and received a supplementary portion for their work. They also worked for local farmers in exchange for food. Otherwise Jews could get extra food only by selling their possessions, or with the help of former neighbors. Neighbors helped "their own" Jews, who represented only a small percentage of the total. Most Jews could survive only through illegal bartering, at great risk to their lives. Bartering required good organization, trust, and in many cases, the assistance of local policemen willing to turn a blind eye in return for a bribe.

Jews were forewarned of their fate when peasants came to the Jewish quarter and said such things as, "Hand over everything to us, they are coming to kill you." Only in the forest was there relative safety, but there the Jews needed to find and secure the help of the partisans.

According to the testimony of Sara Rosjanski, the German soldiers were "not all bad." One of them showed Sara a photograph of his family. He explained that he was a farmer and could not avoid being mobilized. He opposed the war. Another German warned Aron Zhuchowicki, who was repairing his automobile, that it was necessary to escape soon, since everyone would perish.[6]

In the first days of March 1942, Gebietskommissar Gerhard Erren in Słonim informed the Judenrat in Iwacewicze that all the Jews had to leave their homes by March 15. They could take with them only what they could carry. At that time there were about 600 Jews in Iwacewicze.

Sara Rosjanski's testimony indicates that the expulsion took place at Purim (early March) in 1942. Kopelianskii, head of the Judenrat, told all the Iwacewicze Jews to be ready and line up in rows in the street at 9:00 A.M. and to be dressed for winter. There was a snowstorm with knee-deep snow and temperatures below freezing. German soldiers armed with rifles and batons took away much of what they were carrying. Any Jew that was too sick to line up was shot in their bed. To evacuate the ghetto, the Germans had some sleds brought in from the nearby villages for families with younger children, including Sara Rosjanski's family. The Jews were taken or walked 20 kilometers (over 12 miles) into a designated area in the forest. Most Jews expected that they would be killed by Lithuanian collaborators, but no police squad arrived, perhaps due to the harsh winter conditions. At dusk, Kopelianskii on a sled with a German officer told the Jews that they could go to any other town—but not return to Iwacewicze. Sara's family was taken by a non-Jewish friend on a sled to the nearby town of Byteń at night, where they had cousins. That day, Chaim Utschtein, a blacksmith, developed severe frostbite of his right hand, which he eventually lost completely. Others also suffered from severe frostbite, and some froze to death.

In total, some 400 Jews headed towards Byteń, and most others to Kosów. On their arrival in Byteń, the Judenrat attempted to house and feed them and to provide some medical help. The refugees from Iwacewicze in Byteń subsequently shared the fate of the Byteń Jews.[7]

Thanks to the efforts of Storzinger, who ran the sawmill, the chairman of the Judenrat, Kopelianskii, and some other Jews were permitted to remain in Iwacewicze as "useful Jews" with temporary work permits. A neighbor of Sara Rosjanski, who worked for the Germans, gave work permits to Jacob Rosjanski, Aron Zhuchowicki, and Barrel Basser. They were ordered to clear out property from the ghetto and bury the Jews that had been shot. They were moved into a smaller separate Jewish quarter. In the spring of 1942, the Germans allowed some of the younger Jews to return to Iwacewicze from Byteń to work in the sawmill. Shortly thereafter, some 200 Jews were again in the town.[8]

About two months after the initial expulsion, the Germans conducted an Aktion in Iwacewicze in which 40 or 50 Jews were shot, presumably those deemed unfit for work.[9]

The Germans carried out the murder of the remaining Jews in Iwacewicze in late July or early August 1942.[10] At this time there were about 50 to 100 Jews in the ghetto. During the night before the Aktion, the Germans and their sympathizers surrounded the Jewish houses and captured all the Jews alive. Sara Rosjanski and many of her family were crammed into the small hotel when armed Germans entered through the rear and woke them up, shouting: "Halt! Halt!" Sara and Jacob Rosjanski with their infant son Samuel were among about 10 Jews who escaped through the window. All the other Jews were captured.[11]

On the night before, the police had ordered local Belorussians and Poles to dig a ditch 10 meters long, 5 meters wide, and 2 meters deep (33 feet by 16 feet by 6.5 feet). Sara Kopelianskii recalled that one German had suggested to her father, the Jewish elder, Kopelianskii, that he would save him. But Kopelianskii refused, as he could not save his whole family. According to Nina Lavrenchuk, when Kopelianskii stood on the edge of the ditch, he shouted at his executioners, "They bury us, but you will meet your death. The crows will peck out your eyes."

The Jews were forced to undress before the Germans shot them with automatic rifles. Those participating in the Aktion included Lithuanian collaborators with the SS and local policemen. Shleizer Rozhanskii was shot in the shop where he worked. Aron Zhuchowicki hid in a nearby garden full of tall beans and saw the Nazis escort the Jews and their crying children to the ditch. After the murders, the Germans and policeman confiscated the Jews' clothing and other belongings.[12]

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According to different Soviet Commission reports, the number of Jews shot in Iwacewicze during the occupation ranged between 39 and 290, along with up to 60 non-Jewish victims.[13] The victims included Sara Kopelianskii's parents, Ben-Tsion and Miriam, Miriam's two sisters, Vasenzon and Tsira Goral'skaia, and Miriam's brother Khaim Rozhanskii and his children.[14]

Following the mass shooting in Iwacewicze, some Jews in hiding were also apprehended. On the night before the Aktion, an elderly Polish woman named Bylina arrived at the Kopelianskii home, offering to save their only daughter, Sara. After a difficult debate within the family, Sara left and hid for five days in Bylina's garden, from where she heard shooting in the distance. Also hiding with Sara was a young doctor, Beatis, from Warsaw. Unfortunately the doctor was captured by the police before he could escape to the Soviet partisans. Sara, disguised as a peasant, successfully joined the partisans. She fought in the Suvorov detachment of the Ponomarenko brigade.[15] A number of Jews from Iwacewicze and other ghettos of the region fled with the assistance of neighbors to the dense Volchy Nory Forest near Byteń. Here at least 70 Jews managed to hide out and survive until the arrival of the Red Army.[16]

When the Germans retreated in the summer of 1944, they burned down the majority of the homes in Iwacewicze and torched many neighboring villages, including Bobrowicze, Borki, and Omelna.[17] Units of the Red Army's 1st Belorussian Front liberated Iwacewicze on July 12, 1944.

SOURCES Publications relating to the fate of the Jews of Iwacewicze under German occupation include the following: *Pamiats': Belarus* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia kniga, 1995); Moshe Pitkovski, "Azoy iz Untergegangen di Yidishe Kehile in Biten," in *Pinkes Biten: Der Oyfkum un Untergang fun a Yidisher Kehile* (Buenos Aires: Bitener Landslayt in Argentina, 1954); and "Naselennye punkty Ivatsevichskogo raiona: Administrativno-territorial'noe delenie na 1 ianvaria 2005," *Ivatsevitskii vestnik* (Ivatsevichi, 2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; BLH; GABO (514-1-321); GARF (7021-3-19); NARB (861-1-3); TsAKGBRB; USHMM; and YVA (M-41/1010). In addition, the authors have also used some documents from their own personal archives.

Leonid Smilovitsky and Abraham Ross
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 861-1-3, p. 53.
2. YVA, M-41/1010, p. 17.
3. Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, letter of Sara Weis (Kopelianskaia) from Melbourne, May 10, 2006.
4. NARB, 861-1-3, p. 53; GARF, 7021-3-19, p. 4; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 89. At least one source mentions the area as being surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. The Byteń yizkor book, however, states that the 600 Jews of Iwacewicze lived in a particular part of town but that no formal ghetto had been established by mid-March 1942; see Pitkovski, "Azoy iz Untergegangen di Yidishe Kehile in Biten," pp. 221–224. It is possible that the fence was erected around the smaller Jewish quarter that existed after the March 1942 expulsion.
5. According to the *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), Poland, p. 148, there were 13 Jews living in Lubiszczyce in 1921.
6. Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ivatsevichi as It Was," recollections of Sara Rozhanskii (Ross), December 12, 1990.
7. Pitkovski, "Azoy iz Untergegangen di Yidishe Kehile in Biten," pp. 221–224.
8. Ibid.; archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, letter of Sara Weis (Kopelianskaia) from Melbourne, May 17, 2006, and interview with Sara Weis on April 7, 2006, in Jerusalem.
9. BA-L, ZStl, 202 AR-Z 228/59, Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4342.
10. *Pinkes Biten*, pp. 221–224, dates the Aktion in July; BA-L, ZStl, 202 AR-Z 228/59, Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4342, dates it as probably on July 25, 1942. Another source dates it on August 11, 1942. In early August, Soviet partisans attacked Kosów, occupying it for several weeks after the German police garrison had abandoned the town and fled to Iwacewicze on August 8, 1942; see NARA, BDC collection, SS Officer File of Carl Zenner.
11. Testimony of Sara Zuchowicki Rosjanski (Ross), in the personal archive of Abraham Ross.
12. Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, interview with Sara Weis on April 7, 2006, in Jerusalem.
13. GABO, 514-1-321, p. 19, Report on Ivatsevichi (Iwacewicze) of the ChGK Investigatory Commission to the regional soviet on January 20, 1945.
14. BLH, record of interview of Sara Weis (Kopelianskaia) with Sara Shmer.
15. *Partizanskie formirovaniia Belorussii v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny, 1941–1944 gg.: Kratkie svedeniia ob organizatsionnoi strukture partizanskikh soedinenii, brigad (polkov), otriadov (batal'onov) i ikh lichnom sostave* (Minsk, 1983), p. 129.
16. Testimony of Sara Zuchowicki Rosjanski (Ross), in the personal archive of Abraham Ross.
17. "Naselennye punkty Ivatsevichskogo raiona," *Ivatsevitskii vestnik* (2005).

IWIENIEC

Pre–1939: Iwieniec (Yiddish: Ivenets), town, Wołożyn powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Ivenets, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Iwieniec, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Ivianets, Valozhyn raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Iwieniec is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) west of Minsk. In mid-June 1941, there were probably about 1,200 Jews residing in Iwieniec.

German armed forces occupied Iwieniec on June 26, 1941, just a few days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. As a result of the rapid German advance, only a few Jews were able to evacuate with the Red Army.

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Group portrait taken at a yizkor service in memory of the destruction of the Jewish community in Iwieniec, held at a displaced persons camp in 1945. USHMM WS #21025, COURTESY OF SELIG KOST

In the summer of 1941, a series of German military commandant offices (Ortskommandanturen) were in charge of the town. A few days into the occupation, rumors spread that peasants from the surrounding villages were coming to Iwieniec to rob the Jews. Some non-Jewish neighbors responded by offering to take Jewish property into safekeeping. Then the peasants arrived and took what remained, beating the Jews severely at the same time.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Iwieniec: they appointed a Judenrat and required that Jews wear the Star of David. The local police robbed the Jews and beat them frequently. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor, for example, cleaning the streets and stables and other menial tasks. In an Aktion conducted on July 14, 1941, against alleged members of the Jewish intelligentsia, local non-Jews assisted in the selection of 14 Jews, who were then arrested by German SS men from Wołożyn. The SS took these men out and shot them shortly afterwards.[2]

On September 5, 1941, German Security Police again arrived in Iwieniec. They carried out an Aktion in which, with the assistance of the local police, they killed around 50 Jews.[3] An Einsatzgruppen report dated September 23, 1941, described the Aktion as follows:

> In the Rayon town of Iwieniec, a Sonderaktion against the Jewish population was necessary, as only insignificant numbers of Jews were wearing the prescribed markings. In addition, despite unambiguous public appeals, they were not surrendering stolen property and were supporting partisan groups with both words and deeds. During the implementation of this measure, some of the stolen property was recovered, and 50 male Jews were shot for failing to comply with German orders and for terrorizing the Belorussian population.[4]

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Iwieniec became a Rayon center in Gebiet Nowogrodek, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The SD-Hauptaussenstelle Baranowitsche organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Iwieniec in 1942. At first, the head of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle was SS-Untersturmführer Waldemar Amelung (who died in 1954). His successor as of April 1942, SS-Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder, was killed on June 9, 1942. Amelung then resumed leadership of the Hauptaussenstelle until October 1943. In Iwieniec itself, there was a German Gendarmerie post, to which the local police force was subordinated. Many of the local police were Poles who had been persecuted by the Soviets.[5]

On November 10, 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Iwieniec. The ghetto was located on two very narrow streets, Mill and Shulhof. The Jews living outside this area were brutally driven into it by the local police, who continued to harass the Jews over the ensuing two nights. They shot several Jews as they were herded into the ghetto or during the police raids on the following nights. On November 11, the Jews had to erect a fence around the ghetto on three sides. The river formed the ghetto boundary on the fourth side. As a result, it was possible to sneak out of the ghetto, especially in winter when the river was frozen. Inside the ghetto about four or five families had to share each house in very overcrowded conditions. There was poor sanitation and almost no medical facilities. The Jews were able to obtain potatoes from the local peasants in exchange for bartered items or money, but bread was scarce. Jews capable of work were sent out of the ghetto via its two gates every day to perform various labor tasks. Religious services continued to be observed in the two synagogues, which were located within the ghetto area.[6]

In April 1942, the Germans assembled 120 Jewish men in Iwieniec. The German officials conducted a selection such that craftsmen with specific skills were sent to the ghetto in Nowogródek, and the remaining unskilled laborers were sent to the ghetto for forced laborers run by the Organisation Todt (OT) in Dworzec.[7]

On May 8–9, 1942, German officials sent about 300 able-bodied Jews on foot from the Rubieżewicze ghetto to Iwieniec. On arriving in Iwieniec these Jews were herded into the ghetto and had to find a place to sleep. During the day they were obliged to dig bunkers for the Germans.[8] Two weeks later, a second group of Jews from Rubieżewicze arrived in Iwieniec. The Jews brought in from the Rubieżewicze ghetto included Jews from the villages of Derewno, Naliboki, and Wołma.

On June 1, 1942, the labor commissar from Nowogródek conducted another selection. The Jews were collected in a Polish army barracks, and those aged 15 to 55 were escorted on foot to Naliboki, where they were locked overnight in a barn. Here the local police beat the prisoners and took the best clothing and shoes. The next day, the group was driven on foot to Lubcz, and those who fell behind were shot. From here the Germans sent a number of Jews by train to the Nowogródek ghetto, where many perished during the major

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Aktion there in August 1942. The others were sent to the Dworzec ghetto labor camp.[9] Remaining behind in Iwieniec were elderly Jews and children under the age of 15, who had been separated from their parents. A few Jews had gone into hiding or escaped to the forest before this final selection.

The Germans liquidated the remnant of the Iwieniec ghetto on June 9, 1942. Along with the Jews of Iwieniec, other Jews from the surrounding towns and villages of Rubieżewicze, Derewno, Naliboki, Wołma, and Kamień who had been collected in the Iwieniec ghetto were also shot. The total number of victims was about 800.[10] The Aktion was organized by a detachment of Security Police from Baranowicze, which consisted of 27 men (12 Germans and 15 Lithuanians), led by the head of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Baranowitsche, SS-Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder. Some of the local police from Iwieniec also participated in the killing. On the evening of June 9, 1942, near the village of Naliboki, partisans attacked the Security Police detachment and nearly wiped it out: 10 Germans, including SS-Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder, and 11 Lithuanian policemen were killed. After the Aktion, only a few specialist Jews, including a doctor, a chemist, and a dental technician, were permitted to remain alive in Iwieniec for a while longer.[11]

Soviet partisans briefly captured the town of Iwieniec from the Germans in June 1943. The partisans killed some of the German garrison, while many of the local police deserted and fled with the partisans at this time. However, by the end of 1943, there was open hostility between Soviet and Polish partisans around Iwieniec, as both groups began to anticipate the impending German defeat. Many of the Jews who had escaped from ghettos in the region sought refuge with the Soviet partisan units.[12]

SOURCES Information on the Jews of Iwieniec and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Sefer Ivenets*, *Kamien ve-ha-seviva: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Ivieniec Societies in Israel and Diaspora, 1973); David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, *Derevne ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv, 1968); *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'nyia khroniki haradou i raionau Belarusi. Valozhynski r-n* (Minsk, 1996), pp. 262–264; and "Iwieniec," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Biaystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 120–123.

Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Iwieniec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/3452-59); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); IPN; PUST; USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 6593, 24696, and 43261); and YVA (e.g., O-16/436; M-1/E/1574; M-33/1159).

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. D. Svinik, "Der hurbn fun a yiddisher kehila," in *Sefer Ivenets*, pp. 357–358. Some of the neighbors claimed that they in turn had been robbed when Jews returned at the end of the occupation to reclaim their property.

2. *Sefer Ivenets*, p. 381; YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik, gives the figure of 14 Jewish victims; BA-L, B-162/3452 (202 AR 94e/59, vol. I), pp. 70–80, cites 16 Jews shot in August or September 1941.

3. *Sefer Ivenets*, p. 381.

4. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941. This is probably the incident described in some detail in Svinik, "Der hurbn fun a yiddisher kehila," pp. 360–361, as the murder of 76 Jews.

5. Bernhard Chiari, *Alltag hinter der Front. Besatzung, Kollaboration und Widerstand in Weissrusland, 1941–1944* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998), pp. 292–293.

6. *Sefer Ivenets*, pp. 361–362, 381–383; VHF, # 24696, testimony of Genia Nowog (born 1925), # 6593, testimony of Aaron Oshman (born 1910), and # 43261, testimony of Samuel Scherb (born 1918); BA-L, B-162/3452, pp. 70–80; and YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik.

7. YVA, O-16/436, testimony of Mordechai Ralnik.

8. Eliezer Gurion testimony in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287; Yerakhmiel Segalovitsh testimony, in idem, pp. 263–267; see also idem, p. 175.

9. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–262, 286–287; YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik; and VHF, # 24696.

10. The date of the mass shooting, the total number of victims, and the names of the towns and villages were taken from the inscription on the memorial erected on the victims' grave in 1994. According to the 1921 census, there were 21 Jews living in Derewno, 185 in Naliboki, 149 in Wołma, and 59 in Kamień.

11. BA-BL, R 58/221, Meldungen aus dem besetzten Ostgebieten no. 9, June 26, 1942; and II. Zug der Waffen-SS, Tätigkeitsbericht, Minsk, June 18, 1942, published in *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue*, *Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes RFSS*, *Tätigkeitsberichte der 1. und 2. SS-Inf.-Brigade*, *der 1. SS-Kav.-Brigade und von Sonderkommandos der SS* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1965), p. 241. PUST, "The Account of Cavalry Captain Jarosław Gąsiewski," maintains that Poles within the local police refused to participate in the murder of the Jews—but in light of the extensive persecution of Jews by the mainly Polish local police unit prior to the liquidation Aktion, these assertions remain unconvincing. Gąsiewski's anecdote suggesting the existence of some antisemitism within the Soviet partisan leadership, however, seems more credible.

12. Chiari, *Alltag hinter der Front*, pp. 180, 293.

IWJE

Pre-1939: Iwje, *town*, *Lida powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Ive*, *raion center*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Iwje*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Lida*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Ive*, *raen center*, *Hrodna voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Iwje is located 115 kilometers (69 miles) west of Minsk. In 1938, there were 3,025 Jews residing in Iwje. About 1,000 more Jews lived in the nearby villages of Traby (around 600 people), Lipniszki (100 families), Bakszty (around 50 people), and Subotniki (about 15 families).

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Units of German Army Group Center entered Iwje on June 29, 1941. From mid-August 1941 until March 1942, the commander of the 10th Company of Infantry Regiment 727, Oberleutnant Amberg, was the military commandant (Ortskommandant) in Iwje. After August 31, 1941, when a German civil administration was established in Weissruthenien, Iwje was a Rayon center within Gebiet Lida. In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in the town, commanded by an Austrian Gendarme named Bauer.

On August 2, the Security Police selected and shot about 200 Jewish men. The Germans established a Judenrat on that fateful day right after the selection. Those appointed held their posts until the liquidation of the ghetto. The chairman of the Judenrat was Moshe Kopold, a refugee from Kraków; other members included Khaim-Leib Dvoretski, Bernard Mlinarski, Yidl Kabak, Faive Alberstein, Khone Malakhovski, Tsalke Milikovski, and Leibman. The purpose of the Judenrat was to assist the Germans in implementing their policies towards the Jews. They had to organize workers for the local military and civil authorities, and also meet the labor demands of Gebietskommissar Hanweg in Lida and the Organisation Todt.

The Jewish Police was recruited from youths forcibly moved to Iwje from nearby towns. Its commander was Yoel Girshovich, and his deputy was Leib Kalmanovich from Traby. With the help of the Jewish Police, the Germans collected a series of forced contributions in the form of gold and other valuables from the Jewish population.[1]

Iwje residents view an open mass grave, 1944–1945, which may have been the site of the mass shooting of 2,500 Jews by the German authorities on May 12, 1942.
USHMM WS #23458, COURTESY OF GFH

By October 1941, the Jews had been concentrated in a special quarter of town. Some Jewish workers received permission to work outside the town, while the rest occupied the row of houses behind the shops in the market, up to the beginning of Nowogródek Street. Six families lived in each house. Christians were forbidden to enter Jewish houses, yet peasants still came to exchange food for clothes, furniture, and valuables. Some peasants were even paid by the Judenrat to collect information about events in the area.[2]

By April 1, 1942, all the Jews from the smaller surrounding towns of Lipniszki, Traby, Bakszty, Subotniki, and other settlements had been collected in Iwje. About 4,000 people were concentrated in the ghetto. Because of the terrible overcrowding, poor nutrition, and appalling hygienic conditions, epidemics of skin diseases (eczema and scurvy) and typhus broke out. Doctors in the ghetto tried to conceal the severity of the situation, fearing the Germans might exploit the existence of disease as a pretext to purge or liquidate the ghetto.

In late April, all the Jews working outside the town were ordered to return home by May 1.[3] On May 8, police reinforcements—about 100 men—arrived by bicycle. On May 11, the Judenrat received an order from the Polish auxiliary police to provide a squad of about 100 men with shovels and spades to dig some trenches. Then Gebietskommissar Hanweg arrived, summoned the Judenrat, and announced that about 800 people (the elderly and infirm) would be shot. He promised that no harm would come to the "useful Jews" but ordered them to collect a large tribute. On the night of May 11–12, more German police arrived on motorcycles. At dawn they drove all the Jews out of their houses into the market square. Many people were shot as they were assembled. Looters came to search the abandoned houses and take whatever was left.[4]

The people gathered in the market square had to kneel and wait for several hours. Leopold Windisch, a department head in the office of the Gebietskommissar in Lida, supervised the selection of the Jews and issued orders to the guards, which included some Lithuanian auxiliaries who had been drinking. First the Jews who had legitimate working papers were selected. Members of the Judenrat checked people's papers. In total, two groups of about 200 or 300 Jews were set apart. The lives of these Jews were temporarily spared. Members of the killing squad later escorted them to the ghetto in Lida.

The rest were then led in groups of 10 families to another selection site nearby, where Windisch and Rudolf Werner, who headed the economic section in the Gebietskommissar's office, stood on opposite sides of the street. Large families with small children were directed to the church; this was a death sentence. The others were given a temporary reprieve. It took three hours to sort out 4,000 people. The police stood by and whipped those who were lucky to hear, "Get out!" About 2,500 people were escorted from the church to the pits in the Staniewicze Forest.[5]

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At the killing site, the Jews had to undress, tie their belongings in a small bundle, and climb into the pit, where they were promptly shot. After each group of 100, the police and Lithuanians drank alcohol and ate food nearby. In despair, Jews buried any money they had with them. One youth, Ari Tabachnik, struggled with a policeman, bit him in the throat, and was shot dead. Others, such as Gute Goldberg and Rashke Gaskind, threatened the murderers with terrible revenge. Some boys tried to escape, but the guards shot them as they ran. Some children were thrown into the pit alive.

Approximately 1,200 Jews remained alive and were ordered to wait on their knees. They had to surrender any valuables. Then they returned to the market square, where Windisch gave a short speech, explaining why the Jews of Iwje had been shot: because of the weapons stolen by Jews from the Boytn camp, and because the Jews in America and England had started the war. The remaining Jews were mostly young men, capable of work, the "useful Jews." Only a few Jewish policemen remained alive, together with several doctors (Melamed, Siniuk, Bernson, Kaplinski, and Wolfowicz) and the members of the Judenrat, who had collected the money as a guarantee of their lives.

In the afternoon, the remaining Jews returned to the ghetto. They removed the bodies of those who had been shot inside the ghetto. The Polish police (Rayon commander: Mulitsa; town police: Zhebrik) seized 50 Jews from the ghetto to fill in the two pits, each 30 meters long by 4 meters wide and about 2 meters deep (about 98 by 13 by 6.5 feet). Some of the victims were still alive, but German Gendarmes soon finished them off. Near the pits were piles of clothes, linen, and shoes. The clothes were sold cheaply to the local population.[6]

A mood of despair prevailed in the ghetto. There were no more illusions that the reprieve would last long. Some Jews who worked outside the town encountered Russian partisans, and soon the first small group, including Vele Blokh and Berman, left the ghetto to join the partisans in the forest near Bakszty. Moshe Kaganovich became the leader of the underground partisan organization in the ghetto.

In the fall of 1942, rumors spread that the Iwje ghetto would soon be liquidated. Many people began to stay outside the ghetto overnight. (The police guarding the ghetto did not enforce the rules strictly.) Groups of workers were sent out to Mołodeczno, Krasne, and forced labor camps run by the OT in Lida. On December 31, 1942, another group of ghetto inmates was sent to Borisov. This selection caused a great panic in the ghetto, and many inmates fled to the forests and nearby settlements.[7]

Among those who escaped at this time was a group regarded as the underground partisan organization, which had made contact with the Bielski partisans. Unfortunately, several were killed or captured at the farmstead of Chrapienewo when Germans and local police from Wsielub attacked them. Others went to the Morino Forest, where they built a dugout to hold about 20 people. This group was armed and procured food from the surrounding settlements to survive the winter of 1942–1943. The surviving Jews mostly joined Soviet partisan detachments, including the Lenin, Stalin, and Bielski units, and some survived the war.

On January 20, 1943, all of those still alive in the ghetto were sent to Borisov, where they died in the peat bogs of Biala-Boloto at the end of March 1943.

SOURCES The yizkor book of the Jewish community of Iwje, edited by Moshe Kaganovich, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Iwie* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Iwie in Israel, 1968), includes several firsthand accounts of conditions in the ghetto.

The German war crimes investigation of Leopold Windisch (LG-Ma 3 KS 1/67) also contains useful information on the liquidation of the ghettos in Gebiet Lida. Other archival sources include the following: AŻIH (301/505 and 1842); BA-L (e.g., B 162/14386); GARF (7021-89-5); NARB (845-1-63); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 5594, 16884, and 38992); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2387).

Tamara Vershitskaya

NOTES

1. Shifre, Margolin, "The Extermination," in Kaganovich, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Iwie*, pp. 503–518; see also YVA, M-1/E/2387 (David Baksht) and 1772/96 (Elimelech Melamed), as cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), pp. 255–256, 269; and Dr. A. Kaplinski, "The Slaughter in Iwje," in Kaganovich, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Iwie*, pp. 519–524.

2. September is the date given in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), 9:1155; postwar testimony cited by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 523, states that a ghetto had already been established in July; Margolin, "The Extermination," pp. 503–518, appears to indicate that the ghetto was not formed until mid-October.

3. Margolin, "The Extermination," pp. 503–518; Kaplinski, "The Slaughter in Iwje," pp. 519–524. Some sources indicate that the Jews from Traby and Lipniszki were brought into the ghetto in the fall of 1941, but the precise date is not clear.

4. Ibid.; BA-L, B 162/14386, LG-Ma 3 KS 1/67, verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch on July 17, 1969, pp. 34–36.

5. BA-L, ZStl, LG-Ma 3 KS 1/67, verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch on July 17, 1969; Kaplinski, "The Slaughter in Iwje," pp. 519–524.

6. BA-L, ZStl, LG-Ma 3 KS 1/67, verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch on July 17, 1969; Kaplinski, "The Slaughter in Iwje," pp. 519–524; Elimelekh Melamed, "We Covered the Pits of Our Martyrs," in Kaganovich, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Iwie*, pp. 525–529; Margolin, "The Extermination," pp. 503–518. The Windisch trial verdict estimates the number of victims at 2,304.

7. Margolin, "The Extermination," pp. 503–518.

JEREMICZE

Pre-1939: Jeremicze, village, Stołpce powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Eremichi, Mir raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jeremicze,

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Rayon Mir, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien*; *post-1991: Iaremichi*, *Karelichy raen*, *Hrodna voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Jeremicze is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) north-northeast of Baranowicze. Just prior to the German invasion, the village had some 700 inhabitants, of which about 100 were Jewish.

The German army first entered the village around the end of June 1941. Advancing German troops continued to pass through for two weeks, but initially no Germans were permanently stationed in the village. Shortly after their arrival in the region, the German military authorities appointed a local village elder and began recruiting a local police force, which by December 1941 comprised about seven men. The first head of the police in Jeremicze was Piotr Galecki, who subsequently became the police chief in the larger nearby town of Turzec. The police station in Jeremicze was in the former house of the schoolmaster on Turzec Street. The police helped the Germans to identify local people who had assisted the Soviet authorities. These people were initially arrested and later shot. The policemen were renowned for their brutality, robbing and beating local inhabitants. Shortly after the establishment of the local police, all the Jews were ordered to wear yellow stars on the front and back of their clothing and were subjected to a curfew and other special regulations.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the local military commandant in Stołpce was responsible for the administration of the Mir Rayon. From August 1941 this was Leutnant Göbel of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727. In August 1941, the German authorities arrested anyone in Jeremicze who had not been a resident of the village before June 22, 1941. These people were then taken away by the Germans, and nobody saw them again. It was rumored that they had been shot.

Probably in August 1941, the German authorities established a small fenced ghetto in Jeremicze. The synagogue and two other houses on "Shkolnaia Street" were surrounded with barbed wire. All the Jews were ordered to stay behind the wire, which was guarded by the Belorussian police. Altogether there were about 9 or 10 Jewish families, consisting of about 10 members in each family, including small children. Occasionally the Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto, but they suffered from hunger due to lack of food.[1]

One day in the late summer of 1941, probably at the end of August, members of the local police in Jeremicze, including Anton Czyczewski, forced two Jews into the Nieman River and then shot them in the back. News of this incident also reached the Jews in Turzec.[2]

Sometime before the end of October 1941, a large pit was dug in a meadow behind the village of Jeremicze. On November 4, men of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, arriving by truck from Stołpce organized the mass shooting of some 500 Jews in Turzec. On the same day, assisted by the local Belorussian police, the German soldiers from the same unit gathered all the Jews on the central square in Jeremicze. There was a roll call, and all the Jews had to place their private belongings onto a truck. After the roll call the Jews were formed into a column and escorted by the local police towards the pit in the meadow. As they walked they could be heard crying and screaming as they realized their fate. One Jewish woman threw her shawl into the garden of a Christian neighbor as she passed by. At the pit the Jews were shot, probably with pistols. Afterwards, local residents filled in the pit.[3]

In Turzec, at the time of the massacre of the Jews there, those Jews who were selected for work at the Nowy Świerżeń labor camp saw a truck arrive carrying the clothing and other property from the 97 Jews shot that day in Jeremicze.[4] Unfortunately there are no testimonies from Jews who lived in the Jeremicze ghetto, since probably all of them were shot on November 5, 1941. The local non-Jewish resident Olga Stankevich reported: "[A]fter the execution, Jeremicze looked horrible. The Jewish houses with their doors open were vacant, many books and loose pages were scattered all over the roads." Local people looted the Jewish houses and took furniture, clothes, and anything else that was there.[5]

SOURCES Some brief information on the fate of the Jewish community in Jeremicze is contained in the following: the yizkor book for Turzec, edited by Michael Walzer-Fass and Moshe Kaplan, *Kehilot Turets ve-Yeremits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse' Turets ve-Yeremits be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Brit, 1978); and also the memoir of Yehuda Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community, 1900–1944* (Tel Aviv, 1958).

Some documentation mentioning the fate of the Jews of Jeremicze can be found in the following archives: GARF; Sta. Munich I (117 JS 2/72); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3876). This article is based mainly on the testimonies of non-Jewish local residents collected by the British Metropolitan Police (NSY) during the course of the investigation during the 1990s of the wartime regional police chief in Mir, Semion Serafinowicz. These records are now located in the NA; transcripts of the committal proceedings held at Dorking in 1996 are in the public domain.

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NOTES

1. NSY, Yevgeny Vladimirovich Brazovsky, March 1995, and Olga Nikolayevna Stankevich, June 1995.
2. NSY, Josef Harkavy, February 1995, and Ivan Biyut, April 1992.
3. Ibid.; and NSY, Dorking, Yevgeny Vladimirovich Brazovsky, March 19, 1996.
4. NSY, Dorking, Josef Harkavy, March 25, 1996; YVA, O-3/3876, testimony of Mordechai Jalowsky.
5. NSY, Olga Nikolayevna Stankevich, June 1995, and Ivan Biyut, June 10, 1995.

KLECK

Pre-1939: Kleck, *town*, *Nieśwież powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Kletsk*, *raion center*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Klezk*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kletsk*, *raen center*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

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The town of Kleck lies approximately 23 kilometers (14 miles) southeast of Baranowicze. In 1921, there were 4,190 Jews in the town (74 percent of the total population).

Units of German Army Group Center occupied Kleck at the end of June 1941. A German military administration initially controlled the town and started to recruit an auxiliary police force from local inhabitants in early July 1941. Among the first regulations imposed on the Jews was the wearing of distinctive symbols and the prohibition of trading or even communicating with the non-Jewish population. From August 1941 until February 1942 the military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Kleck was manned by about 10 soldiers detached from the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, which had its headquarters in Stołpce.[1] In November 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Kleck, which also took over responsibility for the local Belorussian police.

On October 24, 1941, the German commandant ordered the arrest of 34 Jews, who he then had shot the next day. This caused many Jews to grasp that they might experience a similar fate, and they started to make preparations to escape or hide. On October 26, the Jews had to register with the work committee, and rumors about the establishment of a ghetto began to circulate. Many Jews gave their valuable items to Christian neighbors for safekeeping. The Belorussian head of the Rayon, Emanuel Jasiuk, issued an order to the town administration and the local police chief Guryn to prepare for the establishment of a ghetto in the center of town.[2]

On October 29, 1941, the German Commandant Koch ordered all the Jews to gather in the marketplace. However, suspecting some malign intent, several hundred Jews did not show up, either hiding in the surrounding countryside or staying at home. Those that did report wore their best clothing. German forces from Reserve Police Battalion 11 and their Lithuanian collaborators that arrived on trucks then surrounded the market square, and Commandant Koch conducted a selection. The Jews were split into two groups: one of about 3,800 that remained on the square; a smaller group was escorted under guard by the local police to the Great Synagogue. The German police and Lithuanian auxiliaries then marched the larger group of Jews to the Catholic cemetery and shot them into mass graves that had been prepared just prior to this event by local non-Jews.[3]

After the Aktion, the remaining Jews from the synagogue were sent home to gather their belongings and were given only a short time to move into the small area reserved for the ghetto. When joined by those who emerged from hiding and also a few Jews brought in from the surrounding villages, some 1,400 Jews were inside the ghetto.[4] Overcrowding was extreme, and the rooms were distributed to the Jews more or less arbitrarily. Around this time, a Judenrat was organized and a Jewish police force established. The head of the Judenrat was Yitzakh Tserkovitch, and other members included Isaac Tsiap, Lipe Mishelevski, and Tsalie Gendels.[5]

The ghetto was surrounded by a 3-meter-high (almost 10-foot-high) fence with barbed wire and guarded by the local police. The Jewish adults in the ghetto gathered every morning and were taken under guard by local Belorussians to perform various forced labor tasks outside the ghetto, including work on the railroad, clearing snow, and cleaning the market square. Rations consisted of only a small amount of bread per day: workers receiving 260 grams (9 ounces) and the others 125 grams (4.4 ounces) per day. However, it was possible to obtain food from outside by barter with the local population, if at extortionate black market prices, and nobody died of starvation.

As disturbing rumors spread in the ghetto of an impending Aktion, some Jews wanted to escape to the forests or make contact with the partisans. However, the head of the Judenrat, Tserkovitch, opposed these plans for fear of German reprisals against the whole community, but in addressing about 200 youths just prior to the Aktion, he concluded in tears: "Perhaps it is too early and perhaps it is too late: do as you think best."[6]

The second Aktion, which resulted in the liquidation of the ghetto in Kleck, took place on July 22, 1942.[7] It was organized by a squad of the Security Police and SD, which arrived from Baranowicze together with a squad of Lithuanian auxiliaries. They were assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the local Belorussian police, including men from the police posts in Zaostrowicze and Siniawka as well as Kleck. Once the ghetto had been surrounded during the night, the next day Jews set fire to the ghetto in an attempt to deny the Germans their remaining property and also to assist their escape. Two Jews, Itshe Finkel and Avraham Pazharik, threw prepared grenades at their attackers, and others threw rocks or grabbed improvised weapons, such as rakes or shovels. In response, the Germans and their collaborators fired into the burning ghetto, and some Jews tried to flee in the chaos. Others committed suicide or were burned alive in their hiding places. Due to the wind, the fire also spread to some buildings outside the ghetto. Ultimately about 400 Jews were escorted out of the ghetto, and the German forces shot them near the Christian cemetery. Up to 1,000 Jews were murdered in the ghetto area, and only a few dozen managed to survive in hiding or make good their escape. Local Belorussian policemen took an active part in the liquidation of the ghetto and especially in the hunt for escaped Jews thereafter, assisted also by some local peasants. Among the local policemen who actively participated in the murder of the Jews were Michał Czyczewski, Pawel Bruszkiewicz, and a man named Kirsanow.[8]

Of those Jews who fled, most took refuge in the Kopyl Forest, where they joined the Jewish Zhukov partisan unit. About 16 Jews from Kleck returned alive from serving with the partisans after the town was liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES Personal accounts of survivors of the Kleck ghetto can be found in the yizkor book edited by A. Sh. Shteyn, *Pinkas Kletsk* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun Yots'e Kletsk be-Yisrael, 1959).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/990); BA-L (e.g., B 162/3421); GABO; GAMINO (1039-1-167); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); IPN (e.g., SwSz 49); NARB (845-1-6); Sta. Munich I (117 Js 2/72);

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Sta. Oldenburg (2 Js 138/68); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.378*0012); VHF (# 2530); and YVA (e.g., 2214/24-P).

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1. Sta. Munich I, 117 Js 2/72 (investigation in the case of Friedrich Göbel), pp. 1228–1230, statement of Fritz Mühlemeyer, September 6, 1972.

2. Statement of Liudvig V. Petkevich, March 29, 1978, OSI, file concerning crimes in the Kleck raion.

3. Leah Fish-Meyerovitch, "Di Farnikhtung," in Shteyn, *Pinkas Kletsk*, pp. 352–355; Sta. Oldenburg, 2 Js 138/68, Closing Report (Einstellungsverfügung) in Eibner case, pp. 182–187.

4. Alter Meyerovitch, "Death and Vengeance," in Shteyn, *Pinkas Kletsk*, pp. 355–361.

5. Shteyn, *Pinkas Kletsk*, pp. 352–361.

6. YVA, 2214/24-P (Yitzhak Preiss), as cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 192.

7. This date is given, for example, by Iosef Pshepyurko (USHMM, RG-50.378*0012).

8. IPN, SwSz 49, p. 130; GARF, 7021-81-103, pp. 54–65; BA-L, 202 AR-Z 171/67, vol. 2, pp. 222–265; AŻIH, 301/990, statement of Jonkiel Gelb.

KOBYLNIK (NAROCZ)

Pre-1939: Kobylnik, *village*, *Postawy powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Kobyl'nik*, *Miadel raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kobylnik*, *Rayon Miadziol*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Narach*, *Miadzel raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Kobylnik is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) north-northwest of Minsk, on the shore of Lake Narocz. On the eve of World War II, there were about 300 Jews living in Kobylnik.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Kobylnik at the end of June 1941. Before their arrival, a few young Jews managed to flee with the retreating Red Army. The Poles greeted the Germans' arrival with joy, established a militia, and went on to assist in the persecution of the Jews.

Shortly after their arrival, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its main tasks were to enforce German regulations concerning the wearing of yellow patches bearing the Star of David and to supply the Germans with forced laborers. Groups of young men were sent daily on foot to cut trees near the village of Samsonowo, 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Kobylnik. Other tasks included construction work and, in winter, clearing of snow from the streets.[1]

At the end of July 1941, the mayor of Kobylnik, Wąckowicz, provided the Germans with the names of 48 Jews who had served the Soviet regime. On July 28, these Jews were arrested, taken to a pit, and shot. Leon Salomon, a refugee from Maków Mazowiecki in central Poland, recalls that his brother was among those who were arrested and shot as suspected Communists. Shalom Jawnowicz, the head of the Judenrat, obtained permission for the corpses to be reburied in the Jewish cemetery.[2]

In the summer of 1941, rumors began to spread that the Jews would be forced to move into a ghetto. However, the authorities did not implement a formal ghetto, as those non-Jews who lived on one of the streets designated to be within the ghetto refused to leave their houses and energetically opposed the initiative. Instead, only the wealthiest Jews were driven from their homes and had to move in with other Jewish families. All Jewish houses also had to be marked with a Star of David, which one survivor has described as an "open ghetto." The designated Jewish houses became an easy target for raids by the local police, but the fact that the ghetto was not enclosed made it easier for Jews to go out and barter possessions for food with the peasants in the surrounding area. Jewish refugees from the mass murders in Lithuania also came to Kobylnik and sought refuge there, as conditions were less stringent than in the enclosed ghettos of the region.[3]

In September 1941, authority was officially transferred to a German civil administration. Kobylnik was incorporated into Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. However, the German military retained some authority in the region, as it took several months for the personnel of the civil administration to take up their posts.

On October 5–6, 1941 (at the time of Sukkot), German soldiers of the 10th Company, Infantry Regiment 747, assisted by local collaborators, conducted a large Aktion in the village. First they rounded up more than 100 Jews, had some of them dig a large pit, then shot those and others. Up to 150 Jews were shot altogether, allegedly for spreading rumors about the impending return of the Bolsheviks. Women and children were also among those killed; according to non-Jews who filled in the pit, some people who had only been wounded were buried alive. Afterwards the possessions of those who had been shot were sold cheaply to the local non-Jews.[4]

Periodically, the Jews had to meet German demands for money, valuables, and furniture. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews were ordered to surrender all their fur coats, blankets, boots, and winter clothing. Subsequently in 1942, the Gebietskommissar, Kreisobmann Schmid, in Wilejka demanded a huge monetary payment, and threatened to kill all the Jews if they did not comply. It seems this demand was probably met, as the threat was not immediately carried out.[5]

By 1942, the German civil administration had replaced most of the Polish policemen with Belorussians, as they did not trust the Poles. The commandant of the Belorussian police in Kobylnik was a man named Smolenski, and his subordinates beat and robbed the Jews mercilessly. Smolenski reportedly boasted to the Jews: "You and your money belong to me."

In the spring of 1942, a group of Jews was sent from Kobylnik to the nearby town of Miadzioł Nowy, where they worked for the Gestapo.[6]

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In the summer of 1942, the arrival of Jews who had escaped from massacres in nearby towns, such as Krzywicze, brought further misfortune on the Jews of Kobylnik. When the Belorussian police discovered that these refugees had been given shelter, they arrested all the Jews concerned and shot them with their families, accusing them of supporting the partisans. In most cases, even bribes could not help those condemned. In addition, if local Jews went missing, hostages might be taken in an attempt to force their return. Jews were also arrested and subjected to humiliations and torture at the whim of the local police, although occasionally those arrested were released after a severe beating. In particular, the murder of small children by the Belorussian police cast a grim shadow over those who remained alive.[7]

On September 19, 1942, Kobylnik Jews that had fled from their workplace in Miadzioł Nowy brought news that many Jews there had escaped, and most of the rest had been murdered. In response, some Kobylnik Jews also fled into the woods. Then on September 20 (on the eve of Yom Kippur), a detachment of Security Police from Wilejka, assisted by local Belorussian police, surrounded the village. The head of the Judenrat, Jawnowicz, was informed that the Germans wanted to establish a ghetto and issued instructions for the Jews to assemble on the market square. The local police then rounded up those who did not go willingly. A number of younger Jews attempted to hide or flee, but some were betrayed by local inhabitants and dragged away by the local police. The Jews were held in a large public building for one night without food. Their main fear was that the building might be burned down with them inside, as they had heard of Jews being killed in this fashion in other places. Some tried to escape, but only a few succeeded. A small group of Jewish artisans was selected and used initially to prepare a mass grave. The next day the Germans and local police took the 100 or so Jews remaining in the building and shot them.[8]

About 50 specialist workers from Kobylnik and their families were kept alive and were transferred to Miadzioł Nowy. There they joined more than 50 locals in a remnant ghetto, living under terrible conditions. In early October 1942, a group of Jewish partisans from a Soviet unit infiltrated the ghetto. They led out many of the inmates under a hail of German fire. Some joined the partisans, and others went into hiding in the forest or escaped to the Postawy ghetto, which remained in existence until late December. Several Jews from Kobylnik were later murdered in the forest by Polish partisans belonging to the "Armia Krajowa."[9]

Some Jews of the village were saved, thanks to local residents of Kobylnik. For their rescue efforts, Joseph Tunkevitz, Adolf Zhelubovsky, and Jan Valaji were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. For intervening to help Meir Svirsky, an Orthodox priest was arrested by the Gestapo and later shot in Wilejka.[10]

According to Meir Svirsky of the Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel, around 375 Jews lived in Kobylnik during the war and occupation, a figure that includes some Jews who had fled from other places in Poland. The total number of victims was probably around 320 people, since reportedly 53 Jews from the ghetto managed to survive.[11]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Kobylnik can be found in the following publications: Yitzhak Siegelman, ed., *Sefer Kobylnik* (Haifa: Va'ad Yozei Kobylnik b'Israel, Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel, 1967); and Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 533–536.

Documents about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kobylnik during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-10); UM-DOHA; USHMM; VHF (# 33839 and 35859); and YVA (e.g., M-33).

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NOTES

1. "Kobylnik," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:533–536.

2. UM-DOHA, testimony of Leon Salomon, June 18, 1990; Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," in Siegelman, *Sefer Kobylnik*, p. 155; and Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:533–536.

3. Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 155–156, describes the failure to establish a formal ghetto. VHF, # 35859, testimony of Sarah Shner Neshamit, states only that in 1941 the ghetto was not fenced in.

4. H. Heer, "Extreme Normalität. Generalmajor Gustav Freiherr von Mauchenheim gen. Bechtolsheim," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (2003): 737; this source gives the figure of only 42 victims. Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 159–163; this source includes a list of the names of some of the victims. VHF, # 33839, testimony of Ralph Friedman; Friedman successfully escaped from the grave digger detachment. He estimated that about 150 Jews had been rounded up in the fire station.

5. Spector and Freundich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:533–536.

6. Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 164–167.

7. Ibid., pp. 166–173; and Meir Svirski, "Merder—kinder merder," in Siegelman, *Sefer Kobylnik*, pp. 183 ff.

8. Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), pp. 124–125; and Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 174–177. Meir Svirsky of the Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel gave testimony on September 17, 1992, that in the cleansing Aktion of September 21, 1942, about 120 persons were killed. In 1992, a memorial was created at the site of the shooting, about 300 meters (328 yards) north of the village. See also Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 49, who dates the Aktion on September 27, 1942.

9. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:533–536; Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 55–61, indicates that about 50 craftsmen remained in a "small ghetto" in Miadzioł Nowy after the liquidation of the main ghetto.

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See also Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 176–177.

10. Testimony of Meir Svirsky, September 17, 1992; see also Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," p. 165.

11. Testimony of Meir Svirsky, November 24, 2001. A list of the victims in Kobylnik appears in Siegelman, *Sefer Kobylnik*, p. 274. There are 124 surnames and 356 individual names. Another nine families and their members are mentioned only by surname. The total number of Jews listed stands at approximately 385 persons.

KOPYL'

Pre-1941: Kopyl' (Yiddish: Kopulia), town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kopyl, Rayon center, Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kapyl', raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kopyl' is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, 1,435 Jews were living in Kopyl' (28 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 29, 1941. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. According to one source, the Ortskommandant was a man named Schulz. Soon after the Germans' arrival, German security forces arrested 26 young Jews and shot them in a nearby forest. At some time during the occupation, possibly in the summer or fall of 1941, another 300 people were shot in the same location—among those killed were Russians, Belorussians, and Jews, also including women and children.[2]

Shortly after the occupation, in early July 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews of the town resettled into a ghetto based on the Jewish quarter of the town. Those living outside the designated area were given only three days to move in. Jews were also required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded around the clock by Germans and the local police.[3] The population of the ghetto probably consisted of about 2,000 people.[4] The Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force. Adult Jews were required to perform forced labor, which according to one account was unpaid. Food was obtained by barter with the local population. Jews with houses located around the edge of the ghetto found it easier to barter across the ghetto fence, obtaining vegetables, such as carrots, potatoes, and cucumbers.[5]

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kopyl' was incorporated into Gebiet Sluzk in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Slutsk was Gauamtsleiter Heinrich Carl. In the fall of 1941, the Germans established a Gendarmerie post in Kopyl', which also took over control of the local Belorussian police (Schutzmannschaft). The head of the local police was a man named I. Gurlo, who had been a stable hand on a state cattle farm under the Soviets.[6]

According to the Jewish survivor Boris Shtein, "Any attempt to leave the confines of the ghetto was cut short by shots. Bringing food into the ghetto was forbidden and punishable by death. Almost every day healthy men like me were driven to the hardest, filthiest labor. We had to clean German and policemen's toilets (they were separate; the policemen could not use what was designated for a superior race), horse stalls (which was much more pleasant), wash their dirty underwear, and chop firewood. For the slightest disobedience the conversation was short—execution on the spot." Shtein also notes that there was starvation in the ghetto, with people dying every day, and no medical supplies.[7]

The Germans also demanded a series of contributions from the ghetto, threatening to shoot people if the money was not collected quickly enough. Jews were also brought into the ghetto from the surrounding villages, resulting in increased overcrowding. In some houses, up to five families had to share the limited space available. Among the labor tasks, some Jews were escorted out of the ghetto to chop wood in the forest. In the winter of 1941–1942, there was no shortage of firewood in the ghetto. Some Jews even had concealed radios, which enabled them to keep track of the progress of the war at the front. The next Aktion in March 1942, however, came suddenly with no warning.[8]

On March 25, 1942, the German and local Belorussian police, assisted by auxiliaries from the Baltic states, conducted a large Aktion in Kopyl'. One secondhand source indicates that Gebietskommissar Carl also came from Slutsk to personally supervise the Aktion.[9] First the police forces herded people into the synagogue, and the German authorities conducted a selection such that the skilled craftsmen and their families, comprising up to 1,000 people, were sent back to the ghetto. Those remaining in the synagogue, about 1,300 people, were then taken out and shot in mass graves about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the town.[10] As some Jews were shot in hiding or trying to escape, the surviving Jews had to carry these bodies out to the pits to be buried.[11]

According to a report by the German Security Police, a group of about 200 Soviet partisans besieged the town for two weeks from May 1942, inflicting a number of casualties on the Germans, including the loss of at least two Gendarmes with their uniforms. The same report mentions that 18 partisans were captured and publicly hanged, probably once the town had been relieved by strong forces of the German police and Wehrmacht.[12] Other sources also mention the public hangings but describe the victims only as civilians.[13]

On the night of July 22–23, 1942, the German police and their auxiliaries liquidated the ghetto. Many Jews hid in cellars and other concealed hiding places. Armed Jews staged a rebellion, opening fire on the policemen, killing three of them. They also set the ghetto on fire, in order to have a better chance to escape. Two thirds of the town was completely destroyed in the battle.[14] Around 200 Jews managed to escape into the forest either before or during this final Aktion.[15] The rest were killed.[16]

A number of escapees joined the Soviet partisans, serving, for example, in the Zhukov detachment of Chapaev's brigade.[17]

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However, the path to reach the partisans was fraught with danger, as the Germans threatened to kill all the inhabitants of a village if anyone there was known to be hiding Jews. Boris Shtein, who escaped from the ghetto, eventually found refuge with a friend of his father's in Stary Kopyl'. He hid in a cattle barn until the arrival of the Red Army in the summer of 1944. However, he was so exhausted that he was placed in the hospital until he learned to walk again. In the meantime, the Registration Office in Kopyl' sent notification of Shtein's "death in the ghetto" to his relatives, who had been among those evacuated to the east.[18]

SOURCES Documents about the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Kopyl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/16148); GARF (7021-82-8); and VHF (# 20980, 31329, and 50565). A brief survivor account by Boris Shtein has been published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 253–254.

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NOTES

1. 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), p. 657; and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 38.
2. BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), p. 151, testimony of Anton S. Schkiljewitsch, October 16, 1969.
3. VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg, # 31329, testimony of Mikhail Farber; and Boris Shtein, "My Relatives Received My Death Certificate," in Meltser and Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 253. All date the establishment of the ghetto just after the Germans' arrival at the end of June 1941, i.e., in early July 1941. BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), p. 151, testimony of Anton S. Schkiljewitsch, October 16, 1969, however, dates it after the "second Aktion" in which 300 people were shot, including non-Jews.
4. GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 91–92, cites 2,000 ghetto imates. BA-L, B 162/16148, p. 151, gives the figure of 3,000. And Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 253, cites 5,000 but these figures are probably too high.
5. VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg, and # 31329, testimony of Mikhail Farber.
6. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March, 13, 1942; and Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 253–254.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 253–254.
8. VHF, # 50565, testimony of Josif Khaet, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg, and # 31329, testimony of Mikhail Farber.
9. BA-L, B 162/16148, p. 136, statement of Cadok Feigin, September 7, 1967.
10. GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 91–92. This figure may also be too high.
11. VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg.
12. BA-BL, R 58/697, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 6, June 5, 1942.
13. BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 136, 147, 151, 184. This source dates the hangings on May 2, but the chronology in the contemporary German report is more likely to be reliable.
14. Rüstungskommando Minsk, report of July 25, 1942, in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), p. 227; Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 254; and VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg.
15. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 700, n.1065.
16. The names of 547 Jews who were killed in 1941–1942 are known; see GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 120–127.
17. VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg, and # 31329, testimony of Mikhail Farber; and Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 657.
18. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 254.

KORELICZE

Pre-1939: Korelicze, town, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Korelichi, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Korelitschi, Rayon Walewka, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Karelichy, raen center, Hrodno voblasts' Republic of Belarus

Korelicze is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west-southwest of Minsk. In 1931, the Jewish community numbered 1,300.

The German army occupied Korelicze at the end of June 1941. At this time the town was left without authority for a few days, and according to Hasia Turtl-Glukovitsh, "at nightfall peasants from the surrounding villages entered the town with bags and wagons, broke into Jewish houses, then robbed and looted whatever they found." A few young Jewish men tried to organize resistance, but they were severely beaten.[1]

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) initially administered Korelicze. Two of the German military officials who ran the town were Erhard and Brikhoff. The Kommandantur was based in the house of Josef Bernstein. The first chief of police was Kasperowicz, a Christian from Korelicze. He was subsequently replaced by Straszke and later by Druczke. Once some of the town's ruffians became policemen, they did whatever they wanted with the Jews. Among the incidents were attacks by local policemen on the tailor Dovid Nislevits and also Joel Meierovits, which involved torture and robbery. One of the most notorious policemen, in the recollections of Jewish survivors, was a man called Bryczkowski.[2]

At the end of July 1941, a group of Germans from Nowogródek arrived in Korelicze, summoned the town's rabbi,

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Israel Vernik, and ordered him with a few other Jews to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat). They all met at the rabbi's house, and Shimon Zelavianskii, Moisheke Kivelevich, and Borukh Shimshelevich became members of the Judenrat. Zelavianskii was appointed as its head, and Lipka, a refugee, became the secretary.

One of the first German orders was for the Jews to surrender all their gold and valuable items. Noncompliance was punishable by death. Further decrees followed concerning "Jewish Stars," which were to be worn on the chest and on the back, and additional contributions were levied on several occasions. All the orders were transmitted to the Judenrat, which served as a conduit between the German authorities and the Jews. A Jew from Łódź named Libhober served as an interpreter.[3]

All the Jews were registered and given identification documents. They were made to perform forced labor every day. Work tasks included the construction of a bridge over the Serawicz River and dragging out trucks that had got stuck in the mud on the surrounding roads. This work was sometimes accompanied by beatings and humiliations, such as forcing Jews to lick the wheels of the recovered vehicles.[4]

In July 1941, the Judenrat was ordered to gather all the Jewish men of Korelicze in the marketplace. At first people were made to stand in lines, then 105 men were selected and imprisoned in the Bet Midrash, guarded by the local police. The next day, those arrested were loaded onto trucks and taken away in the direction of Nowogródek. According to some accounts, local non-Jews then offered to bring the arrested men blankets and money, claiming they were still alive. But this was only a ruse to cheat Jewish relatives, as it later became known that the selected men had been shot just after they were taken away.[5]

On August 15, 1941, many Germans passing through Korelicze stopped long enough to search Jewish houses and take whatever they wanted. Then they ordered the Judenrat to present Rabbi Vernik and 10 other men. They ordered them to bring all the Torah scrolls, prayer shawls, prayer books, and other sacred items out of the two synagogues and set them on fire. They wanted to burn the rabbi, too, but only tore out his beard instead and shot some other men who tried to escape and hide in the synagogue. The rabbi was taken to Nowogródek and was murdered there several days later. After the synagogues and sacred objects had been destroyed, the Jews gathered secretly in private houses to pray.[6]

From the fall of 1941, a civil administration was established in Korelicze, which was within the Walewka Rayon of Gebiet Nowogrodek (Gebietskommissar Traub). Until March 1942, however, security was still provided by units of the 707th Infantry Division. According to the report of the division's commander, the military commandant for "Weissruthenien," von Bechtelsheim, in early November 1941, a few "Jews were shot in Korelicze for refusing to obey orders ([caught] without a star or an identity card), as well as for threatening a local policeman."[7]

The order to form a ghetto came in February 1942. The Jews of Korelicze were forced to move out of the main streets to just a few houses on the side streets around the two-story house that had belonged to the Lifshits family. About 50 people lived in each house. It was their responsibility to transfer all their belongings themselves, and they were forbidden to return home a second time. According to one account, local non-Jews "looked on, their mouths open with laughter and festive joy." A few families from the surrounding villages were also brought to the Korelicze ghetto. They included Jews from Cyryn, Sopotnica, and Mondzin.[8]

Workshops were set up for the artisans outside the ghetto. Non-Jews used to bring documents issued by the gmina (village council) authorizing them to have Jews do work for them. Later artisans were allowed to go to the marketplace, where they were recruited to work for local peasants. The work was usually without monetary compensation. Sometimes, however, Jews were given a piece of bread, potatoes, or some other food in return for their work. A few transports of Jews were sent away to the Organisation Todt (OT) camp in Dworzec.

The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Belorussian police wearing German uniforms. There was also a Jewish police force inside the ghetto. It was not difficult to escape from the ghetto, but the Germans warned that if even one person went missing, they would kill the entire Jewish population. Every evening and morning, the ghetto inmates were counted. A few non-Jews would come to the wire fence, bringing a loaf of bread or an egg to barter for some clothes.[9]

There was a group of six people who wanted to join the partisans. They were Moshe Shiling, Dovid Liphshits, Bentshe Gulkovits, Itske Hilert, Helene Kalita, and Dovid the bachelor. They acquired weapons and established contacts with some Red Army men operating in the area. Mordekhai Meierovitsh recalls that already in the autumn of 1941 on his way from Nowogródek to Korelicze he encountered a man who presented himself as a Russian major named Mikhail Kuznetsov, who had organized a partisan detachment together with other escaped prisoners of war. But there were antisemites in their group who did not want Jews to join them.[10] Some Jews from Korelicze, however, escaped later from the camp in Dworzec to the partisans.[11]

At the end of May 1942, the Germans ordered the Judenrat to draw up a precise list of all the artisans, who were then ordered to move to Nowogródek, together with their families.[12] They were given three days to prepare to leave. The news about the departure of the Jews spread through the surrounding villages. Peasants came in crowds to barter things from the Jews. They loaded wagons with Jewish possessions.[13]

Three days later, on the morning of June 2, 1942, the children and elderly were loaded onto wagons; everyone else had to walk. The entire population of the ghetto (estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500 people)[14] was driven to the marketplace, lined up in fours, everyone near their own family, women, and children. The sick and those unable to walk were murdered in their beds and brought to the cemetery to be buried.

The column started to march to Nowogródek. Some people were shot as they turned back to get a final glimpse of their birthplace. They covered the distance of 24 kilometers (15 miles) in one day, despite the heat, and were brought

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straight to the Peresieka ghetto in Nowogródek, where local Jews were concentrated together with Jews from the surrounding villages and towns. They were made to wait for hours at the gates of the ghetto in the rain before being let into the stalls.[15]

During 1942, some of the younger Jews managed to escape to the forest and join the Bielski partisans. Most of the Jews from Korelicze were murdered in the massacres on August 8, 1942, and February 4, 1943, at Litovka, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside Nowogródek.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Michael Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh: Hayeha ve-hurbanah shel kehilah Yehudit* (Tel Aviv: Society in Israel and the USA, 1973), contains a number of personal accounts by survivors from Korelicze. The joint memoir of Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchel, 1998), also mentions the arrival of Korelicze Jews at the ghetto in Peresieka (Nowogródek).

Documents relating to the Korelicze ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAGO; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E-2441/2513, O-3/2106, 3149).

Tamara Vershitskaya and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Hasia Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot Yehude Korelits," in Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh*, pp. 19–34. In the same volume, see also the account of Mordekhai Meierovitsh, "Meyne iberlebungen in der tseyt fun der tsveyter velt-milkhameh," pp. 235–244; and by A Native of the City, "Oyfn randt fun khurbn," pp. 212–225.

2. Ibid.; Joel Meierovits subsequently fled to the partisans and emigrated to the United States after the war. Bryczkowski is mentioned in several accounts (see, for example, Frume Gulkovitsh-Berger, "Zikhroynes fun geto," in Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh*, pp. 228–231).

3. Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," Mordekhai Meierovitsh, "Meyne"; and A Native of the City, "Oyfn."

4. Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244; BA-L, B 162/3452 (202 AR-Z 94e/59 [Investigation of Johann Artmann], vol. 1), pp. 15–29, statement of Szaul Gorodinski, February 11, 1963.

5. On the cheating of the Jews, see Meierovitsh "Meyne," pp. 235–244; and A Native of the City, "Oyfn," pp. 212–225. The account of Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," also mentions the number of 105 arrestees, saying they were kept in the "synagogue" and mentioning that some members of the Judenrat were among them.

6. See the accounts of Turtl-Glukovitsh (who gives the date of August 5), "Korot"; and Meierovitsh, "Meyne."

7. BA-MA, RH 26-7976/2, report of Kommandant in Weissruthenien, November 11, 1941.

8. The quote is from Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," pp. 19–34; on the Jews brought in from surrounding villages, see A Native of the City, "Oyfn" and "Der ershter partizan fun Korelitsh," also in Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh*, pp. 212–225, 255–256.

9. Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," pp. 19–34; and Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244.

10. Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244, Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," mentions the German threat to kill all the Jews if one went missing.

11. A Native of the City, "Der ershter," pp. 255–256.

12. This may have been the origin for the list of 989 names of Jews from the Korelicze ghetto, including the professions of family heads, dated May 20, 1942, GAGO, 641-2-3 (copy also at USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 7).

13. Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244.

14. See BA-L, B 162/3452 (202 AR-Z 94e/59, vol. 1), pp. 30–42, statement of M. Meirowicz (Meierovitsh), December 7, 1960. See, however, the list of 989 names noted above in note 12.

15. See the accounts of Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," pp. 19–34; Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244; and also that of Frumke Gulkoviysh-Berger, "Zikhroynes fun Geto," in Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh* pp. 228–231. See also Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 51–52, 152. According to one account, the last Jews from Korelicze were brought to the ghetto in Nowogródek in the fall of 1942, but this account is not strong on chronological details; see A Native of the City, "Oyfn," pp. 212–225. The other accounts maintain that all Jews were removed from Korelicze in May.

KOSÓW POLESKI

Pre-1939: Kosów Poleski, town and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kosovo, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kossowo, Rayon center, Gebiet Slonim, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kosava, Ivatsevichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kosów Poleski is located about 130 kilometers (81 kilometers miles) northwest of Brześć nad Bugiem (Brest). In 1931, there were 2,200 Jews living in Kosów.

On June 26, 1941, German forces occupied Kosów Poleski. At this time there were about 2,250 Jews living in the town, including a number of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland. The occupying authorities confiscated state property and personal belongings of the Jews.

Initially, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The Germans appointed a man named Shigideev as mayor, and a former émigré, Slavinskii, who arrived with the German forces, became head of the Rayon (Rayonchef). They recruited a local police force, initially dominated by Poles, including Viktor Demsza, Zelinski, and Wolczok. Later the Germans replaced these men for alleged disloyalty and appointed Belorussians and Ukrainians, including Ivan Zhuk and Vasilii Baibak, in their place. Ivan Mal'chik was a senior police officer serving under the German Gendarmerie.[1]

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans gathered the Jews in the main square and selected some of them. They then forced them to run in circles until they were exhausted. When the Jews collapsed, they beat them with rubber truncheons. They also cut off the beards of elderly Jews. Those

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initially targeted for persecution by the occupying forces included former Polish officers, Communists, and local Soviet activists. German security forces arrested a number of these suspects and shot them individually or in small groups.

In July 1941, the German military administration introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. All Jews from the ages of 16 to 55 were compelled to perform forced labor. Jews had to wear distinguishing marks. When the Jews did not start wearing their badges immediately, the Germans shot the head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) and appointed another man in his place. Serving under the Jewish Council was the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst).[2] Forced labor tasks included sweeping the streets, repairing the highways, cutting timber, and loading wagons at the railway station. The workday lasted from sunrise to sunset. Some Jews were taken out every day for work at Iwacewicze, 13 kilometers (8 miles) from Kosów Poleski. Other Jews worked directly for the Germans, producing leather items.

Within three months of their arrival, the German authorities had established an open ghetto in the town. Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Hoszczewo, were brought under guard to Kosów, where more than 2,000 Jews were concentrated in overcrowded conditions. Like the other ghettos in Gebiet Slonim, the ghetto in Kosów Poleski was probably not enclosed by a fence until the spring of 1942, most likely in April or May.

In the fall of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kosów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Slonim, under the control of Gebietskommissar Gerhard Erren. A Gendarmerie post was established in the town, which was commanded by Meister der Schutzpolizei Gustav Lange. At this time the German authorities demanded that the Jews surrender 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of gold, threatening to kill all the Jews otherwise. On another occasion the Germans arrested 22 of the wealthier and more educated Jews and sent them to Słonim. These men were released only in return for a large bribe.[3] The commandant, Lange, was notable for his corruption, and the Judenrat repeatedly bribed him with expensive gifts. This produced some positive results. For example, Lange permitted a Jewish-run pharmacy to operate outside the ghetto.[4]

In February 1942, some Kosów Jews were taken to Bronna Gora, in the Bereza Rayon, to dig ditches. The winter was brutal, and as many of the prisoners did not have warm clothes and boots, their hands and legs froze. They simply could not handle the exhausting labor after being weakened by hunger and disease. Worst off were the refugees who had arrived with no possessions to barter for essential foods. The Judenrat gave first priority to the local Jews. Some Jews attempted to buy false identification documents (*Ausweise*) and leave Kosów Poleski. These Jews, however, were caught and shot, including Hershel Reznik.[5]

In June 1942, the German authorities divided the Jews into three groups. Those deemed qualified for work were separated into one ghetto. A second ghetto was then established for Jews deemed unfit for labor and also for the refugees. The artisans, specialized laborers, and their families were split off into a third ghetto. The authorities decided to liquidate the second and third ghettos on July 25, 1942.

On the night of July 24–25, 1942, German police forces and their collaborators surrounded the ghetto. Many Jews hid in cellars, attics, and other places. The next morning, the police forces drove the Jews from their houses in the second and third ghettos and loaded them onto 15 trucks. A ditch 20 meters long by 20 meters wide (66 by 66 feet) had been prepared in the village of Moraczewszczyna, near the Puslowski castle, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside town. The Germans had killed the patients in the Jewish hospital during the previous night. Some craftsmen, carpenters, shoemakers, and other specialized workers were selected and transported to Słonim. At the pits, the Jews were ordered to undress, and those who refused were beaten. The Germans shot the prisoners with machine guns in groups as they stood on a wooden plank across the ditch. The mass shooting lasted the entire day.[6]

Many Jews put on talles, and the words of the Shema Yisrael prayer were heard. The Germans wanted to spare the life of a Jewish doctor, but he chose to die with the others. A man named Chaikin, the representative of the Judenrat, loudly cursed the executioners. Around 1,200 Jews were murdered on that day. Some 200 Jews successfully avoided the roundup by hiding, and a few of these then made their way to the partisans. According to Zakharia Zimaka, Lange hid a young Jewish girl who worked in his home. She later ran away and joined the partisans.[7] For a week afterwards, the grave remained uncovered, and the stench of rotting corpses filled the air. Finally Lange ordered local Belorussians to cover the grave with sand.

The Jews of Ghetto I remained alive and were soon joined by many who had survived in hiding. However, the ghetto did not exist for much longer. On the night of August 1–2, 1942, strong Soviet partisan forces led by Lieutenant Pavel Proniagin of the "Shchors" unit attacked the German garrison in Kosów Poleski, driving the Germans from the town. In the battle, five partisans were killed, but they captured and killed a number of local policemen. Among the partisan units involved was detachment No. 51, which contained a number of Jews.[8] The Jewish partisans marched down the streets shouting in Yiddish, "Come out! We are the Yiddish partisans. We want to save you." Local Jews helped them to find key supplies, but the partisans soon left town when the Germans returned with reinforcements. The partisans took the younger Jewish men with them into the forests, but they left behind the older Jews, women, and children. The returning Germans then shot these remaining 200 or so Jews the next day in Moraczewszczyna.[9]

On August 8, 1942, German forces abandoned Kosów and retreated to Iwacewicze in the face of an expected attack by strong partisan forces. Gustav Lange committed suicide shortly afterwards, as an SS investigation accused him of having a relationship with a local woman. Allegedly, when the partisans occupied the town, Lange's former mistress lived in the partisans' headquarters. Other Gendarmerie members received sentences of up to two years for stealing Jewish valuables, concealing Jews, and having relationships with local women.[10]

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On July 11, 1944, units of the Soviet 19th Mechanized Brigade of the 28th Army liberated the town. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) concluded in March 1945 that at least 1,925 persons had been killed in the Kosovo raion during the occupation. Its report made no mention of the nationality of the victims.[11] In total, 1,726 civilians were killed in Kosów; the majority of the victims were women, elderly persons, and children.[12]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Kosów Poleski during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats': Belarus* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia kniga, 1995); Dovid Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," in *Fun letstn khurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), vol. 1, no. 6, pp. 48–51; and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 311–312. The ghetto in Kosów is mentioned in the following publications: 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), p. 664; and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 90.

A number of publications mention the Soviet partisan attack on Kosów, including Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 218; Imanuel Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk, 2003), p. 311; Lester Eckman and Chaim Lazar, *The Jewish Resistance: The History of the Jewish Partisans in Lithuania and White Russia during the Nazi Occupation, 1940–1945* (New York: Shengold, 1978), p. 154.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kosów Poleski during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GABO (514-1-321, p. 12); GARF (7021-83-19); NARA; NARB (861-1-3, p. 53); TsAKGBRB; and YVA (2938/63-T, 980/850 M-41/1010). Additional eyewitness accounts can be found in the personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky.

Leonid Smilovitsky and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. TsAKGBRB, testimony of Kazimir Ul'ianovich Ulitko.
2. Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," pp. 48–51, here p. 48.
3. Ibid.
4. Personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS), letter of Zysha (Zakhariia) Osherovich Zimak from Akko, Israel, August 31, 2000.
5. NARB, 861-1-3, p. 53.
6. TsAKGBRB, testimony of Sigismund Krupinskii; Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," pp. 48–49.
7. PALS, letter of Z. Zimak from Akko, Israel, August 31, 2000; Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," pp. 48–49. NARB, 861-1-3, p. 53, gives the figure of 1,400 victims.
8. Members of the 51st detachment who risked their lives during the attack on Kosów Poleski included the commander Efraim Fedorovich, Natan Liker, Nenia Tsipinskii, Imber Aviezer, Malakh Kheniekh, and Zorakh Kremen.
9. Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," pp. 49–50. Leybovitsh himself fled from the partisans shortly afterwards (if only until the following spring) because of the antisemitic attitudes he encountered there. Also see YVA, 2938/63-T (Moshe Tuchman) and 980/850 (David Leybovitsh); TsAKGBRB, testimony of Kazimir Ul'ianovich Ulitko—this source falsely dates the Aktion in early September 1942.
10. NARA, BDC, SSO Carl Zenner.
11. YVA, M-41/1010, p. 15.
12. GARF, 7021-83-19, pp. 6–12, Report on the crimes of the German-fascist invaders in Kosovo, Brest province, BSSR, January 25, 1945.

KOZIANY

Pre-1939: Koziany (Yiddish: Kazan), village, Brasław powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Koziany, Vidzy raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: first Rayon Widze, then Rayon Postawy, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kaziany, Braslay raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Koziany is located 163 kilometers (101 miles) north-northwest of Minsk. In 1897, there were 139 Jews residing in the village, comprising 18.7 percent of the total. The village had a synagogue and maintained cultural ties with the nearby city of Wilno. On the eve of World War II, there were about 300 Jews living in the village.[1]

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Jews in Koziany argued among themselves as to whether they should flee or remain in the village. Most decided to stay, especially the more religious Jews. German armed forces occupied the village on July 3, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Koziany, including the marking of Jews with distinguishing badges in the shape of a Star of David, the use of Jews for forced labor, and a ban on their leaving the village. In Koziany there were no permanent German offices, only an outpost of the local Belorussian police, which was subordinated to the authority of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in the village. Besides the local Jews, there were also Jewish refugees from other towns and villages in the ghetto.[2] Some of these refugees brought news of the mass killings of Jews in Wilno and other communities of the region in the period from the summer of 1941 through to the summer of 1942. At some time in 1942, probably in early January, the Germans ordered the Jews to herd the cows they owned from Koziany to Postawy.[3] During 1942, a few Jews in the Koziany ghetto began to prepare measures of self-defense and collect weapons, in preparation for an expected Aktion against the ghetto. In fact the ghetto remained in existence for almost one year.

In August 1942, the German authorities informed the Jews in the Koziany ghetto that they would be resettled to the

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nearby ghetto in Postawy. On hearing this news, a group of about 60 Jews, including some women and children, fled the ghetto on the eve of the transfer. These Jews subsequently formed a partisan unit in the nearby forests, using their weapons to persuade local peasants to give them some of their food and to defend themselves against raids by the German and Belorussian police.[4]

A German police unit from Głębokie assisted by the Belorussian police gathered the remaining Jews, about 300 people, on the market square in Koziany. The Jews were then loaded onto peasant carts together with their possessions and were transported to the ghetto in Głębokie, where most remained until the liquidation Aktion conducted against that ghetto on August 20, 1943.[5] Subsequently the village of Koziany was largely destroyed in antipartisan operations conducted by the Germans starting in the fall of 1942.[6] Several Jews from Koziany managed to survive with various Soviet partisan units until the Germans were driven from the region by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES Published sources on the Koziany ghetto include David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 325–326.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Koziany can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/6105); BA-L (B 162/1391); GARF (7021-92-211); VHF (# 17147); and YVA (M-33/1105).

Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Koziany," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds. *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), p. 537.

2. BA-L, B 162/1391 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 2), pp. 944–945, statement of Josef Lewin, September 25, 1962; and Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 325–326, testimony of Dr. Lazar (Loyd) Beim, New York.

3. AŻIH, 301/6105. At least one of the Jews used this opportunity to remain in the Postawy ghetto.

4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 325–326.

5. *Memorial Book of Glebokie* [a translation into English of *Khurbn Glubok* by M. Rajak and Z. Rajak] (Buenos Aires: Association of Former Residents of Glebokie in Argentina, 1994), p. 101; BA-L, B 162/1391, pp. 944–945, statement of Josef Lewin, September 25, 1962; and VHF, # 17147, testimony of Avraham Swirsky. It does not seem that any of the Jews were actually transferred to the Postawy ghetto, which was closer and was liquidated probably in late November 1942.

6. Some sources indicate that the Jews of Koziany were shot near the village by the Germans in September or later in 1942; see, for example, M. Gilbert, *Endlösung. Die Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Juden. Ein Atlas* (Hamburg, 1982), p. 128; and YVA, M-33/1105, p. 1. In our opinion, this information is inaccurate, as survivor testimony indicates that all the Jews remaining after the escape were sent to the Głębokie ghetto. These reports probably refer instead to the effects of the antipartisan operations, which also claimed the lives of many non-Jews in the region.

KRASNE

Pre-1939: Krasne, village, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Krasnoe, Radoshkovichi raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krasnoje, Rayon Radoschkowitschi, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Krasnoe, Maladechna raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krasne is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Minsk on the banks of the Dzwinosa River. An estimated 350 Jews lived in Krasne by June 1941.

The Germans occupied Krasne in late June 1941. Throughout the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. In September 1941, a German civil administration took over control of the region. Krasne became part of Rayon Radoschkowitschi in Gebiet Wilejka, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of discriminatory anti-Jewish policies. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up, with Shabtai Arluk, who spoke German, as its head. The Jews were forced to wear yellow markings in the form of a Star of David and were obliged to perform physical labor. They were prohibited from leaving the village. The local auxiliary police beat the Jews and routinely looted and confiscated their property.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, all the Jews of the village were moved into a ghetto, which was located in poorer Jewish houses in the area of Nabereshnaia Street and partly on 17th September Street. Jews were forced to leave behind most of their possessions. Local police guarded the ghetto, which was surrounded with barbed wire. Only forced laborers were permitted to leave the ghetto under heavy guard. Anyone caught trying to escape was shot. One day 12 Jewish laborers were shot for no apparent reason.[1]

The winter of 1941–1942 was exceptionally cold, and the Krasne ghetto inmates suffered severe shortages, hunger, and disease. At this time officials from the Gebietskommissariat in Wilejka and SS men from Mołodeczno visited the village periodically, demanding valuables, furs, and other property. By the spring of 1942, the Germans had set up large repair workshops in Krasne for the Wehrmacht artillery and ground forces, known as Heeresfeldzeugpark II. There was also a Wehrmacht construction site (Baudienststelle) that was probably operated by the Organisation Todt (OT). Able-bodied Jews from the ghetto were used to work in these shops, along with hundreds of other Jews brought from ghettos in Gebiet Wilejka (Gródek Wileński, Radoszkowicze, Mołodeczno, Ilja, and Raków) and also Gebiet Lida, where several ghettos were liquidated in May 1942. In addition, 700 Jewish workers were transported from Baranowicze to Krasne on August 19, 1942.

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Apart from the workshops, other labor tasks included building a railway spur from the warehouses to the railroad station.[2]

Some of the Jewish forced laborers were housed in barracks surrounded by barbed wire erected for them near the workshops. Others lived in the ghetto together with the local Jews. Local non-Jews also worked for the Wehrmacht in Heeresfeldzeugpark II, but they were kept strictly separated from the Jews. For the Jewish forced laborers brought into the ghetto, hunger, lice, fear, and occasional disappearances dominated their lives. There was not much in the way of social activities, as the Jews were focused on survival or escape. One Jewish girl who worked in the kitchen for the soldiers was able to take out potato peelings with her and trade them for milk with local farmers on the way home.[3] Such activities were risky, however, as arbitrary killings were not uncommon. In early 1943, for example, an SS-Obersturmführer, who was in charge of the Security Police post in Wilejka, shot eight Jews he encountered walking from their place of employment back to the ghetto for lunch.[4]

A number of Jews in the ghetto/forced labor camp complex organized an underground and sought to escape to the forest. The head of the Judenrat, Arluk, did not oppose this, provided the underground acted with caution, not risking the lives of the collective. The underground was urged to escape only in small numbers and to find replacements for workers who left in coordination with the Judenrat. With time, Arluk's influence declined, and the underground started to act independently. When the Jewish police were unable to prevent a group of young Jews from leaving the ghetto, the Judenrat then warned their parents that the group's departure would lead to the annihilation of the entire ghetto.[5]

According to the report delivered by Haase, the Gebietskommissar in Wilejka, at a staff meeting in Minsk (April 8–10, 1943), there were 2,850 Jews in Krasne in March 1943. Haase, however, also reported that there was no longer any need for these Jews, and therefore he had arranged with the SD for "Krasne to be cleansed [of its Jews] as soon as possible."[6] The "cleansing" Aktion had possibly already taken place on March 19, 1943, as most sources give this date.[7]

On the day of the Aktion, the soldiers of Sicherungsbataillon 28, headed by Major Haferkamp, surrounded the labor camp and the ghetto. The Jews, told that they were about to receive an antityphus injection, were assembled in the synagogue and on the square in front of it. Fearing the worst, many Jews had gone into hiding in the ghetto. Private Karl Kern, who worked as a telephone operator for the Wehrmacht in Krasne, recalled seeing the SS pull about 30 Jews, including children aged only two or three, from the attic of a small hut. Some of the children were simply thrown from a great height onto the ground and were then bludgeoned to death.[8]

From the synagogue the Jews were herded in small groups through a corridor formed by Wehrmacht soldiers to a barn on the banks of the Usha River not far from the ghetto. Here they were made to strip to their underwear and were received by men of the Security Police and SD squad from Wilejka. About 400 Jews from the Organisation Todt labor camp were brought to the killing site on trucks. In the barn, the SS men shot the Jews throughout the entire day, creating a huge pile of seething bodies, as many of the Jews had only been wounded. At the end of the day, the barn was set alight. As it went up in flames, a few Jews who were still alive tried to escape, but they were forced back into the flames.[9] About 100 Jews who had gone into hiding were uncovered over the following eight days. One Jewish girl was forced to reveal where she had hidden her valuables before being shot by a member of the Wehrmacht. The local Wehrmacht Oberschirrmeister (NCO in charge of equipment) collected a considerable amount of valuables from the Jews.[10] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, a total of 2,340 Jews were killed in this massacre, including 349 natives of the village of Krasne.[11]

Around 100 young men from the ghetto and labor camps in Krasne managed to escape before or during the liquidation Aktion and fought as partisans in the Naliboki and Białowieża Forests. Among these fighters was Chanan Alterman, who led a group of 30 Jews out to join the partisans and served as deputy commander of the "Kuznetsov" partisan detachment. Other Jewish partisans from Krasne became members of the "Kirov" partisan detachment, which blew up German trains and bridges.[12]

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jews of Krasne during the Holocaust can be found in the following publication: "Krasne," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 576–578.

Documentation pertaining to the extermination of the Jews of Krasne can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/505, 3164-66, and 4925); BA-L (B 162/1472); GARF (7021-89-14); NA (WO 309/150); NARB (370-1-1262 and 845-1-63); USHMM (e.g., RG-53.002M, reel 13); VHF (e.g., # 961 and 24468); and YVA (e.g., M-33; O-3/1011 and 2084).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 5:186–187; "Krasne," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:576–578 and BA-L, B 162/1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42), pp. 8649–8671.

2. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 700 n.1064; and Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:576–578. Gdaliyau Dudman, "Vishnevo during the War," in Hayyim Abramson, ed., *Vishneva, ke-fi she-hayetah ve-enenah od; sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Wiscniew Society in Israel, 1971), pp. 125–148, dates the first transfer of Jewish laborers to Krasne in the "winter of 1941–42," but most other sources put this somewhat later.

3. VHF, # 24468, testimony of Morris (Moshe) Baran, born 1920; and # 961, testimony of Mina Rosenberg (née Baran), born 1928, sister of Moshe Baran.

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4. NA, WO 309/150, sworn statement by Gefr. Karl Kern, July 27, 1945. The Obersturmführer concerned was probably Richard Grave, who died in 1944.

5. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 144.

6. IfZ, Fb 85/I, p. 81, contribution by the Gebietskommissar Wilejka at a meeting convened by Generalkommissar Kube in Minsk, April 8, 1943 (a copy is available also in USHMM, RG-53.002M [NARB], reel 13, 370-1-1262, pp. 103–118).

7. This date is given in VHF, # 24468; and in NA, WO 309/150. The testimony of M. Maiersohn in Gerhard Schoenberner, ed., *Wir haben es gesehen. Augenzeugenberichte über Terror und Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Rütten & Loehning, 1962), p. 124, however, dates the Aktion on April 19, 1943.

8. NA, WO 309/150, sworn statement by Gefr. Karl Kern, July 27, 1945.

9. Ibid.; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944* (Ausstellungskatalog) (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996), p. 124; and BA-L, B 162/1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42), pp. 8649–8671.

10. NA, WO 309/150, sworn statement by Gefr. Karl Kern, July 27, 1945.

11. GARF, 7021-89-14, pp. 2 (reverse) and 26–27.

12. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:576–578.

KRZYWICZE

Pre-1939: Krzywicze (Yiddish: Krivitsh), village, Wilejka powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kryvichi, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krywitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kryvichy, Miadzel raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krzywicze is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north of Minsk. In 1939, approximately 800 people resided in Krzywicze, of which about half were Jews.

After the Germans occupied Krzywicze, local non-Jews frequently slandered those Jews who remained, denouncing them to the German authorities as Communist officials or sympathizers. Many of the accused were executed. A Judenrat was established to provide workers for forced labor and coordinate their assignments. Many were assigned to work along the railway line.[1] Harsh restrictions were imposed. Jews were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks, ride on trains or wagons, receive medical treatment (even from Jewish doctors), engage in transactions with the non-Jewish population, or be seen without a yellow patch bearing the Jewish Star. The Bet Midrash was set on fire, and its books and Torah scrolls were destroyed or desecrated. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Germans collected all fur garments from the Jews.[2] Throughout the occupation there were occasional arbitrary shootings of the Jewish population.

On April 28, 1942, members of the German Security Police from Wilejka, including a Waffen-SS detachment commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Lipps, arrived in Krzywicze and surrounded the village. Members of the local police and other local collaborators then forced the Jews out of their houses. The Germans and their collaborators murdered the elderly and the sick on the spot during the initial roundup. The remaining Jews were taken to the grounds of the Catholic Church on the edge of the village. Here they were ordered to surrender their gold, money, and other valuables to the police if they wanted to be saved. The few who were tempted to comply were also murdered.[3]

From the Catholic Church, approximately 300 Jews were forced to march to a deserted barn, which belonged to a man named Karlovich. There they were ordered to remove their clothes and to enter the barn in small groups. The Germans killed around 130 of them in the barn with shots to the back of the head. Then about 80 more Jews had their hands tied behind their backs and were forced into the corpse-filled barn alive, which was then set on fire. As the building burned, the Germans and local policemen drank alcohol and watched the windows and doors to ensure that nobody escaped. However, one man fled from the building and attacked a German policeman. He snatched the machine gun from him and beat him to death. Then he shot wildly in all directions, screaming in agony from his burns. Other police members finally shot him dead.[4]

During the Aktion, a number of Jews were selected as craftsmen who were still needed, such as tailors and shoemakers. These Jews were excluded from the massacre together with their families and were later joined by others who had managed to evade the roundup. On the orders of the Gebietskommissar, they were all moved into a small remnant ghetto, consisting of only two houses surrounded with barbed wire on a poor street near the river. Estimates vary as to the number of Jews in this ghetto, ranging from around 60 up to 200. These Jews were required to perform forced labor, for example, at the dairy, escorted by the local police. Their numbers were whittled down successively in random killings and arrests. Jews were robbed and brutally beaten at the discretion of the local police. Realizing that their days were numbered, some Jews escaped to the forests, especially after they had received positive news via a non-Jewish courier from other Krzywicze Jews who had already linked up with Soviet partisans operating in the area.[5]

The family of Chasia Kacowicz left the ghetto in the summer of 1942 and lived with non-Jewish friends outside the ghetto illegally for a while until someone informed on them. The family was then forced to return to the ghetto. In September 1942 there was a final roundup. About 40 remaining Jews were killed when grenades were thrown into a building where the Jews had been collected. Any survivors were finished off with knives. A few Jews had been warned in time and managed to escape. Some of those who fled from the ghetto joined the "Kalinin" partisan unit.[6]

SOURCES The main published source on the fate of the Jews of Krzywicze in World War II is Matityahu Bar-Ratzon, ed., *Ner tamid; yizkor le-Krivitsh* (Tel Aviv: Krivitsh Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1977).

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Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-89-7); IPN (SWP 68); NARB; USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M); VHF (# 6987, 9348, and 43618); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Monika Tomkiewicz
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Bar-Ratzon, *Ner tamid*, pp. 276, 285.
2. Ibid., pp. 273, 275, 278.
3. Ibid., pp. 327–328, 331, 386; *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 247–249, SS-Uscharf. Lipps Aussenstelle Wilejka an Burgdorf, May 27, 1942; and GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 99 and reverse side.
4. Bar-Ratzon, *Ner tamid*, pp. 327–352; GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 99 and reverse side; verdict of the Bochum District Court 7 Ks Js 3/61; and IPN, SWP 68, Case against Michał Siemaszkiewicz.
5. Bar-Ratzon, *Ner tamid*, pp. 394–403; VHF, # 43618, testimony of Helene Burt (née Chasia Kacowicz), born 1930; # 9348, testimony of Aileen Frydrych (née Chaja Rabinowicz), born 1931; and # 6987, testimony of Jerry Kaidanow, born 1933.
6. VHF, # 343618, testimony of Helene Burt (née Chasia Kacowicz), born 1930; GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 99 and reverse side; and 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), p. 686.

LACHOWICZE

Pre-1939: Lachowicze, town, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Liakhovichi, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lachowitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Liakhovichi, raen center, Bernas'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lachowicze is located 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) southeast of Baranowicze. At the time of the German occupation, there were more than 3,000 Jewish inhabitants in the town, swelled by an influx of refugees fleeing from central and western Poland.

German forces occupied the town at the end of June 1941 and were welcomed by the local Polish population. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans selected some of the most respected Jewish citizens and murdered them. A few days later, 82 Jews were killed in a pogrom.[1] During the summer, the German military authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to pass on their instructions and made all the Jews wear armbands to distinguish them from the rest of the population. The Germans also forbade the Jews to trade with the non-Jewish population or to use the sidewalks.

Initially, a local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town, but in the fall of 1941, a Gendarmerie post was established and authority was assumed by a German civil administration. The Gendarmerie officials who commanded the outpost in Lachowicze in 1941 and 1942 were successively Meisters Reinhold Hein (October 1941), Lustig (November 1941–August 1942), Wille (born 1897), and then Meier.[2]

At the end of October or the beginning of November 1941, the German police, assisted by Baltic auxiliaries brought in especially, as well as local Belorussian police commanded by a certain Mashkovskii, surrounded the town and began dragging the Jews out of their homes and marching them to an assembly point in front of the Gendarmerie post. Here some specialist workers were selected, and the rest were escorted away and shot in pits just outside the town, near the village of Łotwa. After this, the German security forces and their collaborators started to search for any Jews in hiding. Those who were found were also taken away and shot. By the evening, the shooting had stopped and officially only 280 Jews (the craftsmen and their families) remained. Over the following days, however, many more Jews came out of hiding, and gradually the number of survivors grew to around 1,000.[3]

On the day after the massacre, the Germans established a ghetto. The ghetto, located in the poorest quarter near the center of town, consisted of the synagogue courtyard ("Schulhof") and part of "Veinger Gas" (after the war this was the site of a canning factory). It was enclosed by a fence erected by the Jews themselves and guarded by the local Belorussian police. Inside the ghetto there was terrible overcrowding and almost no food. The Jews in the ghetto worked hard in various workshops. Their only payment was 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. To supplement this, they exchanged their remaining clothes for food, but if they were caught, they were whipped in punishment.[4]

One Friday in June 1942, there was a second Aktion in Lachowicze, during which all but about 300 Jews were shot. According to various survivor accounts, the Jews themselves set fire to the ghetto during the second Aktion to make it more difficult for the Germans to search for those in hiding. The Jews received very little assistance from the local population.[5] The Aktions against the ghettos in Gebiet Baranowitsche in the summer of 1942 were organized by the office of the Security Police and SD based in Baranowicze. In the summer of 1942, this office was commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Woldemar Amelung, who was closely assisted by the Lithuanian Jósef Górniewicz.[6]

After the second Aktion, Mendel Szczupak realized that the end was near and became a member of a group of 11 Jews who began preparing their escape. Shortly afterwards they fled the ghetto, with 8 of them reaching the forests. The escapees soon made contact with a group of 25 Soviet partisans, but its leader did not accept them, as they had no arms. They were then joined by 3 more escapees from Lachowicze and linked up with the "Shchors" Soviet partisan unit, which had more than 1,000 members, including a large Jewish contingent of 130 people. The Jewish partisans fought bravely, killing some Germans and engaging in sabotage. Several of them were

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killed in action and received posthumous decorations as Heroes of the Soviet Union. Most of the Jewish partisans joined the Red Army after the liberation of Lachowicze in the summer of 1944.[7] Only a handful of the Jews held in the Lachowicze ghetto survived the war.

SOURCES Some information on the ghetto and the fate of the Jewish population of Lachowicze can be found in the yizkor book edited by Yisra'el Rubin, Nisan Tuktsinski, and Avraham Lev, *Lahovits, sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv, 1948–1949).

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports for Lachowicze and other relevant documents can be found in the following archives: NARB and GARF. Jewish survivor testimonies can be found in AUKGBRBBO; AŻIH; BLH (HJF, L.1794); USHMM (RG-50.120*0066); and YVA. Information from criminal investigations and trials can be found in AUKGBRBBO; BA-L; and IPN.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Rubin, Tuktsinski, and Lev, *Lahovits, sefer zikaron*, p. 316. There were several Aktions conducted against the Jews of Lachowicze during the summer of 1941; see also, for example, NARA, T-175, reel 233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 50, August 12, 1941, which reported the shooting of 22 "communists" in Lachowicze.
2. Sta. Oldenburg 2 JS 138/68, Closing Report (Einstellungsverfügung) in the case against Max Eibner, pp. 182–187.
3. AŻIH, 301/49, testimony of Mendel Szczupak. Ibid., see especially the testimony of local policeman Stepan Mikhailovich Tschernak, who was tried by the Soviets after the war.
4. AŻIH, 301/49, testimony of Mendel Szczupak; Rubin, Tuktsinski, and Lev, *Lahovits, sefer zikaron*, p. 316; USHMM, RG-50.120*0066, testimony of Nechama Hochbaum.
5. YVA, M-1/Q/2378/569, testimony of Segal on August 8, 1948; M-1/Q/1858/399, testimony of Zalman Rabinowicz on July 11, 1947.
6. Rubin, Tuktsinski, and Lev, *Lahovits, sefer zikaron*, pp. 334–337, includes an account of the postwar trial of Józef Górniewicz in Poland, mentioning his role in organizing the massacre of Jews in Lachowicze and other towns. See also IPN, SoWr 67. Górniewicz was executed in Poland on November 26, 1947.
7. AŻIH, 301/49, testimony of Mendel Szczupak.

LEBIEDZIEW

Pre-1939: Lebiedziew, village, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lebedevo, Molodechno raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lebiedziew, Rayon Molodetschno, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Lebedzeva, Maladzechna raen, Minsk voblasts,' Republic of Belarus

Lebiedziew is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Minsk. In 1897, there were 1,232 Jews residing in the small town, comprising 54.2 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Lebiedziew in the last days of June 1941. Towards the end of October, the German authorities established a ghetto there, also bringing in Jews from the surrounding villages. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto was on Zarichanskaia and Vileiskaia Streets, and about 600 Jews were confined within it.[1] A fence enclosed the ghetto, and the Jews were prohibited from leaving without permission. Inside the ghetto, the Jews suffered from overcrowding and hunger. However, some food was smuggled in illegally, when Jews managed to obtain it in exchange for money or their last possessions from the surrounding villages. All Jews over the age of 14 were required to perform forced labor. One day in December 1941, SS men from Mołodeczno entered the ghetto and arrested 15 young Jews, who were then taken away and murdered. The Germans made a series of demands for contributions from the Jewish Council, which continued until the Jews in the ghetto had almost nothing left.[2]

On June 24, 1942,[3] a detachment of the Security Police from Wilejka, accompanied by a platoon of Waffen-SS, set out in the early morning hours for Lebiedziew. The vehicles arrived at the market square, and SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Grave gave instructions for the Jews to be removed from their homes and assembled on the square near the ghetto gate. Wearing black uniforms, local policemen also took part in the Aktion. As the Jews were driven out of their houses, the police shot those who were ill or infirm and those who tried to resist. After the majority of the Jews were assembled, the corpses of several young Jews found in hiding or shot trying to escape were collected and taken to a barn outside Lebiedziew. Then the Germans escorted the other young Jews into the Nieważa River and held them there for half an hour to impede any further escape attempts. Then these Jews were brought back to join the others and formed into a marching column. It is likely that Grave, as head of the Wilejka SD outpost, informed the Jews that they would be sent away to work and could take with them only very few belongings.

At 11:00 A.M., the Germans drove the Jews out to the northwest towards the village of Marków to a point only a short distance from the barn, where the young Jews' bodies had been taken. About 50 meters (55 yards) from the barn, the Jews were corralled into a group guarded by the police. Then smaller groups of Jews were escorted into the barn. The Germans killed the Jews there with single shots to the head. At the end, gasoline was poured over the pile of bodies, and the barn was set on fire. As the wooden building was burning, a Jew ran out in his burning clothes, trying to save himself. On Grave's orders, several policemen shot him.[4] At least 500 Jews were murdered in this Aktion.

Some Jews managed to hide successfully and subsequently escaped into the woods. Afterwards, the Germans also burned the ghetto houses. In December 1943, the Germans murdered 25 Jews who had been uncovered and betrayed by local inhabitants. When the Red Army drove the Germans from the region in the summer of 1944, only a few Jews from Lebiedziew remained alive.[5]

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In 1979, the court in Bochum sentenced Georg Johann Hasenkamp to four years in prison but decided not to punish Josef Lengl. Both men had been accused of participation in the murder of the Jews in Lebiedziew, among other crimes.[6]

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Lebiedziew include Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 374–376.

Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Lebiedziew during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-9); and LG-Bo (7 Ks 45 Js 3/61).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-89-9, pp. 29–34.
2. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:374–376.
3. This is the date given by the ChGK; see GARF, 7021-89-9, pp. 29–34.
4. LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61; see also Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), pp. 490–491.
5. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:374–376.
6. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 89; and LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61, verdict of April 11, 1979, pp. 74–76.

LENIN

Pre-1939: Lenin, *town*, *Łuninieć powiat*, *województwo poleskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: raion center*, *Pinsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center*, *Gebiet Hansewitschi*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zhytkavichy raen*, *Homel' voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Lenin is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) east-northeast of Pinsk. The name "Lenin" derives from the last name of the former estate owner, Count Olel'kovich (1586), and is not related to the pseudonym of the Communist revolutionary V.I. Ul'ianov (Lenin).[1] In early 1941, including refugees from Poland, around 2,000 Jews resided in Lenin. Little thought was given to evacuating the town, even though people were aware of Germany's persecution of the Jews. Most people wanted to believe that the Red Army would stop and destroy the "Hitlerite army." Only a few Jews succeeded in fleeing, as the Soviet border guards did not allow people across the former "western" border, fearing the infiltration of German spies.[2]

German forces occupied Lenin by mid-July 1941. Many local Belorussian and Polish inhabitants from Lenin and the neighboring villages enlisted in the Red Army. The "local bandit" Boris Gergelikhes, was appointed commander of the police. The mayor of Lenin was an ethnic German named Max Firschenhaupt. His deputy was his son-in-law, Olishevskii.

By the end of July 1941, the Nazis had issued instructions for the Jews of Lenin to wear yellow badges on their clothes, and they were forbidden to communicate with the local Belorussians, Poles, and Russians. They were subjected to a curfew and also a blackout at night, were forbidden to walk on the sidewalk, and had to take off their hats when meeting a German or a local policeman. If they disobeyed these regulations, they could be shot. A Judenrat was established, headed by Aron Milner (chairman), including Itshak Kolpenitsky, Joseph Rubinshtein, and others. The Judenrat was ordered to keep track of the Jews in Lenin and to ensure that German instructions were carried out. The Nazis demanded contributions from the Jews in the form of food, warm clothes, crockery, bedclothes, money, and valuables. For disobeying the regulations, Jews were beaten, fined, and given other punishments.[3]

The Germans made the Jews reconstruct the destroyed bridges within four days, under the direction of Yankel Krevitsa. As they were forced to work, their supervisors cursed them with shouts of "Damned Jews!" More than 100 Jews were assigned to repair the roads to Mikaszewicze and Zhitkovichi, 15 people worked in the hospital, another group cleaned the

Pre-war photograph of Faigel (Fanya) Lazebnik (later Faye Schulman), a survivor of the Lenin ghetto, holding her nephew Schelemale.
USHMM WS #56404, COURTESY OF FAYE SCHULMAN

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area around the gmina building, and Jewish girls had to clean the houses for the German occupants and local inhabitants. In the winter, Jews were also forced to shovel snow. Those who were too slow were kicked and beaten with sticks.

Apart from these impositions, however, Firschenhaupt helped the Jews to avoid worse problems. He convinced the initial military commandant that the Jews were needed—on account of their labor and their willingness to follow commands—and this may have contributed to the postponement of large Aktions against the Jews.

Just before Passover (at the end of March) 1942, 60 young men and adolescents from Lenin were sent to the Jewish forced labor camp in Hancewicze. On May 21, all men capable of work and aged 14 to 60 years (150 people) were collected near the club on Lachovskaia Street and taken on foot to the railroad station at Mikaszewicze. There the Jews were herded into a cattle yard. The following day, they were transported in railroad cars to Hancewicze, guarded by 10 policemen. Nobody escaped, as the Nazis threatened to kill the families of anyone who tried.[4] According to other sources, 230 Jews from Lenin and 120 from Pohost Zahorodski arrived in Hancewicze, where they performed forced labor in a German army camp.[5]

Often the Nazis and local police forced the Jews to give them "contributions" and surrender their valuables. When the daughter of Olishevskii wanted a fur jacket, the Judenrat scoured Jewish houses until they found what she wanted. Gergelikhes helped himself from Jewish houses, also taking vodka and tobacco. Frequently, Germans and policemen visited the Jews to rob them. In the fall of 1941, two young Germans regularly plundered the Jews of the town, killing people arbitrarily.

On one occasion, the Judenrat was ordered to collect 50 sets of male and female clothing to outfit a group of Belorussian youths being sent to Germany to work. In the fall of 1941, the Germans also confiscated all the Jews' livestock—horses, cows, sheep, goats, and poultry—making it even harder for them to feed themselves.[6] Following rumors that a ghetto might be established, people tried to hoard whatever food supplies they could get, especially flour and grain.

On May 10, 1942, the Nazis enclosed the Jews within a ghetto.[7] On moving into the ghetto, Jews were permitted to take only those items they could carry in their arms. Most of the ghetto consisted of Jewish homes, in which now two or three families lived per room. The inmates constructed bunk beds to sleep on, three or four levels high. A high barbed-wire fence, hung between wooden poles driven into the ground, surrounded the ghetto. The local police guarded the perimeter.

The Germans also resettled about 150 Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Chorostów, Hryczynowicze, Grabów (32 kilometers [20 miles] north-northeast of Lenin), and Milewicze (24 kilometers [15 miles] in the same direction), into the ghetto, including about 60 women and young children from the village of Wolka (48 kilometers [30 miles] to the west), whose husbands and older children had been sent to the Łuniniec ghetto. Food and accommodation for the new arrivals were organized by the Judenrat. Generally, each person helped his neighbor as much as he could.

The ghetto in Lenin, like many others in Belorussia, had only limited economic significance. Its main function was to concentrate the Jews and hold them securely until their extermination. Food supplies and medical assistance were organized by the Judenrat. Ghetto inmates received daily rations of only about 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and a soup made from potato peels. Once the ghetto was created, it became almost impossible to trade valuables for food with the locals as before, though the workers who went outside daily occasionally brought in some potatoes or flour concealed in their clothes.[8]

By August 1942, the Nazis had collected about 1,850 Jews from the surrounding area in the Lenin ghetto. The majority consisted of the elderly, women, and children. A month before the Aktion, the Jews were ordered to prepare a ditch at the place known as Ogarkov, a small hill in the town's suburbs in the direction of Hancewicze. There were repeated roll calls early in the morning, during which those who were found in hiding were shot.

The mass killing was conducted on August 14, 1942. Policemen in black uniforms, including some Lithuanians, arrived early in the morning. The ghetto inmates were told they would be relocated to Hancewicze. About 25 skilled workers, including the photographer Fanya Lazebnik, who was recognized by Gebietskommissar Müller personally, were selected and locked inside the synagogue. The elderly and children were placed in trucks and taken to a hill near Polusciewicze. The others were escorted there on foot. While walking, some Jews threw their gold objects—rings, earrings, and gold coins—into the river, to prevent the Germans from having them. At the Polusciewicze Hill, a ditch had been prepared. The people were ordered to undress down to their underwear. Their clothes were thrown into the trucks. The women had their children taken from them. Then, in groups of 10 to 15, the people were forced to the edge of the ditch and shot.[9]

After the "mass killing" of August 14, 28 Jews were kept alive in Lenin to work for the Germans as tailors, shoemakers, builders, and photographers. Lubov Rabinovich was ordered to train a group of Belorussian apprentices to take over his trade within one month.

A German garrison of 100 people and 30 local policemen was based in Lenin, fighting against the Soviet partisans. An attack was planned by the "Kalinin" unit, assisted by two neighboring units (in total, about 150 people). On September 12, 1942, the partisans inflicted heavy losses on the garrison, apparently killing three German officers (including commandant Grossman), 14 soldiers, and 13 policemen. The ghetto quarter was burned down. The remaining Jews fled to the woods with the partisans.

After the liberation, Lenin was not the same. Only a few brick buildings remained. This was due to heavy fighting between the partisans and the German garrison as the town exchanged hands. In Pinsk, several Nazi collaborators from Lenin were tried. Boris Gergelikhes was given the most severe sentence, and Ivan and Nester Chopchits, Babchenkov, and Kolbasov all received 10 years in prison.

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SOURCES Firsthand accounts of the ghetto and the fate of Lenin's Jews can be found in the yizkor book edited by Moshe Tamari, *Kehilat Lenin: Sefer Zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Lenin in Israel and USA, 1957); in the memoir of Faye Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes in mir: Wie ich als jüdische Partisanin den Holocaust überlebte* (Munich: Lichtenberg, 1998), also available in English as *A Partisan's Memoir: Woman of the Holocaust* (Toronto, Ontario: Second Story Press, 1995); and in L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednie svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 210–257.

Additional information on the Jewish community of Lenin and the memorial sites can be found in L. Smilovitsky, "Lenin in Belarus," *Mishpokha* (Vitebsk), no. 10 (2001): 55–58; *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov Belorussii. Zhitkovichskii raion* (Minsk, 1994); and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

In the author's own personal archive, there are letters received from Boris Ginsburg in 2001 and 2004, from Michael Menkin in 2000 and 2004, and also from Khana Slutsky in 2004. The statement of Jakob Epstein given to the German investigative authorities can be found in BA-L (B 162, 202 AR 932/65).

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NOTES

1. In the Slutsk raion, the village of Romanovo was renamed Lenino after the revolution, as its former name was reminiscent of the tsarist family.
2. Smilovitsky, "Lenin in Belarus," pp. 55–58.
3. See the account of Mordechai Zeytski in Tamari, *Kehilat Lenin*.
4. Bakal and Tsukerman, *Poslednie svideteli*, pp. 223–230.
5. *Pamiat'*, pp. 361–362.
6. PALS, letter of Boris Ginsburg from Ashdod, June 1, 2004.
7. The date of May 10, 1942, is given both by Zeytski in Tamari, *Kehilat Lenin*, and by Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes*, p. 84.
8. Zeytski in Tamari, *Kehilat Lenin*.
9. Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes*, pp. 95–96. Fanya Lazebnik later changed her name to Faye Schulman. There is also a photograph of the mass grave at the time of the killing on page 98.

LENINO

Pre-1941: Lenino, village, Slutsk raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Lenina, Slutsk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lenino is located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) west of Slutsk. Until 1917, the village was known as Romanovo. German armed forces occupied the settlement at the end of June 1941. Owing to the rapid German advance, only a few Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Fewer than 100 Jews remained in Lenino at the start of the occupation.

Initially, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ran the settlement. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Lenino was incorporated into Rayon Sluzk in Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Slutsk from the fall of 1941 was Gauamtsleiter Heinrich Carl.[1]

Immediately after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews and compelled them to perform various forms of forced labor. In late July 1941, all the Jews of the village and from the surrounding area, about 100 people, were resettled into a ghetto located on one street that led to the cemetery. Local police guarded the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire on one side and enclosed by a river and a swamp on the other. After some time, 20 more people were added, bringing the ghetto population to 120.

The Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by an ardent Zionist. The winter of 1941–1942 was very harsh. Forced labor tasks included clearing snow from the streets. Conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with 15 or 16 people sharing a single room. Generally people helped each other, but there were some who starved. In the ghetto, some old men who were very religious spent much of their time praying.[2]

There was a Jewish female doctor in the ghetto. Despite a lack of medication, she did her utmost to prevent the spread of disease. The Jews in the ghetto heard rumors about massacres in other nearby towns, but there were no large-scale shootings in Lenino through the spring of 1942. In late May or early June, Grigorii Dorskii, who was about 20 years old, left the ghetto with his sister (the doctor) and escaped through the swamps to join the partisans. They left their mother behind, as she decided that she had to remain and look after her young nephew.

On June 12, 1942, the Germans and local police shot the remaining 70 or so Jews (mostly women, children, and the elderly) in pits that had been prepared 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the east of the village. A memorial was placed at the site of the mass grave in 1985.[3]

SOURCES The main sources for this entry are the video testimony of Grigorii Dorskii in USHMM (RG-50.378*0008) and 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), p. 722. Other relevant documentation can be found in NARB (845-1-60, p. 43). Snippets of information on the history of the Jewish community of Lenino (Romanove) can be found in Nachum Chinitz and Samson Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), pp. 488–489.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-50.378*0008, video testimony of Grigorii A. Dorskii, born 1922.
3. Ibid.; Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 722; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev*

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Belarusi (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 78, 91. NARB, 845-1-60, p. 43, gives the figure of more than 140 victims.

LEŚNA

Pre-1939: Leśna, town, Baranowicze powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lesnaia, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lesnaja, Rayon Nowa Mysch, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Liasnaia, Baranovichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Leśna lies about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southwest of Baranowicze. According to the survivor Sarah Trybuch, née Ozerowicz, who fled to Leśna from Konin in 1939, there were about 70 Jews, including a number of refugees, living in Leśna at the start of the German occupation at the end of June 1941. She and her family found themselves confined within a ghetto surrounded by a wire fence that was established at some time before the end of 1942. It was guarded by armed members of the local Belorussian police, who were commanded by Ivan Jurkievich.[1] Only those Jews who were made to perform heavy forced labor were permitted to leave the ghetto. The Jews were employed in the local sawmill and at the tar factory. The Jews were escorted to work under close guard by the local police, and the work was unpaid.[2] The Germans also established a large camp for Soviet prisoners of war in the town, as it lay on a main railway line.[3]

The ghetto prisoners managed to eat only by selling their last possessions and using their last reserves of food. News reached the ghetto of the liquidation Aktions in the nearby towns but also of the existence of partisans in the surrounding forests. Only those with no family even thought of fleeing to join the partisans. Without any weapons there would be little chance of survival. One day in February 1943, when there was a severe frost, the men came back from work and reported that large graves had been prepared in the forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the ghetto. The ghetto inmates now became resigned to their fate.[4]

On March 13, 1943, local policemen from throughout Rayon Nowa Mysch and German police took part in the mass shooting of about 70 Jews in Leśna. In the morning the German forces and local police surrounded the ghetto and also the Jewish workers at the sawmill. They drove them out of the houses with whips, accompanied by screams of abuse and terrible crying. The Jews were loaded onto vehicles and driven away under close guard to the forest, where the German forces shot them. After the shooting, the head of the local police, Jurkievich, assisted by the policeman Józef Puszko, returned to the ghetto and collected the Jews' belongings, taking them to the police station.[5] Sarah Trybuch escaped to the forests with her two-year-old daughter Miriam, having survived the roundup hidden behind a broken-down door. She soon met up with a Soviet partisan unit that helped them both to survive until liberation by the Red Army in July 1944.[6]

In July 1972 the Polish Supreme Court upheld the sentences imposed on Wacław Woronko and Józef Puszko of seven years and five years and six months' imprisonment, respectively, for their participation in the murder of the Jews in Leśna in March 1943, among other crimes.[7]

SOURCES The testimony of Sarah Trybuch, née Ozerowicz, is located in the yizkor book for Konin, edited by Mendl Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin bi-ferihatah uve-hurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Konin be-Yi´sra'el, 1968), pp. 628–641. An English summary translation of parts of the testimony and the details of his own interview with Trybuch can be found in Theo Richmond, *Konin: A Quest* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995), pp. 307–315.

Relevant documentation concerning the German occupation of Leśna and from investigations into the Nazi crimes committed there can be found in the following archives: GABO (e.g., 685-1-83); IPN (SWSz 69-78 and SWB 238-39); and NARB (861-1-1).

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NOTES

1. GABO, 685-1-83, p. 7, police roster for the Leśna post, undated (1942 or 1943).
2. Sarah Trybuch, née Ozerowicz, "Yidishe partizanen," in Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 628–641; IPN, SWSz 69-78, verdict of the Supreme Court in the case of Wacław Woronko and Jozef Puszko on July 13, 1972.
3. NARB, 861-1-1, pp. 1–2.
4. Trybuch, "Yidishe partizanen," p. 630.
5. IPN, SWSz 69-78, Woronko and Puszko verdict; SWSz 71, pp. 534–536, statement of Alfons Siewruk on July 12, 1969.
6. Richmond, *Konin*, pp. 307–311.
7. IPN, SWSz 69-78, Woronko and Puszko verdict, July 13, 1972.

LIDA

Pre-1939: Lida, town and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Lida, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lida is located 160 kilometers (99 miles) west of Minsk. In 1941, the Jewish population of Lida numbered about 8,500.

German forces entered Lida on June 28, 1941. On July 5, 1941, Security Police units of Einsatzkommando 9, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, collected about 300 Jews in the school, selected 92 educated Jews, escorted them to a site about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of town, and shot them.[1] On July 8, 1941, 120 patients from the psychiatric hospitals in Minojty and Maleikovshchina near Lida were murdered, including the well-known physician Dr. Rubinovich.

From mid-August of 1941, the German troops based in Lida comprised the 3rd Battalion of the 727th Infantry Regiment. In April 1942, a Gendarmerie motorized squadron and, from the summer of 1942, the 3rd Battalion of the German 217th Reserve Infantry Regiment were based in Lida. Two Lithuanian police battalions were also garrisoned in the town for a time during the occupation.

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Pre-war portraits of young Jews in Lida. On left, the Hebrew Tarbut school, 1931. On right, a gathering of friends, including Jan Szelubski (far left), January 19, 1935.
USHMM WS #21320 AND WS #34078, COURTESY OF ABA AND FRIDA GEFEN (LEFT); AND ANDRZEJ SZELUBSKI (RIGHT)

Lida became a Gebiet center, and Hermann Hanweg was appointed the Gebietskommissar. His deputy was Leopold Windisch, who as Chief of Staff and Director of the Politics, Race, and Nationalities Section was also responsible for Jewish affairs (Judenreferent). The latter was openly antisemitic, treating Jews as if they were not human beings.

During the first week of the occupation, representatives of the Jewish community were summoned to the military commandant and ordered to set up a Judenrat. It consisted of 14 members and was headed by a teacher from the Jewish high school, Kalman Lichtman. The other senior members included entrepreneur Simcha Kotok and lawyers Israel Kreczner and Benjamin Cederowicz.[2]

At this time, all men aged 15 to 60 were registered for a special labor camp. The work was very hard, with beatings and little food, and many men fell sick. After seven weeks, the labor camp was abandoned, and the Judenrat was given the task of assigning Jews to forced labor. Women ages 16 to 40 were also registered for work. Every day Jewish labor detachments were sent to clear rubble, clean the streets, chop wood, and perform other similar tasks. Their daily ration was a plate of soup made from rotting potatoes and 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread. Meat, butter, and eggs were forbidden to Jews on pain of death. They were also forbidden to have contacts with the local population or to leave the town.[3]

In September 1941, an order was posted on the streets announcing that the Jews of Lida were to leave their houses within 24 hours and move into a ghetto. They were also required to wear yellow patches, 10 by 10 centimeters (4 by 4 inches), on the left side of their chests and on their backs.

The ghetto was established in three separate quarters of the town: the most important section was on Postawska and Chlodna Streets, including the Jewish cemetery; the second section was in Kosharowa Street and Gastello Street, close to the forest of Borowka; the third was in the "Piaski," between the streets Jalowa, Zurawlinaja, and Orlicz-Dreszer. This section had been mostly Christian before and had to be cleared.[4]

Houses on both sides of Postawska Street near the river were surrounded by barbed wire. A sewing workshop was set up there, where the inhabitants of the ghetto made military uniforms. After the workshop was burned down, German forces killed a group of Jews right by the workshop.[5]

In early March 1942, Leopold Windisch, responsible for Jewish affairs within the civil administration in Lida, discovered that Jews from the ghetto were accused of having robbed an Orthodox priest. He demanded that the Judenrat hand over the thieves. The Judenrat surrendered four men, who in turn revealed that a number of Jews had escaped from the massacres in Wilno and found refuge in Lida at the end of 1941. These Jews asked for help from the Judenrat and were given the necessary documents.

All the Jews were driven from their houses by the German Gendarmerie and members of the Wermacht (3rd Battalion, Infantry Regiment 727) and were made to assemble in the square near the post office at 8:00 A.M. Numerous Jews were shot as they were being gathered together. After surrendering all their valuables, the Jews had to pass through a turnstile. During this procedure, the 4 Jews arrested for robbing the priest pointed out all those who had allegedly arrived in Lida from Wilno. Those selected, about 35 people, were then shot, along with the 4 Jews arrested previously, by the German Gendarmerie and Polish auxiliary police. About 200 of those who had stayed in the ghetto and were not subjected to being identified, mainly children and elderly people, were shot in their homes.

A week later, seven members of the Judenrat and the Jewish police, including the chairman, Lichtman, were arrested and interrogated in jail. They were then beaten and shot after gruesome torture in the prison courtyard by German Gendarmes and Polish auxiliary police. Their bodies were sent back to the ghetto one week later in a frozen and mutilated condition.[6]

The Jews were ordered to elect a new Judenrat within 24 hours. No candidates could be found. Finally, Dr. Charny was designated the new chairman. This was followed by further new regulations: for example, electricity had previously been

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cut off in the ghetto, and now the Jews had to surrender all electrical appliances, such as lamps. On the suggestion of engineer Altman, a former director of the foundry "Benland," the Judenrat received permission to open a number of light-industry workshops producing goods for local consumption and the needs of the Germans. The first workshops, for carpenters, tinsmiths, and cobblers, were opened several weeks later in the technical school building on Suwalska Street. Soon other workshops for producing electrical goods, clothes, knitted garments, toys, ropes, combs, and handbags and even for binding books were established. A large garage for repairing all types of cars and other vehicles was also opened. The workshops were run by Altman and Alperstein. Inspectors from Germany oversaw their work.[7]

On the evening of May 7, 1942, the ghetto was sealed. Altman was ordered to make a list of the able-bodied Jews, with their occupations. On the same day, three trenches were excavated by local villagers. The entire action was planned by the Sipo/SD from Baranowicze (commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Grünzfelder) together with Gebietskommissar Hanweg and his deputy Windisch.

On the morning of May 8, 1942, the Jewish quarters were cleared by German Gendarmes, the Sipo/SD units, and local auxiliary police. Those who did not go to the collection points voluntarily or could not keep up, owing to old age, sickness, or infirmity, were shot on the spot. The Jews from the Kosharowa quarter were driven for selection to the square near the northern military barracks. Those from the Postawska quarter were driven into Kosharowa Street and then selected further east at the railway underpass. The Jews from the Piaski quarter were driven westward in the direction of Grodno. The German selection of "useful" Jews was conducted at the barracks by presenting work certificates, and most of the skilled workers were separated out. At the end of the selection, however, following an altercation between Gebietskommissar Hanweg and Windisch, who carried out the selection, the last 150 Jews were simply sent for execution.

Those selected were driven in columns to the shooting site. At a distance of 60 meters (197 feet) from the graves, they were made to sit back to back in rows, waiting for their turn. They were directed in groups of 10 or 15 to the trenches and made to undress. Lithuanian or Latvian auxiliaries in SS uniforms, subordinated directly to the Sipo/SD, shot them with machine guns. The children were murdered first. They were torn from their parents, thrown into a separate trench, and killed with hand grenades. In some cases, children were tossed high into the air and shot. The last rabbi in Lida, Aaron Rabinovich, was among those murdered in this Aktion.

Abram Levin escaped from the convoy and managed to hide close to the killing site. Fishel Beloborodov and Mordekhai Gershovich were both wounded, but they managed to crawl out of the pit and escape. Among the escapees were also a young boy named Kamenski and the daughter of a poor tailor.

When the Aktion was over, the Judenrat was ordered to send a group of Jews to cover the trenches with quicklime and earth. Those who survived were ordered to kneel before Hanweg and Windisch and thank them for their lives. The clothes of the victims were collected and taken to a warehouse, where they were later sorted by a group of Jews. Worn-out clothes were sold to the peasants, and the better-quality items were sent to Germany. The next day the Germans drove about 500 peasants with horse-drawn carts to spread a deep layer of earth on the grave. Some 5,670 people were murdered in this Aktion.[8]

Following the action of May 1942, there were efforts to organize an armed group inside the ghetto. One of the group's leaders was Baruch Levin, who ran a manufacturing workshop in the ghetto, though other heads of the workshops were among the main opponents of resistance activity. They still believed that the lives of "useful" Jews would be spared.

The chief aim of the group members was to provide themselves with arms, mainly rifles, to escape to the forest and join the partisans. Tuvia Bielski, the leader of a purely Jewish partisan detachment, sent emissaries into the Lida ghetto and even visited it himself twice to bring out Jews.[9] Captured arms could be obtained from the storehouses in the former Polish barracks. Some arms were also purchased from the local Christian population. The resistance group also managed to set up a small printing press and smuggle it out to the partisans.

From the autumn of 1942 until the liquidation of the ghetto in September 1943, hundreds of Jews fled to the forest. The doctors Kivelevich, Gordin, and Orliuk were brought out of the ghetto and served in different Soviet partisan detachments. P. Proniagin, the commander of the detachment named after Shchors, referred to Zorakh Kremen from Lida as the bravest of his partisans. Some escapees joined the detachment "Iskra," but most of Lida's Jews found their way to the Bielskis in the dense Naliboki Forest.

According to the testimony of I. Kardash, at the beginning of March 1943, a small group of Lida Jews and more than 2,000 who had been brought from the surrounding towns of Woronów, Iwje, Raduń, Żołudek, and smaller villages were collected in the square in front of the post office. They were led to the place called Borki (now a suburb of Lida) and shot there.[10]

Following the March Aktion, there remained about 2,000 Jews in Lida, according to an SS report from July 1943.[11] In the summer some of the remaining Jews from Szczuczyn were brought into the Lida ghetto. On September 18, 1943, the ghetto was surrounded by police. The Jews were driven to the railway station, loaded into railroad cars, and sent on two separate trains to the concentration camp in Majdanek and to the death camp in Sobibór, where virtually all of them were annihilated.[12]

About 300 Jews from Lida survived the Holocaust. Legal investigations were opened against Leopold Windisch by the authorities in Linz, Austria, in 1953 and again in 1964, but both were closed again shortly afterward, as the prosecution had no jurisdiction. Windisch was then located and tried by the West German authorities: the verdict issued on July 17, 1969, by the Landgericht (LG) Mainz sentenced him to life imprisonment.[13]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Lida, edited by Alexander Manor, *Sefer Lida* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Lida be-Yi´sra'el u-Va'ad ha-'ezrah li-Yehude Lida ba-Artsot ha-Berit, 1970),

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contains several firsthand accounts. Published memoirs include those by Josef Judelevich, *Lida—Town of My Early Years* [in Hebrew] (Kefar Saba, 1965); Baruch Levin, *In the Forests of Vengeance* (Tel Aviv, 1968); Joseph Kuszelewicz, *Un juif de Biélorussie de Lida à Karaganda: Ghetto—Maquis—Goulag* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002); and Eliyahu Damesek, *Otiyot be-'oferet: Be-Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah, li-fene ha-milhamah ve-aharehah* (Tel Aviv: Bet lohame ha-geta'ot, 1983). There is also a recent short article by Valeri Slivkin, "Elimination of the Lida Jews" [in Belarussian], *Lidski Letapisets*, no. 2 (18) (2002): 23–28.

The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes can be found in NARB and GARF (7021-86-42); the files of the German trial of Leopold Windisch and Rudolf Werner for war crimes committed in the Lida District can be examined in BA-L; additional wartime documentation and the testimonies of survivors can also be found in BA-BL; USHMM (e.g., RG-02.133, RG-11.001M.01, and RG-50.030*0026); VHF; and YVA (e.g., 2838/207-A [Dr. Alpert]).

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NOTES

1. Eliahu Damesek, "The German Occupation," in Manor, *Sefer Lida*, pp. 8–17, here p. 9, dates this initial Aktion in late June, noting that 92 Jews were shot. BA-L, B 162/14386 (202 AR-Z 94d/59, LG-Mai 3 KS 1/67, verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch on July 17, 1969 [Windisch Verdict]), p. 25, states that there were more than 80 victims and that bomb craters were used for the graves. See also the report opening the case against Kurt Schulz-Isenbeck issued by LG-Düss on 7.2.1970, available at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Lida-District/si-rest.htm; and BA-BL, R 58/214 Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 21, July 13, 1941. According the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report dated August 17, 1944 (GARF, 7021-86-42, p. 3), 275 members of the Jewish intelligentsia were shot and buried in pits prepared for the storage of ammunition in Aktions on July 3 and July 8, 1941.

2. Leizer Engelshtern testimony, in Manor, *Sefer Lida*, p. 325, cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 252. The other members of the Judenrat included the bank clerk Sokolowski, schoolteachers Khaber and Zartsin, bookkeeper Shalatski, taylor Konopka, doctor Kantor, and shopkeepers Stolitski, Levin, Feinstein, Goldberg, and Sheiboim; see Slivkin, "Elimination of the Lida Jews," in Manor, *Sefer Lida*, 23–28.

3. Damesek, "The German Occupation," pp. 9–10.

4. Kuszelewicz, *Un juif de Biélorussie*, p. 44.

5. Testimony of Kshyshtof Malashkevich, "Memories of My Childhood," article in the newspaper *Prinemanskie Vesti*, November 2, 2000.

6. Damesek, "The German Occupation," pp. 10–11; see also testimony of Abram Kuszelewicz sent to the World Jewish Council, now preserved at the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, OH, in box C210, file 4, pp. 25–27. A translation by Irene Newhouse can be found at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Lida-District/kushela.htm.

7. Kuszelewicz, *Un juif de Biélorussie*, pp. 48–49, 54–55.

8. Windisch Verdict, pp. 28–31.

9. Nechama Tec, *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans—The Story of the Largest Armed Rescue of Jews by Jews during World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 4, 40.

10. The precise grave site was not identified until 2001.

11. USHMM, RG-11.001M.01 (records of the RSHA, Berlin, Fond 500), reel 10, 500-1-769, file note on the expedition to Nowogródek on July 9, 1943, dated Baranowitsche, July 11, 1943.

12. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 734, 740. Gerlach cites one survivor from Sobibór who was deported from Lida; see also Jules Schelvis, *Vernichtungslager Sobibór* (Münster: Unrast, 2003), pp. 263–264.

13. Windisch Verdict.

LUBCZ

Pre-1939: Lubcz, town, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lubcha, Novogrudok raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lubtscha, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Liubcha, Navagradok raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lubcz is located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) northeast of Nowogródek. It is estimated that on the eve of the German occupation in 1940, around 1,500 Jews (about 400 families) were residing in Lubcz.[1]

Under Soviet occupation from September 1939 to June 1941, Jewish private businesses were nationalized, and most Jews worked in the newly established craft cooperatives (*artels*). The Soviet authorities suppressed most Jewish communal and political activity.

The first bombs fell on Lubcz on Tuesday, June 24, 1941. Many Jews fled the town for a few days. Upon their return they found local non-Jews in the process of looting their homes. Anyone who tried to resist was beaten up.[2]

In the first week of the occupation, the Germans established a local police force in Lubcz. The police commander was Boris Kunicki, and his main deputies included Nikolai Kamornik and Pawel Biedun. About a week or 10 days into the occupation, a group of Germans arrived and ordered all the Jews to gather in the market square. With the help of local Belorussians, they selected about 50 Jewish men and one non-Jewish Communist official. These men were loaded onto trucks and transported to Nowogródek. The Jews were told that they were being taken for work. Later local peasants reported that the men had been shot behind the military barracks in Nowogródek. On the day of the roundup, 4 Jews were killed on the streets of Lubcz. Just after this, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) took over the administration of the town.[3]

All Jews were ordered to wear yellow stars, and by the fall of 1941 they were moved into about 30 houses situated close to the synagogues. The Jews suffered from terrible overcrowding, with three or four families sharing each house.[4] In this manner an informal or "open ghetto" was established. A Judenrat and Jewish police force were formed. Chaim Bruk was head of the Judenrat, and Berl Yankelewicz from Delatycze became his deputy. Both the Judenrat and the Jewish police force were established to ensure the implementation of all German orders. The German authorities assured them that

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Jewish workers posing on the porch of a mill in Lubcz, 1930s.
USHMM WS #99529, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

no harm would be done to the Jews if they followed orders and did not leave town without permission. Groups of Jews were sent to the nearby estates of Weresków and Worobjewicze to perform agricultural work, such as digging potatoes.

Closely connected to the Jewish community in Lubcz were the Jews of Delatycze, a village about 7 kilometers (4 miles) to the northwest of Lubcz. In 1897, there had been 461 Jews in the village, but following considerable destruction during World War I, only about 100 Jews remained. Yisrael Slonimski recalls that one week after the war started, local peasants also robbed the Jews there, breaking into houses and destroying the Torah in the synagogue. Many Jews were beaten and some were killed. The Jews fled from their houses and ran to the Niemen River, where they hid for two days. When they returned, their houses had been extensively plundered. Some other non-Jews, however, took pity on them and gave them bread, milk, and flour. A few days after the Germans arrived in Delatycze, the Jews were ordered to wear yellow stars.[5]

At the end of 1941, around the time of Hanukkah, the Ortskommandantur instructed the Judenrat that 300 Jews would be sent to the forced labor camp in Dworzec; 2 of the Jews were murdered by their German guards on the road between Lubcz and Dworzec, when they fell behind the column. The Judenrat also had to supply food to the Lubcz Jews in the Dworzec camp over the ensuing months. Some of these people later managed to escape to the partisans from the camp.[6]

According to the account of Shifra Slominski, the Germans enclosed the ghetto in Lubcz at the time of the Purim holiday, at the beginning of March in 1942.[7] On March 6, the Gebietskommissar in Nowogródek, Wilhelm Traub, ordered that all the Jews from the villages be concentrated in the Rayon towns.[8] Therefore, the remaining Jews from Delatycze and Niehniewicze, where about 50 Jewish families lived, were brought into the Lubcz ghetto at this time.[9]

Soon after this, a squad of German police entered the Lubcz ghetto and arrested the policemen Naftali Alperstein and Yitzhak Rosenblum and the head of the Judenrat Chaim Bruk. All three of them were murdered on the orders of the German commandant, apparently because of the poor hygienic conditions inside the ghetto.[10]

On March 15, 1942, the Judenrat received an order to collect all domestic animals, such as cows, goats, and poultry, and hand them over to the German authorities. On April 1, the Judenrat was instructed to send 125 workers to the ghetto in Nowogródek. Soon afterwards, the families of these workers followed them, possibly as many as 450 people.[11]

The precise fate of the remaining Jews in the Lubcz ghetto is difficult to reconstruct from the fragmentary and contradictory sources available. According to some accounts, just before the Jewish holiday of Shavuot (around May 23, 1942), a large group of Jews from Rubieżewicze, Iwieniec, and Naliboki, who had been selected by the Germans for work, arrived in Lubcz on their way to Nowogródek.[12] On their arrival in Lubcz, the local Jews were assembled and divided into two groups. More than 600 younger Jews were sent to Worobjewicze just to the south of Lubcz to work on the road between Lubcz and Nowogródek.[13] The remaining Jews, or at least those able to walk, were added to the large column of Jews being transferred to the ghetto in Nowogródek, where they arrived the following day after an overnight stop on the way. As there was insufficient room in the houses of the Nowogródek ghetto, many had to make do with a small space in a barn.[14] On August 7, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 5,000 Jews from the Nowogródek ghetto, including many Jews from Lubcz, Delatycze, and Niehniewicze, at the pits of Litowka, just outside the town.[15]

By the end of July 1942 the road construction at Worobjewicze was completed. According to some sources, the Germans and their collaborators murdered 635 Jews in Worobjewicze on August 8, 1942, presumably as a follow-up to the Aktion on August 7 in Nowogródek. Some were shot in groups, while others had to stand and wait for their turn. One group was locked inside a barn, which was then splashed with gasoline and set alight, burning alive the people inside. Those who tried to escape were murdered. According to Mikhail Palchik, Vladimir Spagar, and Eugeni Kalala—residents of Wielka Worobjewicze—three women escaped and hid themselves under the bridge near the village of Basin. Somebody reported them, and then three local policemen on bicycles brought them to the killing site. By this time the grave had already been covered with earth, and the women were shot in the quarry on Ilukova Hill. The massacre in Worobjewicze was carried out by members of the local police, gathered from throughout Gebiet Nowogrodek. One of them boasted later that when he ran out of cartridges, he killed the Jews with the butt of his rifle.[16]

Some Soviet-era sources indicate that a number of Jews were shot and buried in the town of Lubcz itself, presumably at the time of the liquidation of the ghetto (between the end of May and early August 1942). It is possible that forces of the Gendarmerie and local police murdered children and Jews who were unfit to work on the spot, however, this information is not confirmed in most accounts by Jewish survivors from Lubcz.[17]

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A recent photograph of a Soviet-era memorial in Lubcz. The sign reads: "To the eternal memory of 375 people savagely tortured by the Germano-Fascist executioners, 1941–1942."
COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND REGIONAL STUDIES IN NOVOGRUDOK

SOURCES The main published source for the Lubcz ghetto is the yizkor book, edited by K. Hillel, *Lubats' ve-Delatits': Sefer Zikaron* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Lubch ve-Delatits' be-Yisrael, 1971). There is also some relevant information in the yizkor book for Nowogródek, edited by Eliezer Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok* (Tel Aviv: Alexander Harkavy Navaredker Relief Committee in USA and Naveredker Committee in Israel, 1963). In addition, the unpublished manuscript of personal reminiscences prepared by Ellis Sampson (Ilye Shimshelevitz), "Life in the Shtetl," (in possession of the author) was also consulted.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Lubcz and Delatycze during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/27191); GARF (7021-82-102); NARB; USHMM; and YVA.

Tamara Vershitskaya and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. 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), p. 751.
2. Yisrael-Gershon Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," in Hillel, *Lubats' ve-Delatits'*, pp. 331–343, here p. 334.
3. BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65), vol. 1, pp. 133–138, statements of Shalom (Schmuel) Leibowicz, May 4, 1966, Wolf Solomianski, May 10, 1966, and Shifra Solomianski, May 15, 1966; see also the testimony of Shifra Solomianski, "In the Lubcha Ghetto," in Hillel, *Lubats' ve-Delatits'*, pp. 380–387.
4. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," p. 335.
5. Yisrael Slonimsky, "Pages from the Fire," in Hillel, *Lubats' ve-Delatits'*, pp. 412–432.
6. BA-L, B 162/27191, pp. 135–136, statement of Wolf Solomianski, May 10, 1966, and pp. 133–134, statement of Shalom (Shmuel) Leibowicz, May 4, 1966; Solomianski, "In the Lubcha Ghetto," p. 383. The Dworzec labor camp was actually part of the ghetto there, as young laborers lived together with the Jewish families of the town.
7. Solomianski, "In the Lubcha Ghetto," p. 384; BA-L, B 162/27191, pp. 133–134, statement of Leibowicz, May 4, 1966, however, dates the establishment of the ghetto in the fall of 1941.
8. Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 156–158.
9. Slonimsky, "Pages from the Fire," pp. 415–416.
10. BA-L, B 162/27191, pp. 137–138, statement of Solomianski, May 15, 1966; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 263.
11. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," pp. 336–337.
12. Moshe Gurion testimony in David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Rubishevitsh, Derevne ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv, 1968), pp. 253–262; YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik.
13. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," p. 337.
14. Y. Yaffe, "The Final Wandering," in Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok*, pp. 319–321.
15. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," pp. 337–338; Gurion, in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 253–262; and YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik. On the fate of the Jews in the Nowogródek ghetto, see the entry in this volume.
16. GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 82 and reverse side; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 263–264; and information in the possession of the author, Tamara Vershitskaya. Some sources erroneously place Worobjewicze in the Słonim area.
17. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 263, indicates that 375 Jews from the Lubcz ghetto were shot in the cemetery in the spring of 1942. Another source summarized by Botvinnik indicates that 1,532 Jews from the Lubcz ghetto were shot, but this presumably includes all those sent to Worobjewicze and to Nowogródek. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," p. 337, indicates that only about 150 elderly and sick Jews remained in the ghetto following the departure of the group of workers to Worobjewicze. Some sources, however, indicate that Jews were transferred from Lubcz to Nowogródek by light railway—possibly also those unable to walk.

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ŁUŻKI

Pre-1939: Łużki, village, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Luzhki, Plisa raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Luzki, Rayon Sharkovshchina, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Luzhki, Sharkoushchyna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łużki is located about 160 kilometers (100 miles) north of Minsk. No reliable figure is available for the Jewish population of Łużki at the start of the German occupation, but it probably comprised more than 500 people.

Units of the German VI Army Corps of the 9th Army occupied Łużki between July 6 and July 9, 1941. Initially the village was under German military administration. On August 31, 1941, Łużki was incorporated into the newly formed Gebiet Glebokie in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Głębokie was Paul Hachmann.

During the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces required the Jews to wear a yellow Star of David, forced them to engage in strenuous physical labor, and forbade them from leaving the village. From the available evidence it is clear that the Nazi authorities organized a ghetto in Łużki, however, it is unclear exactly when it was established. According to one witness, Vladimir Ignatevich Metelits, it was established in the fall of 1941.[1]

Łużki was an "open ghetto," which was guarded by local Belorussian police collaborators, and was not surrounded by a fence.[2] On pain of death, the local population was forbidden to communicate with the Jews. According to some sources, the ghetto consisted of several houses in the center of the village, but witnesses M.A. Krivko and C.F. Galetski assert that it was located in a local school building.

On the day of the massacre, June 1, 1942, the Jews were removed from the ghetto, lined up in columns, and escorted by Germans and local policemen to a wood about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the village, opposite the state farm "Gorodets."[3] The guards beat many of the Jews on the way. According to the testimony of Ya.V. Atrakhimovich, some of the Jews made an unsuccessful attempt to escape. All those who attempted to escape were killed. The Germans and their collaborators drove the remaining Jews into two ditches, made them undress, and shot them.

According to a report by the office of the Gebietskommissar, on that day 528 Jews from Łużki were shot, and another 419 were killed in nearby Plissa.[4] The Ritsman, Kenigsberg, Kozliner, and Shinkman families managed to survive the roundup and subsequently joined the Soviet partisans.[5] Hasia Cepelavicz feinted into the mass grave and was able to escape at night, subsequently making her way to the Głębokie ghetto and surviving the war.[6]

SOURCES A published account of the fate of the Jews of Łużki can be found in Gennadii Vinnitsa, *List'i Istorii* (Vitebsk, 1999), pp. 164–168.

This article is based in part on local witness testimonies in the author's personal archive. Documentation on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Łużki can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1390); GARF (7021-92-219); and NARB (370-1-483).

Gennadii Vinnitsa
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Recollections of V.I. Metelits (born 1921), published in Vinnitsa, *List'i Istorii*, p. 165.
2. Ibid.
3. GARF, 7021-92-219, p. 148, testimony of C.F. Galetski.
4. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of the Gebietskommissar in Glebokie on the Jewish Aktion, July 1, 1942.
5. Witness statement of V.I. Metelits, in the author's personal archive.
6. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60), vol. 1, pp. 690–691, statement of Ann Seidlin (nee Hasia Cepelevicz), January 23, 1962.

MIADZIOŁ NOWY

Pre-1939: Miadzioł Nowy (Yiddish: Miadel), village, Postawy powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Miadel', raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Miadziol, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Miadzel, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Miadzioł is located about 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) northwest of Minsk. It is estimated that there were approximately 200 Jews in Miadzioł on the eve of the German occupation.[1]

German forces occupied the village on July 2, 1941. Immediately on the Germans' arrival, local Belorussian and Polish inhabitants began to pick on the Jews, beating and robbing them or denouncing them to the Germans. The Germans took the Jews, both men and women, for forced labor in agriculture and also made them perform grueling physical tasks that served no real purpose.[2]

Throughout the summer of 1941, a German military commandant (Ortskommandant) administered the village. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Miadzioł was incorporated into Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. From the fall of 1941, there was a German Gendarmerie post in Miadzioł, which controlled the local auxiliary police, recruited from residents of the area. Among the more notorious police officials in Miadzioł were the German Gendarmes Sacher and Keil and the local police officers Boginsky and Rusakovich.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), the compulsory wearing of yellow patches (in August), and prohibitions on leaving the village. The Judenrat was based in Miadzioł Nowy and imposed taxes on the Jews to pay the large "contributions" demanded by the German authorities. On one occasion, the Germans demanded 300 leather coats, 500 pairs of leather boots, and a large sum of money. During the first three months

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of occupation, German security forces conducted at least one Aktion (possibly several) in Miadzioł, in which they murdered more than 20 Jews, most of them respected family heads. The victims were beaten or attacked by dogs before they were killed and thrown into a mass grave.[4]

The remaining Jews of the village were resettled into a ghetto, probably in November 1941, when a barbed-wire fence was erected around the town.[5] In the ghetto, the Jews were able to obtain food by trading their remaining possessions with the local population. The Jews of Miadzioł received news of the Aktions conducted against other Jewish communities in the area, and some Jewish youths organized resistance, attempting to obtain arms in order to flee and join the Soviet partisans, who had become active in the area by the summer of 1942. By the late summer of 1942, the Jews working in Miadzioł had received a tip from the local mayor that soon the ghetto would be liquidated.[6]

In mid-September 1942, shortly before Yom Kippur, a group of about 70 Jews escaped from the Miadzioł ghetto. In response, the German and Belorussian police rounded up the remaining Jews, and after selecting out the skilled workers and their families, they escorted about 70 people into the forest 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the village and shot them there. About 20 of the Jews who had escaped from the ghetto were tracked down in the woods and shot by the Gendarmerie and local police in the days after the September Aktion.[7]

About 50 specialist workers from Kobylnik were brought to the ghetto in Miadzioł Nowy in late September 1942, after a similar Aktion in Kobylnik. They joined about 50 Miadzioł Jews who were living in a remnant ghetto under terrible conditions.[8] In early October 1942, a group of Jewish partisans from a Soviet unit under the command of Ya'akov Sigalczyk infiltrated the remnant ghetto. The partisans attacked the German garrison to create a diversion and led out many of the inmates under a hail of fire. Originally, the partisans had intended only to liberate people who might be useful to them, such as doctors and dentists, but on the initiative of Sigalczyk, efforts were made to liberate as many able-bodied Jews as possible. The partisans killed a number of German Gendarmes and local police during their assault, but several partisans were killed or wounded.[9]

In total, more than 100 Jews were murdered by the Germans and their collaborators in and around Miadzioł in 1941 and 1942.[10]

A number of the Jews who escaped from the ghetto managed to survive with various Soviet partisan groups or in family camps until the Red Army drove out the German occupiers in July 1944. In 1993, a monument was erected at the site where the Germans shot the Jews from the ghetto in the fall of 1942.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Miadzioł during the Holocaust include the following: Henia Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," *Fun letstn khurbn*, no. 9 (1947): 71–77; Yitzhak Siegelman, ed., *Sefer Kobylnik* (Haifa: Va'ad yots'e Kobylnik be-Yisrael, Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel, 1967); Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 55–61; and Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 409–11. There is also some information on the rescue of 70 Jews from the Miadzioł ghetto in David Sztokfisz ed., *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov: Monument tsum ondenk fun tsvey Yidishe kehile's* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Dokshits-Parafyanov be-Yi'sra'el uva-tefutsot, 1970).

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Miadzioł Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2930); BA-L (B 162/202 AR 629/73); GARF (7021-89-10); MA (A-331, Ya'akov Sigalczyk); NARB (845-1-63); USHMM; and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), Poland, p. 10; 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), p. 816. Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," p. 71, however, states that there were 150 Jewish families (or about 500 Jews) at the outbreak of the war.

2. Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," p. 71.

3. Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 188–189; and BA-L, B 162/202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, pp. 394–395.

4. Accounts of the Aktion or Aktions in July to September 1941 vary quite considerably. See, for example, GARF, 7021-89-10, pp. 2, 51, 56—this report mentions 21 victims in early September 1941. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.*, pp. 188–189—in this version, there were 45 Jewish victims. Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," pp. 71–72—this account indicates there were at least two separate Aktions.

5. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 58. This source, however, notes that the Germans delayed establishing a formal ghetto in Miadzioł, as only about 150 to 180 Jews lived there. NARB, 845-1-63, p. 18.

6. Ihushe Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," in Siegelman, *Sefer Kobylnik*, pp. 151–181, here p. 174.

7. GARF, 7021-89-10, p. 56. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 73, dates the ghetto liquidation on September 23, 1942.

8. Vinnitsa, *Gorech'i bol'*, pp. 55–61; and Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 175–177.

9. It appears that there were two separate escapes from the Miadzioł ghetto in September and October, as depicted, for example, in Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 218. On the second escape, see also Boris Kozinitz, "A Partisan's Story," in Sztokfisz, *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov;* MA, A-331, testimony of Ya'akov Sigalczyk; and AŻIH, 301/2930. Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," pp. 71–77, appears to date her escape in the fall of 1941, but this seems unlikely—and there is confusion about the dating of certain other events in this account.

10. GARF, 7021-89-10, pp. 4–7, name list of 109 Jews murdered. Vinnitsa, *Gorech'i bol'*, pp. 55–61, gives the figure of 155 Jews killed in Miadzioł.

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MINSK

Pre-1941: Minsk, city and capital, raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: center of Gebiet Minsk-Land and capital, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: capital and center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Between 1900 and 1930, Minsk was a predominantly Jewish city, with Yiddish one of four official languages there. At the beginning of Stalin's rule, Belorussia was targeted for "Russification." As a result the Jewish population had declined as a proportion of the total number of people in the city to 70,998 (or 29.71 percent of the total) by 1939.

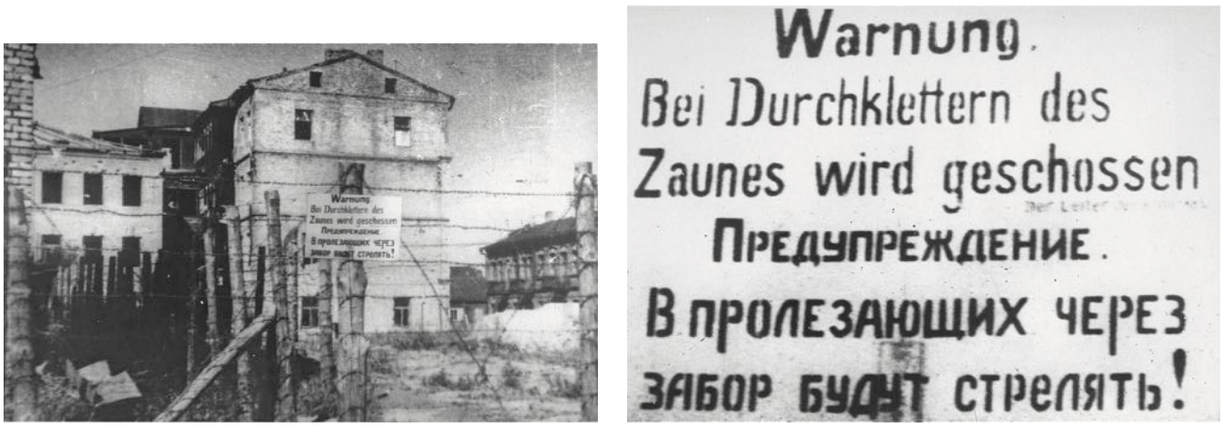
The German invasion began on June 22, 1941. The main thrust of the German surprise attack delivered by Army Group Center was aimed directly through Minsk towards Moscow. The German encirclement forced the Red Army to abandon the Belorussian capital on June 28. This gave most citizens almost no opportunity to evacuate.

On July 19, 1941, the German Field Commandant ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Minsk. The official order permitted the Jews only five days to move from their homes into the ghetto. They could only take with them what they could carry in their hands.[1] However, the head of the Jewish Council in Minsk, Ilya Moshkin, managed through bribery to have the period allotted for transfer into the ghetto extended to two weeks. Indeed, many were still resettling into the ghetto at the end of July, and some even at the end of August. Non-Jews also had to move out of the ghetto area. Any Jews found outside the ghetto without permission faced severe punishment; German guards and local police had instructions to shoot on sight. The ghetto was formed within the boundaries of Kolkhozny Lane and Kolkhoznaia Street, Nemiga Street (excluding the Orthodox Church), Respublikanskaia, Shornaia, and Kollektovnaia Streets, Mebelny Lane, Perekopskaia, and Nizhniaia Streets, the wall of the Jewish cemetery, Obuvnaia Street, Second Opansky Lane, and Zaslavskaia Street up to Kolkhozny Lane.[2]

The Jews forced to live in the Minsk ghetto were required to identify themselves by wearing a yellow piece of fabric in the shape of a circle, 10 centimeters (about 4 inches) in diameter, affixed to their clothing on the front and back, as well as another small rectangular piece of fabric giving their name and address. This label was later a crucial means of identifying and punishing all family members and the neighbors of any Jew caught trying to escape or found to be involved in underground or partisan activities. Orders were also issued that Jews had to take off their caps in front of any German, on pain of death. All Jews were ordered to remain within the ghetto at all times, which at first was simply a defined territory but later was fenced off with parallel rows of barbed wire reaching higher than an average man's height. All Jews were required to spend the night only in the house listed on their clothing and could be shot for failing to comply.

Jews who were able to work were assigned to forced labor squads. At work they received a meager supply of food and in rare instances small amounts of money. No other food or provisions were made for ghetto inmates; thus failure to join a forced labor squad meant starvation. Those able to work were supplied with 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day and a watery soup (*balanda*)—barely enough to feed a laborer but certainly not enough to feed a family. Labor squads were used to run the brush factory and the radio factory, to build a concentration camp on Shirokaia Street, to rebuild parts of Minsk, to run the main heating plants, to clean and service the train stations, to cook and clean for the Germans, and to accomplish other similar projects.[3] Jews that were able to find places on the forced labor squads were issued an identity card (*Ausweis*)—a German document naming them as valued laborers. This document could mean the difference between life and death.

Jewish forced laborers often attempted to trade articles of value (i.e., clothing, jewelry, and household items) with Belorussians they encountered in the city for items of food (e.g., potatoes, potato skins, carrots, and flour) to supplement their meager rations and to bring home food for their children and



Left: A warning sign hangs on the barbed-wire fence of the Minsk ghetto fence. Right: A blowup of the sign, which warns, in German and Russian, that anyone climbing through the fence will be shot, 1941.
USHMM WS #73739 AND WS #73741, MUSEUM OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

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nonworking family members. Likewise, children were often sent under the ghetto fence, to beg from former neighbors and others or to try to barter articles of value for food. If they were caught leaving or reentering the ghetto, they were shot dead.

Electricity to the ghetto was cut off, and no candles, heating fuel, and cooking fuel were supplied. The only heat available for ghetto inmates during the fiercely cold winters was that made by breaking apart their furniture, floors, and the like, to burn in the wood-burning ovens. Ghetto inmates were so starved that they recall collecting nettles and grass inside the ghetto and trying to make soup from it and even collecting the bones from discarded German meals sometimes thrown their way.

Typhus spread throughout the ghetto once the inmates became weakened from the dire living conditions. Children whose parents were killed or died of starvation were often absorbed into other families or given to the orphanage that operated within the ghetto. There was also a hospital inside the ghetto, serving those with typhus and other diseases. During the pogrom of March 2–3 (around Purim) in 1942, the Nazis came into the Minsk ghetto orphanage and stabbed to death all the children they found there.[4]

A bakery (which still exists) operated within the ghetto, but its bread was for the Germans and not for Jews. Aside from the hospital, the Judenrat headquarters, the Jewish Police, and the orphanage, most normal social institutions did not exist within the ghetto. There were no shops, schools, restaurants, or theater performances within the ghetto—only conditions of starvation and death. Individuals continued to pray, but the only services held were the Kaddish dirges cried out following the roundups and mass killings.

The Minsk ghetto is thought to have held about 75,000 to 80,000 Jews in the fall of 1941, with about 55,000 of these having been local Minsk Jews and the remainder from western Belorussia.[5] Despite the mass murders and killing Aktions, additional Jews came into the ghetto. In November 1941, the first transports from Germany and Austria began to arrive. Likewise, when some ghettos in the Minsk region were liquidated, the skilled laborers were spared and brought to the Minsk ghetto. Escaped Jews often migrated to the relative safety of the Minsk ghetto rather than wander among hostile Germans and Belorussians, who were afraid to offer them lasting shelter.

The ghetto was constantly subjected to raids, pogroms, and killing Aktions. Almost every night some house within the ghetto was broken into by bandits, local or imported police, or Germans coming to steal from, rape, and kill the inhabitants. Ghetto survivors state that the living conditions were not comparable to a European concentration camp because "at least there you knew at night when you had managed to live through the day that you would not face death again until the next day of horrors, but in the Minsk ghetto the terror was non-stop, twenty-four hours a day, extending beyond the daytime horrors into nightly killing, raping, and looting raids from which no one was protected."[6]

The Nazi plan to decimate the Jewish population of Minsk was carried out at first by dire living conditions and then accelerated by official "killing Aktions" or pogroms, the largest of which occurred on the dates given below. Official German figures for the number of victims are considerably lower than those given in Soviet or survivor sources, so examples of both are given:

Date of Aktion	*German Estimates*	*Soviet/Survivor Estimates*
Up to end of July 1941	5,000[7]	—
August 14–September 1, 1941	5,000–6,000[8]	—
November 7–11, 1941	6,624[9]	12,000[10]
November 20, 1941	—	15,000[11]
March 2–3, 1942	3,412[12]	8,000[13]
July 28–31, 1942	9,000[14]	25,000[15]
October 21–23, 1943	4,000+[16]	—

Few definitive figures for the number of Jews in the ghetto are available. One report, probably from the second half of 1942, mentions 20,000 Jews (11,000 men and 9,000 women) capable of work in Minsk.[17] Estimates vary about the numbers living and surviving to the very end. Some survivors say only a handful survived, perhaps 20 children, while others report up to 1,000 hiding during the final Aktion and managing to escape.

During the various Aktions, the Germans generally used Latvian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian police to aid them in cordoning off an area of the ghetto selected for "liquidation." The non-German police accompanied by German SS men went door-to-door, ordering the inhabitants out of their houses and searching for those in hiding. Out on the street, the Jews were formed into columns, with those able to display an Ausweis or work permit often spared, being allowed to step aside with their family members. "Extra" family members were often saved in these instances. Likewise "employers" often tried to preserve their workers by keeping them overnight in factories during the large killing Aktions in the ghetto.

In the first weeks of these night Aktions, many Jews constructed hiding places, or *malenas*, behind false walls, in attics, basements, and other rooms. Of course, the Germans and their collaborators searched for false walls, sometimes riddling areas they could not reach with bullets.

During some of the killing Aktions, Minsk Jews were rounded up and forced into gas vans called "soul killers" by the Minsk Jews. These windowless, closed trucks opened from the back and could hold from 60 to 100 people. The exhaust pipe of the truck was rigged so that the fumes entered this closed compartment; as a result, those inside were gassed to death by the time the trucks arrived at burial pits or in Maly Trostinets, where the corpses were thrown into pits and later burned in a crematorium erected there.[18]

In other cases the columns of Jews were loaded onto open trucks and driven to prepared pits where they were ordered to undress and pile up their clothing, and then they had to proceed naked to the edge of the pit, where they were shot in the head. Bullets were not wasted on children, who frequently were thrown into the pits and buried alive.

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In one special Aktion the most beautiful girls were rounded up and taken to Yubileinaia Square, in the center of the ghetto, where they were shot in the head with exploding bullets and left to bleed to death on the square.[19]

Belorussian police were mainly employed to guard the Minsk ghetto. According to survivors, however, the most feared units were the Latvian and Ukrainian forces, although Lithuanian units also actively supported the Nazis during the various murderous pogroms.

The Germans established a Judenrat in Minsk, made up of "representatives of the Jews." The Judenrat, or Jewish Council, in Minsk was apparently formed when the Germans simply picked 12 Jews off the street in July 1941. The Jewish Council and its chairman had strict orders to carry out all instructions from the German military administration in a careful and timely manner; the chairman and his vice chairman were to be held personally responsible for everything that occurred within the Jewish community. The Germans required that the Judenrat collect "contributions" of 2 million Soviet rubles and 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold in July 1941, which was a huge sum of money at that time. Subsequent demands were for cutlery, pots and pans, and even underwear, until there was nothing more to collect. The duties of the Jewish police were to keep order in the ghetto, to organize work squads to collect and bury the dead, and to collaborate in finding and rounding up resistors. While some members of the Judenrat and police did collaborate in betraying Jews, for the most part they were compelled to serve in these positions and tried not to compromise themselves where possible.

The Minsk ghetto inhabitants began organizing resistance activities within the ghetto as early as August 1941 and worked closely with the Communist underground in Minsk. One of the Minsk underground committee leaders, Issac Cazinetz, was a Jew, but because of his non-Jewish appearance, he was able to live hidden outside the ghetto. He was responsible for many of the links forged between the Minsk city underground and the ghetto. In May 1942, he was arrested and publicly executed. He was posthumously decorated as a Hero of the Soviet Union. Hersh Smolar and others worked to create and smuggle underground newspapers and even some arms into the ghetto. The underground's most successful effort was in exploding a bomb under the bed of Generalkommissar Kube, killing him, although miraculously his pregnant wife, who was also in the bed, survived the blast. Severe retribution was visited upon both the city of Minsk and the Minsk ghetto following this event. Unorganized resistance included sabotaging radios in the Minsk radio plant, smuggling arms, and helping young people to escape and join the partisans, where they in turn fought the Nazis, blowing up train tracks and engaging in other forms of sabotage.

Those who were free of family commitments fled to the partisans, but those with family members still alive found it more difficult to leave, as this would mean probable starvation or punitive retribution for family and housemates left behind. It was not a simple matter to escape from the Minsk ghetto. Escapees had to find the partisans, and it was difficult to travel without false documents concealing their Jewish identity. The partisans did not welcome everyone and generally required potential recruits to come with a weapon in hand, not an easy task for a Minsk ghetto inhabitant to achieve. It is estimated that as many as 10,000 Jews may have escaped from the ghetto. The Minsk underground helped many ghetto inmates seeking to join the partisans.

Shalom Zorin, commander of Jewish partisan Unit 106, which was based in the Naliboki Forest near Minsk. Zorin's unit absorbed Jewish escapees from local ghettos, 1944–1946.
USHMM WS #01790, COURTESY OF MOSHE KAGANOVICH

The Germans ruthlessly tortured and killed anyone suspected of resistance activities. On October 26, 1941, the Germans made a public display of hanging 12 individuals accused of resistance activities. One of the women hanged is believed to have been Masha Bruskina, a Jewish underground leader from the Minsk ghetto. No one was allowed to cut down the victims for several days.

Levels of pre-war antisemitism were probably lower in Minsk than in many other Eastern European cities. Despite this, many Belorussians, although horrified at Nazi atrocities,

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Monument placed on the site of the mass grave where Jews from the Minsk ghetto were murdered, n.d. It was created immediately after the war by survivors and victims' relatives. At present it is part of a larger memorial complex at the intersection of Melnikaite and Zaslavskaia streets in Minsk.
USHMM WS #ID31217, COURTESY OF FELIX LIPSKI

were afraid to help the Jews. Orders posted throughout the country made it clear that to harbor or help a Jew was punishable by death. A few Belorussian citizens hid ghetto children in their homes, adopting them during the war or helping to hide them in orphanages. Others gave food to ghetto inmates who worked outside in the city. Yad Vashem has named at least 389 Belorussians (including a number from Minsk) as Righteous Among the Nations for their rescue activities.[20]

From November 1941 until October 1942, a total of nearly 24,000 Central European Jews were deported by train to Minsk.[21] From the initial deportations, many were put into the Minsk ghetto. The first Jews to arrive from Western Europe were from Hamburg—hence, the Minsk Jews called all Westerners "Hamburg Jews." The Jews from Central Europe were housed in a separate area of the ghetto, which had been cleared for them during the November 1941 pogroms. Many were conspicuous by their better-quality clothing. Soon, however, they grasped the realities of the ghetto; unless they found slave labor jobs, they were destined to starve to death. Unable to speak Russian, the Hamburg Jews relied on trading with the Russian Jews across the segregated area of the ghetto, bartering their clothing and other belongings to Minsk Jews, who in turn exchanged them for money or food outside the ghetto.

Kube, the German Generalkommissar in Minsk, felt some sympathy for the Hamburg Jews and tried in vain to preserve them by writing to Nazi headquarters, pleading on their behalf. However, his appeals were denied, and the Hamburg Jews met a similar fate to the Minsk Jews. By the summer of 1942, the Germans had established a killing center at Maly Trostinets, on an estate just outside of Minsk. Some of the Central European Jews were then transported by train directly to this killing center. Upon disembarking, they were separated from their belongings and taken to pits where they were shot dead. Others were murdered using gas vans.

In 1943, the Germans began exhuming corpses from the killing pits and burning them in an attempt to cover up their crimes. The Trostinets killing center housed a small number of Jews who helped serve the functions of the killing center, but very little other labor occurred on the estate. One witness who was briefly held on the estate and another who was sent by the partisans to witness from the forests nearby and report back on events occurring there verify the arrival of gas vans and the existence of mass graves.[22]

SOURCES The personal accounts written by Hersh Smolar, which differ in their various editions, partly due to diverging political pressures at different times, provide a valuable firsthand account of resistance: see, for example, Hersh Smolar, *The Minsk Ghetto: Soviet-Jewish Partisans against the Nazis* (New York: Holocaust Publications, 1989). On the evidence regarding Masha Bruskina, see Necama Tec and Daniel Weiss, "A Historical Injustice: The Case of Masha Bruskina," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11:3 (1997): 366–377. Shalom Cholawsky is the author of two articles on the ghetto: "The German Jews in the Minsk Ghetto," *Yad Vashem Studies* 17 (1986): 219–246; and "The Judenrat in Minsk," in *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe, 1933–1945: Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference Jerusalem, April 4–7, 1977* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979), pp. 113–132.

Other publications on the Minsk ghetto include Dan Zhits, *Geto Minsk Ve-toldotav, Le'or Ha-teud Ha-hadash* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 2000); Barbara Epstein, *The Minsk Ghetto, 1941–1943: Jewish Resistance and Soviet Internationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); V.F. Balakirau et al., eds., *Minskae geta 1941–1943 gg.: Trahedyia, geraizm, pamiats* (Minsk: NARB, 2004); Carlton Jackson, *Joseph Gavi: Young Hero of the Minsk Ghetto* (Paducah, KY: Turner, 2000); and R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Judenfrei! Svobodno ot evreev: Istoriia minskogo getto v dokumentakh* (Minsk: "Asobny Dakh," 1999).

Numerous personal testimonies concerning the Minsk ghetto have been published, including E.G. Ioffe, ed., *Zhiva—Da, ia zhiva!: Minskoe getto v vospminaniiakh Maii Krapinoi i Fridy Reizman: Materialy i dokumenty* (Minsk: istoricheskaia masterskaia v Minske, 2005); Karl Loewenstein, *Minsk: Im Lager der deutschen Juden* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst, 1961); *"Existiert das Ghetto noch?": Weissrussland: Jüdisches Überleben gegen nationalsozialistische Herrschaft*, ed. Projektgruppe Belarus im Jugendklub Courage Köln e.V. (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2003); and Mikhail Treister, *Probleski pamiati: Vospominaniia, razmyshleniia, publikatsii* (Minsk: istoricheskaia masterskaia v Minske, 2007).

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Relevant documentation on the Minsk ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; GAMINO; GARF; NARA; NARB; RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA. The author has also made use of a number of interviews she conducted in Minsk with survivors, which are in her personal archive (PAAS).

Anne Speckhard

NOTES

1. PAAS, interview with Rosa Zelenka, 2002.
2. The order to create the Minsk ghetto was published in issue no. 1 of the *Minsk Gazetta*, July 27, 1941; see also NARB, 4683-3-397, pp. 6–7, and 359-1-8, pp. 1–2. A map showing the area of the ghetto can be found in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 481.
3. PAAS, interview with Israel Elentukh, 2001.
4. Ibid., interview with Frieda Raisman, 2000.
5. "*Existiert das Ghetto noch?*," p. 215; Smolar, *The Minsk Ghetto*, p. 143, gives a total of about 100,000 Jews passing through the ghetto altogether.
6. PAAS, interview with Frieda Raisman, 2000.
7. "*Existiert das Ghetto noch?*," p. 213.
8. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 56–57.
9. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 140.
10. Smolar, *The Minsk Ghetto*, p. 41.
11. Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 130.
12. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM no. 178.
13. Adamushko et al., *Handbuch der Haftstätten*, p. 130.
14. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) Lfd. Nr. 552, p. 197.
15. Adamushko et al., *Handbuch der Haftstätten*, p. 130.
16. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 Lfd. Nr. 552, pp. 202–203.
17. YVA, M-41/315 (NARB, 370-1-245, pp. 26–27), undated report on labor deployment.
18. PAAS, e.g., interview with Maya Krapina, 2001.
19. Ibid., interview with Frieda Raisman, 2000.
20. See YVA, collection M.31 (Righteous Among the Nations, Belarus).
21. Chernoglazova, *Judenfrei! Svobodno ot evreev*, p. 224.
22. PAAS, interview with Ilia Natovich Galperin Natomovic, 2003.

MIORY

Pre-1939: Miory (Yiddish: Mior), town, Brasław powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Miery, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Miory is located 163 kilometers (101 miles) west of Vitebsk. In 1939, the Jewish population in Miory was around 725.

On July 2, 1941, German forces entered Miory. As soon as they arrived, a group of about 30 local Poles led by a local doctor organized a pogrom in which they demolished Jewish residences and shot the rabbi and his wife. Apparently this was done in retaliation for the imprisonment of the parish priest during the Soviet occupation, for which one Jew among the local residents was allegedly responsible.[1] A number of Poles also volunteered for service in the German auxiliary police in Miory. Among them was the son of the *sołtys* Ignacy Dąbrowski.[2]

The German authorities required the Jews to wear distinguishing markings, initially an armband and later a yellow Star of David on their clothes. The Germans also imposed forced labor on all Jews capable of work. The Jewish work details were closely guarded by the local and German police.[3] A Judenrat (Jewish Council) was soon established, headed by the miller Zvi (Cwi) Altman, which was made responsible for supplying a number of forced laborers every day. The members of the Judenrat also collected "contributions" in the form of gold, silver, boots, and sheepskin furs from the Jews of Miory. These contributions were delivered to the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie. A Jewish labor office was also established in Miory, headed by the linen artisan Mosze Liplańczyk.

In the first days of the occupation, German Security Police came to Miory and arrested two Jews who worked at the furniture factory. They were forced to dig their own graves and were then shot in the nearby forest.[4]

The ghetto in Miory was established either in the fall of 1941[5] or (according to other sources) on the Passover holiday (early April) in 1942.[6] The area between Nabrzeżna and Wielka Streets was cordoned off. In the spring of 1942, a number of Jews were brought into the ghetto from other places in the region, including 35 from the village of Przebrodzie, 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Miory, and others from Ikażń, 25 kilometers (16 miles) away. The ghetto remained "open" (unfenced), but the German administration issued a decree forbidding the Christian population from entering the ghetto area. Order was maintained by 3 Jewish policemen, who closely watched the residents in the ghetto. Jews from the ghetto worked in a furniture factory 1.5 kilometers (almost 1 mile) outside the town, near the railway station. Jewish craftsmen needed a special permit from the German chief of police to leave the ghetto and perform labor for the authorities. People in the ghetto lived under very overcrowded conditions; on average, one house had to hold up to seven or eight families.[7]

The systematic extermination of the Jews in Gebiet Glebokie began at the end of May 1942 with the arrival of SS-Untersturmführer Tangermann of the SD office in Lepel'. According to the report of acting Glebokie Gebietskommissar Petersen, on June 2, 1942, German forces liquidated the ghetto in Miory with 779 Jews. "Here the Jews attempted a large-scale breakout and about 70 or 80 people may have succeeded in escaping."[8] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report records that 678 peaceful citizens, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were shot in Miory during the German occupation, while the diary of Yitzhak Aaron records that 800 Jews were shot.[9]

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Several accounts exist of the liquidation of the ghetto. On June 2, 1942, at 3:00 A.M., a group of SS men, SD officials, and Gendarmes from Gebiet Glebokie, assisted by the local police, surrounded the ghetto. They seized the Jews from their homes, allegedly on the pretext of searching for weapons. The Jews were ordered to assemble on the market square to register their documents. A number of young Jews decided to rush the guards on the square. The guards shot many of the escapees, but a few dozen made it through to the nearby forest. Thereafter, the remaining Jews were guarded more closely and escorted in groups to the Krukowka Forest, where graves had been dug in advance. Nonetheless, there was another escape attempt near the grave site, and again a few Jews were able to escape from the guards. The head of the Judenrat was among those shot in the pit. Jewish property of value was confiscated by the Germans and sent to Głębokie, while the local police and other local inhabitants looted or bought cheaply remaining clothing and household items.[10]

On June 16, 1942, after the liquidation of the ghetto in Miory, members of the local police set out in 10 trucks together with SS men to exterminate the Jews of the nearby Druja ghetto.[11] In the meantime, a group of escapees from the Miory ghetto had received help from the Judenrat in Druja (located 27 kilometers [17 miles] from Miory). They obtained two bags of flour, two pots, pails, and spoons, which were used to establish a temporary camp in the forest. After three weeks in the camp, a local shepherd informed the Gendarmerie that Jews were hiding in the forest. The Jews had to abandon their camp and move to another location. Some escapees were caught and shot by the Gendarmerie and local police, and others suffered from hunger in the forest as winter approached.[12]

In the fall of 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie issued an order that all Jews who had fled underground or taken refuge in the forest could find protection and work in the ghetto in Głębokie. The head of the Głębokie Judenrat, Lederman, even passed this message on to Jews in hiding. As a result, many of the Jews in the forest made their way to the Głębokie ghetto, as did Schabtai Edelmann.[13] Of a group of 25 Miory escapees in the forest near Kozła, 24 made their way to Głębokie, and only 1 remained behind to maintain a base, to which Jews might flee if the Głębokie ghetto were to be liquidated. Some Jews from Miory subsequently joined the Soviet partisans.[14]

An investigation of the Lepel' SD-Section, which was accused of organizing the murder of the Jews in Miory, was conducted by the state prosecutor in Hamburg. The case against those serving in the SS (sygn. 141 Js 533/60) was led by the prosecutor in Hanover. The cases against the unidentified members of the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) and SD (sygn. 2 Js 388/65), and against unidentified members of the SD and SS formations (sygn. 45 Js 16/73), were led by the Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Dortmund. All of these investigations were suspended because the perpetrators of the crimes could not be identified.

In the proceedings directed by the state prosecutor in Hanover (2 Js 388/65) with regard to the mass murder of Jews, Gypsies, and Russian prisoners of war in Gebiet Glebokie from 1941 to 1944, the names of the Gendarmerie officials serving in Miory were listed. These men, however, could not be located and sentenced: Gall, Gamba, Jerks (Jörks), Karl Kube, Petrowski, Schuhr, Willmann,[15] Herbert Goy, August Krüger, Leo Leidenroth, Rudinski, and Wilhelm Uppmann.

On February 26, 1954, the Provincial Court in Olsztyn (SWOl) opened a case against Bronisław Dąbrowski (IV K 31/54). As an official of the Schutzmannschaft in Miory, he was accused of collaboration with the German authorities and of taking part in escorting the Jewish population from the ghetto in Miory to the site of the mass shooting. On June 29, 1954, the high penal court in Warsaw sentenced Bronisław Dąbrowski to life in prison. However, on January 30, 1969, the Provincial Court in Opole passed a resolution for his conditional release.

SOURCES Publications containing information on the Miory ghetto and its destruction include a yizkor book edited by Mordekhai Naishtat, *Sefer Druyah U-Kehilot Miyor*, *Droisk*, *Ve-Le'onpol* (Tel-Aviv: Be-hotsa'at yots'e Druyah veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1973); Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); and V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001).

Documents pertaining to the fate of the Jews of Miory during the Nazi occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3150 and 3151; and 302/47); BA-DH (ZM 1641, A. 23); BA-L (B 162/1390); GARF (7021-92-217); IPN-Kos (Kpp 6/90); LCVA (684-1-4); NARB (370-1-483); Sta. Hannover (2 Js 388/65); SWOl (IV K 31/54); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M); VHF (# 40975 and 12549); and YVA.

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 272; AŻIH, 301/3150, p. 1; and VHF, # 40975, testimony of Samuel Engel.

2. Protocols of the witness Antony Sawicki, August 5, 1953, SWOl IV K 31/54.

3. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 362–426, testimony of Leib (Arie) Veif, July 14, 1961, and of Schabtai Edelmann, August 14, 1961; and VHF, # 40975.

4. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 362–426, testimony of Schabtai Edelmann, August 14, 1961. This shooting was apparently conducted on the personal order of Gebietskommissar Paul Hachmann.

5. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 362–426, testimony of Leib (Arie) Veif, July 14, 1961, and of Schabtai Edelmann, August 14, 1961; and VHF, # 40975.

6. AŻIH, 301/3150, p. 1; and VHF, # 12549, testimony of Samuel Palec, a Jewish refugee from Jonava in Lithuania, who was brought to Miory with other Jews from the village of Słobódka near Brasław in March 1942, and states that at that time the ghetto "was not yet finished." It seems likely that it may have been established in stages.

7. AŻIH, 301/3150, p. 1; and VHF, # 12549. At the end of April 1942, Gebietskommissar Hachmann strictly forbade Jews to go more than 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the ghettos in the Gebiet without a special pass issued by the Gebietskommissar.

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Miory was not named specifically as one of the towns in which the Jews could still move around freely within this limit, but a copy of the order was also sent to the local council in Miory; see David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 234–235, order of Gebietskommissar in Glebokie, April 30, 1942 (English translation).

8. Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 388/65, Supplementary volume, pp. 110ff., 124ff. and NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of Gebietskommissar Glebokie, betr.: Judenaktion, July 1, 1942.

9. GARF, 7021-92-217, pp. 3–10, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, April 19, 1945; and Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Schoah* (Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2006), pp. 264–265—this source also mentions that 70–80 people survived, although it gives the number of Jews in the ghetto at the onset of the Aktion as 926.

10. AŻIH, 302/47, diary of Yitzhak Aron; protocols of the witness Krystyna Izabela Turowska, February 15, 1990, IPN-Kos, Kpp 6/90, pp. 29–30; AŻIH, 301/3150, testimony of Szabtaj Estrow, December 1947, pp. 1–3; Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 215; protocols of the suspect Józef Rynkiewicz, February 5, 1949, SWOl IV K 31/54; BA-DH, ZM 1641, A. 23, p. 16; and protocols of the examination of the witness Alfred Siergun, August 12, 1953, SWOl IV K 31/54.

11. Protocols of the suspect Ignacy Dąbrowski, September 7, 1953, SWOl IV K 31/54; and protocols of the suspect Stanisław Bąk, September 25, 1953, SWOl IV K 31/54.

12. AŻIH, 301/3150, testimony of Szabtaj Estrow, December 1947, pp. 1–3.

13. Ibid.; and BA-L, B 162/1390, pp. 362–426, testimony of Schabtai Edelmann, August 14, 1961. It seems that Schabtai Edelmann and Szabtaj Estrow are the same person! See also AŻIH, 302/47, diary of Yitzhak Aron.

14. AŻIH, 301/3150, testimony of Szabtaj Estrow, December 1947, pp. 1–3.

15. Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 388/65.

MIR

Pre-1939: Mir, town, Stołpce powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Karelichy raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mir is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) southwest of Minsk. Just prior to the German invasion, the Mir raion had approximately 3,000 Jewish inhabitants, of whom some 2,300 lived in the town of Mir.

The German army occupied the Mir Rayon at the end of June 1941. The German occupation authorities began recruiting a local police force within a few weeks of their arrival. The police force was initially composed of about 30 local men, mainly Belorussians aged between 25 to 35 from the villages surrounding Mir.[1] On July 20, 1941, German security forces carried out an Aktion against the "intelligentsia" in Mir in which 19 Jews and 3 non-Jews were selected. The Germans transported the victims out of town by truck and killed them in a nearby forest.[2]

Exterior of a destroyed synagogue in Mir, 1946.
USHMM WS #97358, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

Initially the local military commandant in Stołpce was responsible for the administration of the Mir Rayon. From August 1941, this was Leutnant Göbel of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727. The military authorities imposed a number of restrictions on the Jews during the first weeks, but no ghetto was created at this time.

In October and November 1941, the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, organized collections of valuables from the Jews of Turzec and Mir, and also carried out mass shootings assisted by local police in which roughly 2,000 Jews from Mir and Turzec died.[3] Some Jews were sent to a labor camp in Nowy Świerzeń.

A few days after this massacre, the first German Gendarmes of the Order Police (Orpo) arrived in Mir.[4] The Gendarmerie commander in Mir was Meister Reinhold Hein, who had about 12 Gendarmes under him and also gave orders to the local Belorussian police. Oswald Rufeisen, a Jew from western Poland who arrived in Turzec just after the shootings there, pretended to be a Pole and was recruited to the police as a translator because of his excellent German. Soon he became the secretary and translator for the Rayon police chief, the Belorussian Semion Serafinowicz, who brought him to Mir. Here Rufeisen recognized some former Jewish acquaintances from his stay in Vilnius from 1939, including Dov Reznik, and he resolved to help the nascent Jewish underground as much as he could from his position under cover within the police.

According to the recollection of Cila Zakheim, "within a few days of the November Aktion the first ghetto was formed. It was not a building but a collection of houses that had survived the invasion and included Zavalna, Tartarskaia, and Wisoker Streets. There was no barbed wire fencing or guards surrounding the Mir ghetto."[5]

Available survivor testimony indicates that no ghetto was established in Turzec, although a Judenrat had been formed there prior to the massacres. In Mir a new Judenrat had to be elected in November, as several members of the first one, formed a few weeks after the German occupation began, had been murdered on November 9. Eliezer Breslin, who served in the second Judenrat, recalled the names of other members: Leiber Menaker, Shamay Berman, and Rabbi Eli Baruch

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Shulman, its head. The Judenrat, consisting of about 10 persons, continued to pass on German orders for forced labor and distributed food to the ghetto population. The Jews who worked received rations of 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread per day, which they collected from a shop on a weekly or monthly basis. Forced labor tasks consisted of cleaning streets, repairing roads, clearing snow in winter, doing agricultural work, and even performing domestic service for local officials.[6]

The German authorities ordered the transfer of the remaining 800 Jews to the closer confinement of the run-down Mir castle building just outside of town in May 1942. The castle was well suited for use as a ghetto, as there was only one entrance, blocked by barbed wire, and the windows were placed at a great height. Only about 4 Jews worked in the Jewish police force that guarded the entrance once the work details returned. In fact the guard was generally quite lax, as Hein would hold the Judenrat accountable if any Jews escaped.[7]

Fearing the liquidation of the ghetto, the Judenrat paid the first installment of a bribe to the local Belorussian mayor, Bielanowicz, in June 1942, when he promised in return that he would protect them. In fact, he had no such power, as the German authorities in Baranowicze had already ordered the liquidation of the ghetto by this time. Surprisingly, an attempt by the Judenrat to bribe the Gendarmerie Meister Hein was refused. He could only promise the Jews that they would die a humanitarian death.[8]

After the mass killing on November 9 in Mir, younger Jews formed an underground organization and made preparations for resistance. Efforts to obtain weapons, however, proved difficult, and several Jews were betrayed while doing so. Only Rufeisen's quick thinking prevented any more Jews from falling into a trap laid by Serafinowicz.[9]

In the end, though, the underground members were fortunate in being able to organize their escape without a battle. In particular, they received vital assistance from Rufeisen, working from within the local police. In June 1942, Rufeisen overheard part of a telephone conversation between Hein and the Captain of Gendarmerie in Baranowicze, Max Eibner, which revealed the date of the planned "liquidation" of the Mir ghetto. Acting on this information, Rufeisen not only succeeded in smuggling more than 10 weapons into the ghetto, but he also managed to send nearly all the Gendarmes and local police on a wild-goose chase after nonexistent partisans just before the ghetto liquidation was due to take place.[10]

Nevertheless, many within the ghetto were reluctant to follow his advice to flee. The situation was hotly debated within the ghetto. Some feared that escape would only hasten the end for those who could not leave. In total, about 200 of the younger Jews decided to try their luck in the forests.[11] They did not join the partisans immediately. But most of those who survived joined the partisans at some stage, either as fighters or in the family camps, especially those organized by the Bielski brothers.

Meanwhile, Rufeisen also managed to escape, probably thanks to his good relations with the Gendarmes. Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation he was betrayed by one of the remaining Jews and confessed to Hein, "I am neither an enemy of the Germans nor a Pole. I will tell you the truth because so far I have always worked with you openly and honestly, but nevertheless I consider the planned anti-Jewish operation to be very wrong for I myself am a Jew. And this was the only motive for my action."[12] Nevertheless, the guard on him remained lax, and he was able to slip away without great difficulty. One Gendarme recalled, "[W]hen Rufeisen escaped, I had just come off duty. I was probably the first to see it. However, because we had such a good relationship with Rufeisen, I only reported what I had seen when Rufeisen was far enough away."[13]

The shooting of the remaining Jews followed shortly afterwards on August 13, 1942, as planned. A grave was prepared in advance in the nearby Jabłonowszczyna Forest on instructions from Serafinowicz. On the evening before the liquidation, a reinforced guard of local police with machine guns was set up around the castle. The next morning a number of police auxiliaries (including Latvians and Lithuanians) from Baranowicze appeared in Mir. The remaining 560 Jews, mainly elderly people and women with children, were loaded onto trucks and taken to the killing site. Members of the Gendarmerie guarded the route and were ordered to ensure that no Jews escaped. Local police also took part in the shooting.[14]

The process of searching for those in hiding continued for some time after the Aktion. According to a report by Hein, some 65 of the escaped Mir Jews had been captured and shot by August 20, 1942. Investigative records reveal that 4 Jews were found in the cellar of Mir castle about three weeks after the ghetto liquidation. Local policemen from Mir dragged them out and then shot them nearby.[15]

Not only the police but also other local inhabitants continued to be active in tracking down escaped Jews over the following months.

A number of former local police collaborators were convicted by Soviet and Polish courts after the war. The German authorities opened investigations into the activities of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, and members of the German Gendarmerie post in Mir in the 1960s but did not have sufficient evidence against named individuals to initiate criminal proceedings. Mainly thanks to Rufeisen's assistance, more than 50 Jews from the Mir ghetto managed to survive the war. Among those who gave evidence at the pretrial hearing against Serafinowicz in Dorking near London in 1996 were David Protas, Ze'ev Schreiber, Lev Abramovsky, Michael Breslin, Menachem Shalev, Israel Shifron, and Shmuel Cesler. Serafinowicz was deemed unfit for trial on medical grounds in January 1997 and died shortly afterwards. The memorial grave sites in and around Mir were restored with new inscriptions in the 1990s, once survivors were able to visit their former homes.

SOURCES The main secondary works are Nechama Tec's *In the Lion's Den: The Life of Oswald Rufeisen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), which provides an excellent biography of Oswald Rufeisen based on extensive interviews with him; and Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–44* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), which has several pages on the anti-Jewish Aktions in the Mir Rayon. Important also are the yizkor books for Mir: Nachman Blumental, ed., *Sefer Mir* (Jerusalem:

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Entsiklopedia shel Galuyot, 1962); and for Turzec: Michael Walzer-Fass and Moshe Kaplan, eds., *Kehilot Turets ve-Yeremits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Turets ve-Yeremits be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Brit, 1978). Also see the memoir of Yehuda Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community, 1900–1944* (Tel Aviv, 1958).

Thanks to the large number of survivors from Mir, there are many useful testimonies at Yad Vashem (YVA) and also an early Rufeisen statement at the Jewish Historical Institute (AŻIH) in Warsaw. Contemporary German documentation and Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports are located both at GARF and at GABO, which also holds a number of Gendarmerie reports from Mir, including reports concerning Rufeisen's arrest (995-1-7). German postwar investigations of Lt. Göbel (Sta. München) and Eibner (Sta. Oldenburg) were examined in both of those cities and also at the Zentrale Stelle in Ludwigsburg (BA-L). The main source for the activities of the local police is the extensive investigation into the activities of Semion Serafinowicz conducted by the Metropolitan Police War Crimes Unit, New Scotland Yard (WCU). In particular, transcripts of the committal proceedings held at Dorking in 1996 are in the public domain. Other material was obtained from IPN (SWKsz 72-4); BA-BL (R 2104); and AAN. The Scotland Yard investigation was given access to a number of Soviet Criminal Case files for former Mir policemen, mostly from the KGB Archives in Grodno (AUKGBRBGrO).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. WCU, Serafinowicz case, Dorking committal proceedings (Dorking), Ivan Yatsevich, March 21, 1996; GARF, 7021-148-364.
2. WCU, S171B, S173C, S97, D3684, S175B, D1766, S87A.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/13, pp. 92–99.
4. BA-L, B 162, 202 AR 149/63, statement of E.F., October 11, 1966.
5. WCU, Cila Zakheim, April 22, 1993, Yoel Mazorevich, August 9, 1995, and Eli Miranski, September 5, 1993.
6. WCU, Joseph Harkavy, December 5, 1991, Eliezer Breslin, May 22, 1995, Michael Breslin, April 11, 1995, and Lev Abramovsky, February 24, 1993; Miriam Swirnowski-Lider, "The German Occupation and Liquidation of Our Little Town," in Blumental, *Sefer Mir.*
7. WCU, Oswald Rufeisen, March 1995 and February 23, 1996—Rufeisen dates the move to the castle as May 2, 1942; see also Eliezer Breslin, May 22, 1995, and Jack Sutin, May 13, 1995.
8. Tec, *In the Lion's Den*, pp. 134–135.
9. Ibid., pp. 129–131.
10. WCU, Oswald Rufeisen, March 1 and 5, 1995, and February 23, 1996.
11. AAN, 202/III/7, vol. 1, pp. 183–187, and 202/III/8, vol. 2, pp. 158–162; these reports of the Polish underground estimate 150 escapees from the ghetto. WCU, Eliezer Breslin, May 22, 1995, said that he counted 188 people leaving the ghetto. Israel Shifron, in April 1995, estimated that 220 Jews escaped.
12. GABO, 995-1-7, pp. 211–212, Hein Report, August 20, 1942.
13. BA-L, ZStl, 2 AR-Z 16/67, vol. 8, W.G., July 24–25, 1969.
14. GABO, 995-1-7, pp. 211–212, Hein Report, August 20, 1942, and p. 237, Gend. Captaincy Baranowicze Report, August 26, 1942; WCU, Sonya Damesek in July 1992 and Krystyna Szulc in October 1994; BA-L, ZStl, 2 AR-Z 16/67. Sta. Oldenburg 2 Js 138/68, vol. 1, pp. 60–62, A.F., February 14, 1969, vol. 6, pp. 1146–1155, E.F., March 13, 1969, vol. 8, W.G., July 24–25, 1969, and B.R., July 28, 1969.
15. GABO, 995-1-7, pp. 211–212, Hein Report, August 20, 1942; AUKGBRBGrO, Criminal Case 35133, Archive File No. 696.

MOŁCZADŹ

Pre-1939: Mołczadź (Yiddish: Meytshet), town, Baranowicze powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Molchad', Novaia Mysh' raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Molczadz, Rayon Goroditsche, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Mouchadz', Baranavichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mołczadź is located 139 kilometers (86 miles) southwest of Minsk. In 1921, the Jewish population in Mołczadź was 1,020.

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, Soviet forces withdrew, and some Jews fled with them to the Soviet Union. The Germans captured Mołczadź on June 29. On that day, they caught several Jewish youths who did not make it across the former Polish-Soviet border. The Germans murdered them on the road to Słonim. Some sources indicate that soon after the occupation, Jews living with non-Jews were forced to move to separate houses together only with Jews (perhaps creating a de facto open ghetto). However, most surviving Jews recall that no formal ghetto was established in Mołczadź.[1] Among other anti-Jewish restrictions imposed by the new German authorities, Jews were ordered to wear yellow patches, they were prohibited from having contacts with non-Jews, they were forbidden to use the sidewalks, and they were forced to surrender their horses.

The Dworzecki family poses on the porch of their summer cottage in Mołczadź, ca. 1924.
USHMM WS #25563, COURTESY OF ALICJA HERSZKOWICZ DWORZECKA

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The Germans set up a local auxiliary police under the command of a rabid antisemite. They ordered the Jews to select a five-man Judenrat headed by Ehrlich, a refugee from Częstochowa. They compelled the Judenrat to collect and pay special taxes. The Germans demanded money, gold, and jewelry and subsequently clothing, shoes, furniture, and other items. Whenever a fine was levied, the Germans threatened to kill some Jews if their demand was not met promptly. The Judenrat members did everything they could to meet these demands. The Judenrat also had to supply people for forced labor. Every day groups of men and women were sent on work assignments around the town, guarded by local overseers. On their way to and from work the guards beat and humiliated the laborers. Groups of Jews were sent to various labor camps. From one group of more than 20 people sent to the camp in Kołdyczewo, several Jews managed to escape to join the partisans in the Naliboki Forest.[2]

On February 14, 1942, members of the local police, on their own initiative, removed 20 Jewish men and women from their houses. They took them to a tar pit outside town and murdered them. The Jews protested this Aktion to the German authorities in Baranowicze, which resulted in a death sentence being passed on the local police chief. However, his colleagues helped him to escape into the surrounding forests.

In January 1942, several members of pre-war Jewish youth groups made contact with Soviet partisans operating in the area and also fled into the forests. In March they and their families then slipped into the Horodyszcze ghetto. In April 1942, several youths from Mołczadź working at a farm in Dobrowszczyzna rose up and killed the antisemitic farm manager and his helpers. In early summer, a group of younger Jews, some of whom had experience in the Polish Army, formed an underground resistance group. They even approached the Judenrat to try to get some money to buy arms. From various sources, they obtained three rifles and several revolvers and began to train. There was also spiritual resistance in Mołczadź, guided by the Stołowicze rabbi. Jews met in secret to teach the children and pray for deliverance.[3]

As news spread about the liquidation of other ghettos, many in Mołczadź hoped that they would not share the same fate. In late May or early June 1942, the police ordered the Judenrat to mobilize 200 Jews to dig pits, allegedly for fuel storage tanks, in Burdykowszczyzna, next to the Russian Orthodox cemetery of Horodyszcze. On June 3, 1942, after they finished digging, the Germans shot the 200 Jews at the pits. Around this time, sensing an impending Aktion, the Jews of Mołczadź began to dig bunkers and seek hiding places. Young members of the underground set up a guard to warn of the approach of hostile forces.[4]

Before dawn on July 15, 1942, truckloads of German Gendarmes and local police from various posts in Gebiet Baranowitsche surrounded the town. At daybreak the Jews were ordered to assemble in the market square. Local police then combed the houses for stragglers. When the Stołowicze rabbi emerged in his prayer shawl, he was shot to death. The Jewish underground group sought to disrupt the encirclement by firing their weapons, hoping to create enough confusion for a mass escape. The Germans opened fire with machine guns and killed 20 Jewish fighters. Only 9 made it to the forest. Another 60 Jews fled into the Horky Forest, where, under the protection of partisans, they set up a family camp.

About 3,300 people assembled in the market square. They were lined up facing the wall, hands up, and searched for valuables. Then the Germans and local police took them in groups of 100 to the pits outside of Mołczadź. After ordering the victims to line up next to the pits and undress, they shot them. Over several days, from July 15 to July 18, approximately 3,300 Jews were murdered. The operation was probably organized by the Security Police outpost in Baranowicze, assisted by German Gendarmes and police auxiliaries from the Baltic states as well as Belorussia, including some local police from Rayon Neswish.[5]

A number of Jewish specialist workers and their families were initially spared during the Aktion and put into a remnant ghetto. In August 1942, the Germans urged everyone still hiding in the forest or elsewhere to come back to Mołczadź, guaranteeing their safety in the "new ghetto for the workers." About 200 people were gathered in Mołczadź altogether. After 20 days, on the pretext that they were heading for a new work site to dig peat, they were taken to the pits and murdered.[6]

Young men in the forest joined various Soviet partisan brigades. Jewish partisans from Mołczadź settled accounts with several collaborators from their town and participated in other acts of sabotage along the railway lines. Some were caught, turned in by informants, or killed in action. A few sought refuge in the nearby Dworzec ghetto/forced labor camp. A number of Jews from Mołczadź survived until the return of the Red Army in the summer of 1944. They included partisan fighters, people still in hiding, and refugees who had escaped to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941.[7]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Mołczadź can be found in the following publications: "Molczadz," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 404–408; Benzion H. Ayalon, ed., *Sefer-zikaron le-kehilat Meytshet* (Tel Aviv: Meytscher Societies in Israel and Abroad, 1973); and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 187.

Documents regarding the destruction of the Jews of Mołczadź can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBMO (Arch. No. 3617, Case No. 35694); GARF (7021-81-102); NARB (845-1-6, p. 31); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. "Molczadz," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:406; Ayalon, *Sefer-zikaron le-kehilat Meytshet*, e.g., p. 304, "there was no ghetto in Mołczadź." See also the comments of survivors posted at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/belarus/bel178.html. Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Trag-*

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edy (London: William Collins, 1986), p. 380, and *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:442, however, both refer specifically to a ghetto in Mołczadź.

2. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:407.

3. Ibid., 8:407; and Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 127.

4. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:407.

5. Ibid., 8:407; and NARB, 845-1-6, p. 31. On the participation of police from Nieśwież, see AUKGBRBMO, Arch. No. 3617, Case No. 35694, against Petr Sergeevich Korolev, born 1915, 2 vols. On the nationalities of the perpetrators, see also www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/belarus/bel178.html.

6. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:407. According to Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 100, the 200 Jewish specialist workers and their families had been assigned to dig peat and were moved into an enclosed ghetto in August.

7. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:408.

MOŁODECZNO

Pre-1939: Mołodeczno, town and powiat center, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Molodechno, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Molodetschno, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Maladechna, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mołodeczno is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, some 800 Jews lived in the town. In the fall of 1939, a number of Jewish refugees from Poland arrived in Mołodeczno, bringing the total number of Jews there in mid-1941 to more than 1,000.

German forces occupied Mołodeczno on June 26, 1941. A German military command post (Ortskommandantur 851) governed the town during the summer of 1941. Control passed to a German civil administration in September. The German Gendarmerie post then established in Mołodeczno assumed control over the auxiliary police force composed of local inhabitants. SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Grave (who died in 1944) commanded the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Wilejka, which organized most of the anti-Jewish Aktions in the town in 1942 and 1943.

The German authorities undertook a number of anti-Jewish measures during the summer and fall of 1941. These included the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), the requirement that Jews wear an armband with the Star of David, the introduction of forced labor for Jews, and the confinement of Jews within the town limits. Jews suffered systematic robbery and beatings at the hands of the local auxiliary police.

Sonderkommando 7a carried out the first Aktion in Mołodeczno on July 13, 1941, in the course of which the Germans shot 11 Soviet activists and Communists, including 7 Jews.[1] On July 18, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9, led by SS-Obersturmführer Schneider, carried out a second Aktion in Mołodeczno.[2] According to a summary prepared for the verdict of the Regional Court in Berlin on June 22, 1962, the Aktion began early in the morning when Schneider ordered the members of the unit to round up at least 100 Jews (about 70 men and 30 women) from their houses. Then the Jews were escorted to an open field behind the town. Here a table had been set up for members of the Einsatzkommando to record the names of the Jews and collect any valuables they had with them—rings, necklaces, and watches. From among the Jews, the unit formed a "work brigade" that replaced squad personnel in digging a ditch. A police platoon constituted the firing squad. It included the platoon commander, Neubert. At the command "Fire!"—which defendant Schneider gave repeatedly—a 10-man squad fired its rifles from a distance of about 10 meters (33 feet).[3]

The third Aktion against male Jews that remained in Mołodeczno took place on October 25, 1941.[4] Apparently a detachment of the Wehrmacht carried out this Aktion.[5] After the third Aktion, the German authorities confined those Jews left in the town, mostly women, children, and the elderly, within a ghetto located on Nevskaia Street.[6] In the spring or early summer of 1942, a number of able-bodied Jews from the Mołodeczno ghetto were transferred to the ghetto/forced labor camp established by the Germans in Krasne. Not many Jews from the Mołodeczno ghetto were able to survive, but among those who did were the two children of the Jewish doctor Aron Babkis, Ada and Yakob. Babkis managed to smuggle them out with the aid of the non-Jew Anton Shnip, who initially concealed them in his own home, before transferring them to two trusted families in nearby villages. Their father, unfortunately, did not survive the German occupation.[7]

At the end of June 1942, members of the SD outpost (Hauptaussenstelle) Wilejka liquidated the ghetto and, with the collaboration of the Belorussian police, shot some 700 Jews about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town on the banks of the Usha River.[8]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, a Jewish labor camp remained in Mołodeczno consisting of Jewish craftsmen employed in various German departments. A number of these Jews had been brought to Mołodeczno from Lida and Baranowicze. On the orders of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Wilejka, on or around September 7, 1942, the Belorussian police shot between 25 and 30 of the Jewish forced laborers as "unfit for work." The labor camp was closed down on July 17, 1943, when members of SD-Hauptaussenstelle Wilejka sent more than 70 Jews from the camp to Wilejka. There they placed 15 to 20 Jews in the local labor camp; they shot the rest.[9]

At some date during the German occupation following the main mass killing Aktions, the German authorities put up a sign at the railway station that read: "No Jews here—clean."[10]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 402–404.

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Information on the extermination of Jews in Mołodeczno can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/3153); GARF (7021-89-9); NARB; VHF (# 6309 and 39440); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3053 and M-31 [Anton Shnip]).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 377; and GARF, 7021-89-9, pp. 119, 125.
2. M. Drayzen, "Ocean of Blood and Tears," in Matityahu Bar-Ratzon, ed., *Ner tamid; yizkor le-Krivitsh* (Tel Aviv: Krivitsh Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1977), pp. 264 ff.
3. Landgericht Berlin, 3PKs1/62, verdict of June 22, 1962, against Filbert and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) Lfd. Nr. 540.
4. Testimony of Chana Shafran (née Pozner), in Yehuda Cheres, *And the Shtetl is Burning* (N.p., n.d.), p. 74.
5. H. Heer, "Extreme Normalität Generalmajor Gustav Freiherr von Mauchenheim gen. Bechtolsheim. Umfeld, Motive und Entschlussbildung eines Holocaust-Täters," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (2003), p. 735. Between 500 and 1,000 victims were shot. The 11th Reserve Police Battalion, subordinated to the 707th Infantry Division, carried out the shooting assisted by Field Gendarmes and guards from Stalag 342.
6. NARB, 861-1-10, pp. 12, 20; VHF, # 6309 and 39440. Both use the term *ghetto* to refer to the situation of the Jews in Mołodeczno in 1941 and 1942.
7. YVA, M-31 (Anton Shnip).
8. Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 3/61, Indictment (Anklageschrift) against Johann Karl Förster and others, January 25, 1977.
9. Ibid.
10. GARF, 8114-1-955, pp. 107–108.

NIEŚWIEŻ

Pre-1939: Nieśwież, town and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Nesvizh, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Neswish, Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Niasvizh, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Nieśwież is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. The town's population in 1939 was about 7,000, of which some 4,000 were Jews. In September 1939, many Jewish refugees who had fled before the advancing Germans arrived in Nieśwież from western and central Poland.

German forces occupied Nieśwież on June 27, 1941. Two days later, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) headed by Magalif, a refugee lawyer from Warsaw who spoke good German.[1] The Judenrat organized forced labor by every Jew over 15 years old and coordinated the collection of goods and money through the Jewish police force it had established. On September 1, the Jews were forced to move from the main streets to crowded houses on the side streets.

Adults and children congregate outside the Nieśwież synagogue, 1920.
USHMM WS #97253, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

On October 29, 1941, an order was issued by the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) for the entire Jewish population to gather in the marketplace to have their documents examined. The next morning, people turned up in their best clothes, fearing that their houses would be looted while they were out. A selection was conducted of the skilled workers on the basis of a list. Doctors, engineers, glaziers, blacksmiths, textile workers, shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters were among those sent to one side with their families. During the selection, trucks appeared on the road that led to Slutsk. Uniformed Germans, Lithuanians, and local Belorussian police surrounded the marketplace. The 585 skilled workers and family members were escorted to the high school (*gymnazium*) by the local police.[2] German soldiers and Lithuanian auxiliaries took the remainder, approximately 4,000 Jews, to be shot in pits dug at two separate sites. One large group was escorted on foot to the park surrounding the Radziwiłł palace about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the marketplace.[3] A second group of 2,000 Jews was taken to another site, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away, next to the road to Snów.

The mass shooting was carried out by the Lithuanian 12th Schutzmannschaft Battalion together with German Reserve Police Battalion 11, commanded by Franz Lechthaler. The local German commandant in Nieśwież was Anton Specht, of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727. Specht was assisted by the local Belorussian police.

Shortly after the mass shooting, a German civil administration was established in Nieśwież. German Gendarmerie officers then took charge of the Belorussian police (Schutzmannschaft), which was headed by Vladimir Sienko.[4]

The surviving Jews were taken to the ghetto, an area 250 meters long and 150 meters wide (273 yards by 164 yards) surrounded by barbed wire, where they lived in very overcrowded conditions. Forced labor continued. Groups were sent to remove any valuables from the houses of the murdered Jews, which were transferred to the local commandant's office. Some of these items were sent on to Baranowicze and Germany. Others prisoners worked in workshops according to their vo-

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Certificate marking the one hundredth birthday of Perla Mosewicka, signed by all the Jews in Nieśwież and the Polish doctor whom she assisted. She was later shot by the Germans at the age of 107.
USHMM WS #38026, COURTESY OF WANDA GLASS

cation or in the surrounding fields. The shortage of food compelled Jews to smuggle items into the ghetto.

About two thirds of the remaining Jews were Polish refugees; only one third were native to Nieśwież. The Judenrat was responsible for running the ghetto and organizing the working groups. Other members of the Judenrat included Bashinkevitch, Grinvald, Vasilevsky, and Milstein.[5] Magalif cooperated with the Germans, hoping that useful workers would not be killed. He conducted himself as if he were the absolute ruler of the ghetto, granting himself a high standard of living. Inside the ghetto he insisted on order and cleanliness. Within the Jewish community, he attempted to improve conditions, for example, permitting an illegal wedding. He was assisted by the Jewish police, which guarded the gate and had a small prison inside the ghetto.

The question of resistance arose soon after the establishment of the ghetto. The young were in favor of resistance, while the old and those with families, including Magalif, were against it, fearing any resistance or flight would endanger the entire community. Underground groups formed under youth movement activists, mainly Zionists, such as Shalom Cholawski, Siomka Farfel, Freidel Lachowicky, Yerachmiel Shklar, Nathan Messer, Bronstein, and Buzhin, and other groups led by Berl Alperovitz and Moshe Dameshek. Children were taught illegally in the teachers' houses. Resisters smuggled weapons into the ghetto. Many Jews prepared hiding places in case of an Aktion.[6]

In March 1942, rumors spread of a recent Aktion in Baranowicze, and in early summer the Germans murdered members of the Polish intelligentsia. In early July, Judenrat elections took place, and Magalif was reelected, mainly due to the relative calm in the ghetto.

On Friday, July 17, 1942, news spread of the murder of all the Jews in nearby Horodziej. Magalif called for an illegal gathering of the Jewish congregation. Kadish was said for the victims. Young people argued for fleeing the ghetto; others argued that even the young should stay with their families and not leave them to die alone. Magalif announced that only when it was absolutely clear that the ghetto was going to be liquidated should resistance be commenced. It was decided to set the Jewish houses on fire, to provide cover for those able to run into the nearby forest.[7] Nine fighting groups were organized, each consisting of five Jews.

On Monday, July 20, 1942, the German commander told the Judenrat that Belorussian policemen would replace the Jewish guards at the gate. Belorussian police from the surrounding areas cordoned off the ghetto at dusk. Many Jews went into their secret hiding places. During the night, the police fired scattered shots into the houses. In the morning, the German commander appeared at the gate, called Magalif, and told him that he needed to select only 30 textile workers without their families. The crowd heard this and shouted, "There will be no selection."[8] Magalif said: "Brothers, I know that you had no trust in me. You thought I would betray you. In this last minute, I am with you, I and my family. We are the first ones to go to our death."[9] The Germans opened fire and were surprised by a volley from the machine gun stationed on the second floor of the main (*kalter*) synagogue. Jews attacked German soldiers and Belorussian policemen, killing and wounding a few. Jews also set piles of hay alight; the fire soon spread to the houses. One German official later testified: "[M]y unit together with the Schutzpolizei, Gendarmerie, and Belorussian Schutzmannschaft, was sent to Nieśwież to cleanse the ghetto and liquidate the Jews. From the ghetto, shots were fired towards us. The shooting lasted a few hours until evening. We fired back. The ghetto started to burn. Jews ran away from the ghetto. We did not chase them, but withdrew. After a while, we approached the ghetto and searched the ruins. The ghetto was empty. Many corpses of Jews were seen lying around."[10] A few Jews broke through the Belorussian police cordon to the forest.

Thirty-two Jews escaped and joined the partisans; 26 survived and were liberated by the Red Army.

After the war, German investigations against both Anton Specht and Vladimir Sienko were abandoned without any

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conviction. Specht died in 1972. The Sienko case was closed in 1982 due to insufficient evidence. Lechthaler was tried in 1961, convicted, and sentenced to three and a half years in prison.[11]

SOURCES The following memoirs of survivors have been published: Moshe Lachowicky, *Churbn Nesvizh* (Tel Aviv: Committee of Emigrants from Nesvizh, 1948); Shalom Cholawski, *Soldiers from the Ghetto* (San Diego: Barnes & Co., 1980); David Farfel, *In Nesvizh Ghetto and Naliboki Woods* [in Hebrew] (Ramat Gan, 1995); and Ishai Mazin, *The Revolt and Liquidation of Nesvizh Ghetto* [in Hebrew] (Lod, 1999). Important also is the Nesvizh yizkor book, edited by David Shtockfish, *Sefer Nesvizh* (Tel Aviv, 1976); and Moshe Ajzenbud, *Jews of Nesvizh* [in Yiddish] (Melbourne, 1965); as well as several other more general works on the Holocaust and Jewish resistance in Belorussia.

Survivor testimonies and other documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 202 AR 116/67; 202 AR 133/81); FVA (Elka Farfel); LG-Kass (3a Ks 1/61); Sta. Trier (3 Js 1257/81); USHMM; and YVA (0-3/2746).

Zvi Farfel

NOTES

1. Lachowicky, *Churbn Nesvizh*, p. 2.
2. Ibid., pp. 6–18; YVA, 0-3/2746; FVA, Elka Farfel, 1996.
3. FVA, E. Farfel; YVA, 0-3/2746.
4. LG-Kass, 3a Ks 1/61, Trial of Franz Lechthaler; BA-L, II 202 AR 116/67, Investigation of Anton Specht; Sta. Trier, 3 JS 1257/81, Investigation of Vladimir Sienko.
5. Ajzenbud, *Jews of Nesvizh.*
6. Lachowicky, *Churbn Nesvizh*, pp. 26–27, 33; YVA, 0-3/2746.
7. Farfel, *In Nesvizh Ghetto.*
8. Lachowicky, *Churbn Nesvizh*, p. 40; FVA, E. Farfel; YVA, 0-3/2746.
9. S. Cholawski, in Yitzhak Zuckerman and Moshe Basock, eds., *Sefer Milhemet Hagetaoth* (Tel Aviv: Katsenelson, 1954), p. 480.
10. BA-L, 22 Js 104/61, Emil Otto Pick, October 18, 1961.
11. LG-Kass, 3a Ks 1/61, Trial of Franz Lechthaler; BAL, II 202 AR 116/67, Investigation of Anton Specht; Sta. Trier, 3 Js 1257/81, Investigation of Vladimir Sienko.

NOWA MYSZ

Pre-1939: Nowa Mysz, *town*, *Baranowicze powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Novaia Mysh'*, *raion center*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowa Mysch*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Novaia Mysh'*, *Baranavichy raen*, *Beras'tse voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Nowa Mysz is located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) west of Baranowicze. In 1897, the Jewish population of the town was 1,764 (out of a total population of 2,995), but many Jews moved to Baranowicze from the late nineteenth century, as the latter came to overshadow Nowa Mysz, once it became a major railway junction. In 1921, the Jewish population of Nowa Mysz was 632, comprising 34.8 percent of the total.[1] There were probably about 800 Jews living in Nowa Mysz just before the German invasion.

German forces entered Nowa Mysz on June 27, 1941. The area initially came under German military administration, and an auxiliary police force was soon recruited from local inhabitants. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration, which became fully staffed over the ensuing months. Nowa Mysz was a Rayon center in Gebiet Baranowitsche, where the Gebietskommissar was Rudolf Werner.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forced to wear yellow patches, they were prohibited from leaving the town or having any contacts with non-Jews, their property was confiscated, and they were forced to make ransom payments. With the help of the local police, several Jews were arrested on charges of being Communists and were taken out and shot. According to one source, the remaining Jews were concentrated in a specific area and prohibited from leaving it, establishing a form of "open ghetto."[2] But the testimony of one local inhabitant indicates that no formal ghetto was established.[3] However, it is likely that some Jews from nearby villages were brought to Nowa Mysz.

In the fall of 1941, a small squad of German Gendarmerie formed a Rayon post in Nowa Mysz, which took over control of the local police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft. In Rayon Nowa Mysch, members of a Polish underground organization (that was later linked to the Armia Krajowa [Home Army]) infiltrated the local police. The Rayon chief of police, Henryk Zaprucki, was apparently also a commander within the Polish underground. The Germans tried to purge the police force of its strong Polish influence during the winter of 1941–1942, but in Nowa Mysz many Poles got around this by fraudulently claiming to be Belorussian.[4]

According to a German report dated March 12, 1942, the office of the Gebietskommissar in Baranowicze proposed that only the Rayon physician in Nowa Mysz, Dr. Milenzew, should be retained and that the two Jewish doctors, Rosa Libermann and Movscha Hilerovitsch, were superfluous. The same order stressed the need to purge the medical services in the Gebiet of all unnecessary Jewish personnel.[5]

German forces liquidated the "open ghetto" in Nowa Mysz in July 1942. A squad of German Security Police and SD arrived from Baranovichi, headed by Leutnant Amelung of the Security Police, and brought with them an "execution squad" of Lithuanians. Policemen were called in from the surrounding outposts, and under the command of the town police chief in Nowa Mysz, Wiktor Labun, they rounded up the Jews and assembled them at the fire station. A police cordon was thrown around the town to prevent any Jews from escaping. The local police escorted the Jews from the fire station to a large pit that had been prepared by local inhabitants just outside the town. The execution squad shot several hundred people in total—perhaps as many as 600. On this occasion the Germans also surrounded the killing site with machine-gun nests to prevent any intervention by Soviet partisans.[6]

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According to eyewitnesses, members of the local police shot several Jews during the roundup and also more Jews, including children, over the following days as they were found in hiding.[7] Some local policemen moved into the former houses of Jews following the mass shootings.[8]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Nowa Mysz can be found in the following publication: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 429–430.

Documents regarding the destruction of the Jews of Nowa Mysz can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-81-102); IPN (e.g., SWB 221 and 273, SWOl 12, and SWSz 69-78); NARB (845-1-6, p. 59); and Sta. Oldenbourg (2 Js 138/68, Closing Report [Einstellungsverfügung] in the case against Max Eibner).

Martin Dean

Group portrait of young children in a Jewish school in Nowogródek, 1933–1935. Donor Esther Klug (née Ass), is pictured in the front row, second from left.
USHMM WS #49716, COURTESY OF ESTHER KLUG

NOTES

1. Spector and Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8: 429–430.
2. Ibid.
3. IPN, SWB 273, p. 235, testimony of Stanisław Pierechod.
4. See Martin Dean, "Poles Serving in the German Local Police in the Eastern Districts of Poland and Their Role in the Holocaust," Polin 18 (2005): 353–366.
5. Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 130–132.
6. IPN, SWB 221, pp. 39–40, statement of Józef Kielbasko, May 31, 1963; Sta. Oldenbourg, 2 Js 138/68, Closing Report (Einstellungsverfügung) in the case against Max Eibner; IPN, SWSz 69-78; NARB, 845-1-6, p. 59.
7. IPN, SWB 221, p. 115, statement of M.P. on January 23, 1964, and p. 41, statement of E.L. on June 20, 1963.
8. IPN, SWOl 12, statement of A.W.

NOWOGRÓDEK

Pre-1939: Nowogródek, city, powiat and województwo center, Poland; 1939–1941: Novogrudok, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowogrodek, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Navahrudak, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Nowogródek is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) west-southwest of Minsk. According to the 1931 census, there were 6,309 Jews living in the town of Nowogródek out of a total population of 13,252. In addition, there were 4,153 Jews living in the villages of the Nowogródek powiat, including Lubcz, Delatycze, Wsielub, Niehniewicze, and Walewka.

The 8th Infantry Division of the German army entered Nowogródek on July 4, 1941. The Germans had bombed the center of town heavily on June 22, 24, 26, and 28. As a result, several dozen people were killed, and many Jewish houses were ruined and burned. At the time of the German arrival, there was some looting of Jewish homes by the local non-Jewish population. After a few days the German commandant issued orders for some of the wealthiest and most notable Jews to come to the German military headquarters (Ortskommandantur), each bringing 10 or more Jewish men with them, in order to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat). When about 200 Jews had assembled, German security forces beat and humiliated them, murdering some. The Germans appointed a Judenrat from those who remained; it was responsible for organizing Jewish men to clear rubble from the streets.[1]

On July 26, 1941, with the help of the Judenrat, the Germans collected another group of men in the market square. They were formed up in lines, and about 50 of them were selected and shot on the spot. According to the memoirs of the Catholic priest Zelenkevich, on that day a military band played a Strauss waltz shortly after the atrocity, a detail also recalled by the Jewish survivor Jack Kagan.

In the fall, a civil administration took over from the military. Wilhelm Traub was appointed Gebietskommissar of Nowogródek. On September 26, 1941, a poster heralding the imposition of new restrictions on the Jews and signed by the Gebietskommissar appeared in the streets. Every Jew had to carry an identity card and wear a yellow star. Jews were strictly forbidden to leave the town without an official permit, to engage in any form of trade, to attend the market, or to use the sidewalk.[2] Soon the new civil administration replaced the Judenrat. Around the end of August, the Germans arrested some 50 Jews, including the members of the Judenrat, and shot them the next day. A new Judenrat was then appointed and given strict instructions to carry out all German orders.

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At the end of August 1941, the civil administration collected furniture, bedding, kitchen utensils, and other useful objects from the Jews to equip the households of the newly arrived German administrators. On November 22, 1941, Gebietskommissar Traub issued instructions to all local mayors and village elders that the Jews of the Gebiet were to gather together all valuables by November 28, 1941. Then Jewish representatives had to report to a local mayor or a village elder for a special permit and travel as a group to Nowogródek to surrender their possessions. The Jews were permitted to retain only 150 rubles for their own needs.[3]

On Friday, December 5, 1941, another order signed by Gebietskommissar Traub was published in Nowogródek. Jews who had a work certificate from the labor exchange were ordered to gather with their families in the building of the former courthouse on the morning of Sunday, December 7. The elderly and sick were to stay at home and await further instructions.[4] Dov Cohen recalls that some Judenrat members, accompanied by a Belorussian policeman and a German officer, visited his house. From a list, they read out the names of those who had to go to the courthouse at the end of Korelicze Street. When the people assembled as instructed on December 7, they had to spend the entire day outside in the biting cold. The elderly and families with children were gathered in the building of the former monastery on May 3 Street. In the evening, about 100 young men (Dov Cohen among them) were selected for a work task. The Germans ordered them to take apart the wooden fence around the marketplace at the end of Korelicze Street and take it to Peresieka, a suburb about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) away. Here they had to construct a fence around 28 houses for the future ghetto. During this horrible assignment, members of the Wehrmacht, Belorussian policemen, and Lithuanian auxiliaries watched over them. Those who could not carry heavy sections of the fence and fell down were shot immediately. The others had to carry the dead bodies on the wet, heavy pieces of the fence. Later they buried them at the side of the road near the village of Bretianka.

On December 8, the Germans organized a selection in the yard of the courthouse. Officers and men from the 7th Company, Infantry Regiment 727 (about 260 men strong, commanded by Oberleutnant Johann Artmann), surrounded the town to prevent Jews from escaping. Artmann also allocated some men to guard the courthouse, where members of the civil administration in brown uniforms carried out the selection. One group of Jews (about 1,300 people) was sent to the ghetto in Peresieka. The others were loaded onto trucks or taken on foot to the pits prepared in advance near the village of Skrydlewo, 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) behind the military barracks. Here unidentified men from the SD, the SS, and possibly members of the Lithuanian and Belorussian police shot them. The same happened to those gathered in the monastery on May 3 Street. In total, more than 5,000 people were shot. Members of the 7th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, formed a cordon around the massacre site.[5]

The ghetto in Peresieka was surrounded by a wooden fence with barbed wire and was guarded by Belorussian policemen and German soldiers. The Judenrat appointed Jewish Police inside the ghetto. Their tasks were to keep order in the ghetto, prevent prisoners from trading with the local population, and help the Judenrat fulfill German orders. Every morning prisoners were escorted out to do temporary or permanent work in different workshops. Some workshops were established in the courthouse buildings. Craftsmen, such as shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, and saddle makers—about 450 men and women altogether—worked there. They worked to supply the needs of the German Army (making fur gloves, boots, and so on) and also made clothes and shoes ordered by local citizens. Another 250 men worked in the workshops in the military barracks on Słonim Street, and the remainder worked in town. The daily ration in the ghetto was poor: only 200 grams (7 ounces) of brown bread, a plate of soup, and an extra portion of soup for those who worked in the military barracks. Other Jews continued to work clearing the rubble in the town and were subjected to frequent beatings. Some ghetto inmates were able to supplement their meager rations by exchanging articles such as clothing or valuables with the local population for food.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans decided to clear the surrounding villages of Jews. On March 6, 1942, Gebietskommissar Traub ordered that every Jew found in a village or hamlet in the Gebiet should be arrested by the local police and brought to Nowogródek.[6] In May about 1,500 Jews were brought to Peresieka on foot from the ghetto in Korelicze and 1,500 from the shtetl of Lubcz. On May 20, 1,000 Jews arrived from the village of Derewna, then 1,200 more came from Iwieniec and some other smaller places, including Wsielub and Walewka. The ghetto became very overcrowded, now holding about 6,500 people.[7]

In June 1942, partisans attacked a German police unit returning from an Aktion to murder the Jews in the town of Naliboki.[8] Soon after this incident, which unsettled the Germans, the Judenrat received instructions to increase the size of the Jewish Police. Non-Jewish guards were also posted, and the police entered the ghetto to take the last few things the Jews had left. According to David Wolfowicz, the ghetto began to starve.[9]

Some Jews decided to escape to the forests and join the partisans. The Judenrat was held responsible for these escapes. Gebietskommissar Traub summoned the Judenrat for a meeting, only to arrest them and have them shot. He then appointed a new Judenrat, which included Chaim Aisikowicz, Moshe Mawochowicz, Leibel Pinczuk, Moshe Zamkower, Chaim Maslowote, and Daniel Ostaszinski. To prevent more youths from fleeing to the forest, the Jewish Police would catch them and take away their shoes. It was rumored that the authorities had promised the Judenrat and its staff 150 work certificates if they would help with a forthcoming Aktion. As these rumors spread, everybody in the ghetto started to organize hiding places and bunkers in preparation.[10]

On August 6, 1942, the Judenrat issued special permits to all the craftsmen and other people whose work was considered important by the German authorities. They were also moved to the location of their workshops at the courthouse in Kore-

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licze Street, which was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by the local police. This place was destined to become a Jewish forced labor camp.

On August 7, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators (including Estonian Police Battalion 36, stationed at that time in the town) took away most of the remaining inmates of the ghetto to the pits at Litowka, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside Nowogródek on the way to Wsielub, and shot them there. Of the 750 or so Jews then working at the military barracks, about 500 people, mainly men, were left alive. These people then occupied about 15 houses in the ghetto and lived there until the third massacre, which took place on February 4, 1943, again at the killing site in Litowka. At the newly constructed courthouse camp, German SS officers and Lithuanian soldiers selected all the children and searched for any in hiding. Then they loaded them onto a truck and took them to the pits at Litowka to be killed. In total some 5,500 Jews were killed at Litowka during the August 7 Aktion.[11]

At the courthouse, a high wooden wall was constructed all around the building, and a sentry box for the guards at the entrance gate and watchtowers at the corners were built. One watchtower had searchlights, and the area was lit at night. The labor camp was guarded day and night. Jack Kagan recalls that Belorussian guards were called "black crows" because they wore black uniforms. One could bribe them with gold to bring pistols, cartridges, food, and sometimes let a couple of inmates escape.

There was no water in the camp. Every day some people were sent out for water. It was the only contact with the outside world and the only chance to escape. The daily ration in the camp was 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread and a plate of soup made from potato peels. After the massacre in Litowka, the inmates of the courthouse building camp were given numbers to wear on their clothes. Some carpenters who worked at the workshops in the military barracks on Słonim Street were also moved to the labor camp. Tailors, turners, shoemakers, carpenters, and saddle makers worked for the needs of the German Army in the buildings situated right behind the fence.[12] Members of the Judenrat at that time included Burstein and Szabakowski. The German Wilhelm Reuter was the official within the Gebietskommissar's office responsible for the Jewish question (Judenreferent), and he directly supervised the labor camp. He was notorious for his antisemitic attitude: Berl Kagan described him as a "real murderer, who never hesitated to kill a man for the slightest reason."[13]

On May 7, 1943, another selection took place. The best workers were sent to the workshops, and the remainder, about 250 people, were rounded up by the police in the yard, beaten, and taken to the killing site at the end of Minsk Street, about 400 meters (1,312 feet) from the labor camp.

At the beginning of July 1943, 11 specialists from the labor camp were sent to the prison camp at Kołdyczewo near Baranowicze. German plans existed at that time to get rid of the remaining 250 Jews in Nowogródek, but these were deferred for fear of unsettling the more than 2,000 Jews in nearby Lida.[14] Meanwhile, the Nowogródek Jews set up an escape committee headed by Berl Joselewicz. The other members of the committee were former serviceman Josef Jarmowski, electrician Rakowski, and some other Jews who were not from Nowogródek. They decided to build a tunnel. The construction began in June, and on September 26, 1943, most of the inmates of the labor camp escaped through the tunnel, which was about 200 meters (656 feet) long, 70 centimeters (2.3 feet) wide, and about 70 centimeters (2.3 feet) high. Some elderly people who could not walk hid in the loft and stayed there for four more days until the guards abandoned the labor camp, taking away its equipment and raw materials. Only then did they leave, and some also managed to survive.

On the edge of Peresieka on the way to Litowka, there lived a "hitzler's" (dogcatcher's) family by the name of Bobrowski. They were Poles. Every prisoner of the ghetto knew that he or she could count on a plate of soup in this house, sleep one or two nights there, and learn about the location of the Bielskis' Jewish partisan detachment. Sometime in February 1943, the Germans learned about their contacts with the partisans. They killed the adults, burned the house, and sent the four children to the concentration camp at Gross-Rosen. Yad Vashem has recognized the entire family as Righteous Among the Nations.[15]

Another Pole, Baiński, and a Belorussian peasant, Konstantin Kozlovski, also helped many Jews during the war. Elena Ruvimovna Derchanskaia recalled that a Belorussian girl, Nadia Protasievich, whom she had known prior to the war from their anti-Polish underground political work together, helped her escape when she left the ghetto to construct a road near the village of Sielets.

There were also many cases where Poles and Belorussians turned in Jews to the Germans. A Pole, Belaus, who lived on an isolated farm a few kilometers from Nowogródek, reported to the Germans on a group of Jewish partisans who came to his farm for food. All of the partisans but one were killed. Later other partisans from the same detachment murdered him and his family in revenge.

From the autumn of 1941, a Jewish partisan detachment headed by Tuvia Bielski was active in the Nowogródek area. It cooperated closely with another Soviet partisan detachment, Oktiabrskii, which was headed by Victor Panchenkov. In April 1943, Bielski's detachment became part of the Kirov brigade. On June 19, 1943, the detachment was reorganized into two groups: a family detachment named after Kalinin (991 people) and a fighting detachment named after Ordzhonikidze (149 fighters). They lived through the German blockade called "Operation Hermann" in July 1943. In the fall they built a permanent camp called Jerusalem in the dense Naliboki Forest. The fighting detachment named after Ordzhonikidze participated in joint combat operations together with other detachments of the Kirov brigade.

About 1,200 Jews survived the war in the forests with the Bielski partisan detachment. They were mainly escapees from the ghettos in Nowogródek and Lida or the other towns of the Nowogródek district. When they returned to Nowogródek after the liberation, the openly antagonistic attitude of the non-Jewish population forced them to leave their hometown.

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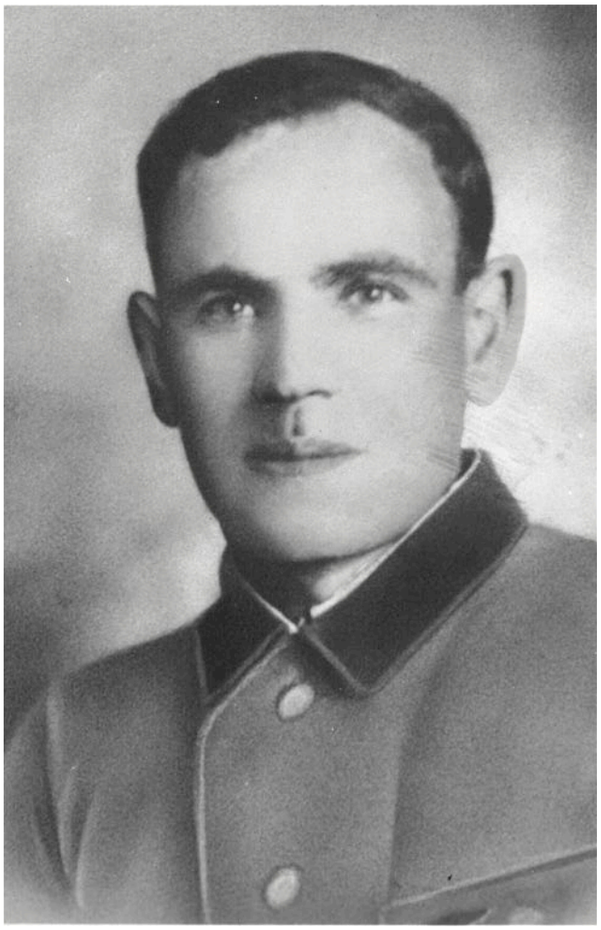

The four Bielski brothers (Tuvia, Alexander, Asael, and Aron) hailed from the village of Stankiewicze, near Nowogródek. Their partisan group was active in the Nalibocki Forest. On left, Alexander Bielski, photographed, 1945–1948; on right, Asael, photographed 1939–1941.
USHMM WS #12135 AND WS #90241, COURTESY OF MOSHE KAGANOVICH

The Gebietskommissar of Nowogródek, Wilhelm Traub, died in a prisoner-of-war camp. The West German authorities opened a criminal investigation against Johann Artmann; however, it was closed in Traunstein in 1966 due to insufficient evidence.

The memorial grave sites in Nowogródek at Skrydlevo and Litowka were renewed on the initiative and at the expense of a ghetto survivor from Nowogródek, Jack Kagan, during the 1990s.

SOURCES The yizkor book for Nowogródek, edited by Eliezer Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok* (Tel Aviv: Alexander Harkavy Navaredker Relief Committee in USA and Naveredker Committee in Israel, 1963), contains a number of brief accounts of the Nowogródek ghetto, mostly in Yiddish, in the section on "The Holocaust" (pp. 229–332). The joint memoir of Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), provides the most detailed recent account and includes a number of documents. On the Bielski partisans who operated in the Nowogródek area, see Nechama Tec, *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Some additional information on the Nowogródek ghetto can be found in *Pamiat'*: *Novogrudok District* (Minsk, 1996); and Michael Skakun, *On Burning Ground* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

Documentation concerning the Nowogródek ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/1905); BA-BL (R 58/697); BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR-Z 94e/59); GARF (7021-81-112); NARA (T-77, roll 1138); NARB (861-1-1); USHMM (RG-11.001M.01 and RG-22.002M); and YVA (especially O-3, M-1/E, M.31). The author also had access to the collection of wartime documents from the Museum of History and Regional Studies in Novogrudok.

Tamara Vershitskaya

NOTES

1. Kagan and Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust*, p. 40. The extensive narrative accounts prepared by these two cousins, together with the yizkor book for Nowogródek, provide the main basis for this entry. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok*, pp. 229–332, names eight individuals who formed the first "Jewish committee."

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2. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 24, 7021-81-112.
3. Museum of History and Regional Studies in Novogrudok, documents regarding the war; see also David Wolfowicz, 1948 testimony, YVA, M-1/E/2513.
4. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 94e/59 (Investigation of Johann Artmann), vol. 1, pp. 15–29, statement of Szaul Gorodinski, December 13, 1960.
5. Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 914–923, Decision of Landgericht Traunstein to close the case against Johann Artmann on January 11, 1966, due to insufficient evidence.
6. Museum of History and Regional Studies in Novogrudok, documents regarding the war.
7. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 94e/59 (Investigation of Johann Artmann), vol. 1, pp. 30–42, statement of Mordechaj Meirowicz, December 7, 1960.
8. BA-BL, R58/697, pp. 168–178, Report from the occupied eastern territories no. 9, June 26, 1942.
9. YVA, M-1/2513.
10. Ibid.; Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok*, p. 254.
11. Israel Yankelewicz, "Rosh Hashanah in the Woods," in K. Hillel, ed., *Lubats' ve-Delatits': Sefer Zikaron* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Lubch ve-Delatits' be-Yisrael, 1971), p. 389, gives the figure of 6,500 victims.
12. According to appendix no. I of War Diary No. 5, Armaments Detachment (Rüstungskommando) Minsk, there were some 350 Jews in Nowogródek conducting work on army contracts as of October 20, 1942; see NARA, T-77, roll 1138, fr. 996-97.
13. Kagan and Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust*, p. 55.
14. USHMM, RG-11.001M.01 (RGVA), reel 10, 500-1-769, file note on the expedition to Nowogródek on July 9, 1943, dated Baranowitsche, July 11, 1943.
15. See YVA collection M.31 for further details.

NOWY ŚWIERZEŃ

Pre-1939: Nowy Świerzeń, *village*, *Stołpce powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Novyi Sverzhen'*, *Stolbtsy raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowy Swierzen*, *Rayon Stolpce*, *Gebiet Baranowitschi*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Novy Sverzhen'*, *Stolbtsy raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Nowy Świerzeń is located about 72 kilometers (45 miles) southwest of Minsk. Under Polish rule in the 1920s and 1930s, the Jewish community in Nowy Świerzeń formed around one third of the total population, comprising about 100 families (ca. 700 people).

When German forces occupied the village on June 29, 1941, they shot several Jews and burned some houses for alleged acts of resistance. After a few days, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established in Stołpce, which introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to wear a yellow star on their chests, using any yellow-colored material they could find. Soldiers from the Stołpce Ortskommandantur also came to the village administration, under the control of a local Christian named Szkodko, and demanded that the Jews supply pillows, quilts, blankets, soap, sugar, and other items. After a short time, the Ortskommandant ordered that a Jewish Council (Judenrat) be formed in Nowy Świerzeń, which included the rabbi, Alpert, and the butcher, Grinwald. It was headed by a man from Warsaw named Tschwerchak. The Judenrat then took on the task of collecting the goods demanded by the Germans.[1]

From August 1941 until February 1942, the Ortskommandantur in Stołpce was staffed by soldiers of the 8th Company, 727th Infantry Regiment, under the command of Leutnant Göbel.[2] In early October 1941, two Germans came to the village administration and demanded 30 Jews. They then took 18 young women and 12 young men who were working at the limestone quarry and shot them in the cemetery together with the rabbi. One woman feinted and subsequently managed to escape unscathed from the grave.[3]

On October 24, 1941, the Germans ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Nowy Świerzeń on the following day. It comprised a few houses on Stołpce Alley from the marketplace up to the bridge. There was very little time for people to move in, and the property they had to leave behind was taken by the non-Jews of the village. About five or six families were forced to share one small house, resulting in terrible overcrowding. The Jews lived like this in the ghetto for only nine days.[4]

On November 4, 1941, men of the 8th Company, 727th Regiment, based in Stołpce, assisted by the local police, conducted a large-scale massacre of the Jews in the town of Turzec in the neighboring Mir Rayon. Once all the Jews had been assembled, more than 100 able-bodied men were selected for labor and loaded onto trucks, being told they would be taken to Nowy Świerzeń to work. When they were about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town, they began to hear the sound of shooting in Turzec behind them, as the remaining Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were shot.[5]

On arriving in Nowy Świerzeń, the Jews from Turzec were placed in a makeshift camp surrounded by barbed wire just outside the village. On November 4, the Ortskommandantur ordered the Jews of the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto to assemble on the market square the next morning, bringing with them all their valuable possessions. That night local Belorussians dug a large trench in the cemetery. On the morning of November 5, two Germans collected the valuables from the assembled Jews on the market square, and the men capable of work were sent to their workplaces. Then another 20 women were selected to cook for the laborers, and the remaining roughly 600 Jews, composed of the elderly, women, and children, were loaded onto trucks and then shot in the prepared ditch by members of the Wehrmacht, assisted by the local police.[6]

The Jews who had arrived from Turzec witnessed how the Germans and local police carried out the slaughter in Nowy Świerzeń, chasing any Jews who tried to escape and shooting them. According to Yehuda Gesik, all the roads and sidewalks were covered with the bodies of those who had been shot. At the cemetery, some of the Jews were only wounded and were buried alive. After the Aktion, the 100 Jewish laborers from Turzec were moved into the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto, which was now surrounded by a fence and barbed wire. They shared

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the accommodation with the 150 able-bodied local Jews who had been left alive. The Jews worked daily under armed guard in a gravel pit or in the sawmill.[7]

In the ghetto the Jews received rations of only a few sacks of flour and were expected to live off their reserves of hidden potatoes. One of the Turzec survivors, Mordechai Jalowsky, with the aid of Judenrat head Tschwerchak, was permitted by the Germans to return to Turzec, where he found some potatoes he had hidden and also recovered the clothes of his murdered children from a neighbor, which he could then barter for more food. After a time, Tschwerchak was summoned to the commandant's office in Stołpce and never returned. He was succeeded as head of the Judenrat by Kazik Reichman, a refugee from Łódź.[8]

By the spring of 1942, contact had been made with some Jews who had escaped from the Stołpce ghetto and formed a partisan unit, including a man named Posesorski. Some Jews in the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto made plans to obtain arms with the aim of escaping to the forests to join the partisans, although others, with families, feared the impact this would have on those who remained. In July 1942, the German police searched the ghetto and arrested seven Jews, who were tortured and shot after having been denounced by some of the Belorussian and Ukrainian guards. Around this time, additional Jews were brought into the ghetto from Stołpce, and it was converted into a forced labor camp run by the Luftwaffe (German Air Force). The forced labor camp now consisted of only seven or eight very overcrowded houses surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and observation towers.[9]

Up until late January 1943, around 250 Jews remained in the camp in Nowy Świerzeń. On Friday, January 29, 1943, with the assistance of the Jewish partisan Posesorski, who had maintained contacts with the ghetto, about 200 Jews fled from the camp. Shortly before, the Jews had learned that soon non-Jewish laborers would replace them, prompting them to act. In response to the mass escape, Gendarmerie Captain Max Eibner in Baranowicze, after consultation with the SD, ordered the shooting of all the Jews in the Stołpce ghetto and all but 12 specialists remaining at the Nowy Świerzeń sawmill. On January 31, the Gendarmerie in Stołpce shot 254 Jews, including at least 50 brought in from Nowy Świerzeń. Over the following days, Wehrmacht patrols continued to capture Jews found in the surrounding area, including some of those who had escaped from Nowy Świerzeń.[10]

When the group of Jews led by Posesorski linked up with the Zhukov otriad of Soviet partisans in the village of Janiszczi (known as "partisan Moscow"), the partisan commander ordered them to surrender all their valuables. The younger armed Jews were accepted into the unit, but those Jews who were unarmed were separated from the otriad a few weeks later, as the commander viewed them as only a burden.[11]

On August 8, 1943, the Gendarmerie post commander in Stołpce, Hauptwachtmeister Wilhelm Schultz, reported that the remaining 15 Jews at the Nowy Świerzeń sawmill had been shot that day, rendering the Stołpce Rayon "free of Jews (von Juden frei)."[12]

Thanks to the mass escape in January 1943, a number of Jews from the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto and labor camp managed to survive until the Germans were driven from the area in July 1944, most of them serving with various Soviet partisan units.

SOURCES Information on the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto and forced labor camp can be found in the following publications: Nahum Hinits, ed., *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no veha-'ayarot ha-semukhot Rubezevits*, *Derevno*, *Nalibok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Stoyebts be-Yisrael, 1964); Benyamin Vilitovski, *The Story of a Fighter*, *One of Those Who Survived* [in Hebrew] (Or Yehuda: Kavim, 2005); and Yehuda Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*, *1900–1944* [in Yiddish] (Tel Aviv: privately printed, 1958).

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Nowy Świerzeń during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/642); BA-L (202 AR-Z 16/67); GABO (995-1-4 and 7); GARF (7021-81-102 and 7021-148-316); NARB (845-1-6 and 389-1-4); Sta. Mü I (117 Js 2/72, Investigation against F. Göbel); Sta. Oldenburg (2 Js 138/68); USHMM (e.g., RG-53.002M); WCU (Investigation of Semion Serafinowicz); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3569, 3863, and 3876).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/3569, statement of Yisrael Celkowicz, February 24, 1972.
2. Sta. Mü I, 117 Js 2/72 (Investigation in the case of Friedrich Göbel), pp. 1228–1230, statement of Fritz Mühlemeyer on September 6, 1972. The investigation concluded that Göbel was deceased, and no other persons were indicted.
3. YVA, O-3/3569, statement of Yisrael Celkowicz, February 24, 1972; and AŻIH, 301/642, testimony of Monus Josilewicz.
4. YVA, O-3/3569, statement of Yisrael Celkowicz, February 24, 1972.
5. YVA, O-3/3876, statement of Mordechai Jalowski, February 1972; and Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*. Gesik dates the Aktion on November 3.
6. YVA, O-3/3876 and 3569; Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*; AŻIH, 301/642.
7. Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*; YVA, O-3/3876; AŻIH, 301/642; and WCU, Interrogation of Leonid Filipovich Botyak, April 21–22, 1947 (originals in AUKGBRBMO).
8. YVA, O-3/3569 and 3876.
9. Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*; and AŻIH, 301/642.
10. NARB, 389-1-4, pp. 22, 24, report of the Gend.-Hauptmannschaft in Baranowitsche to KdG Minsk, February 5, 1943, and report of Gend.-Postenführer in Stolpce, Schultz, to Gend.-Gebietsführer in Baranowitsche, February 5, 1943.
11. Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*; and AŻIH, 301/642.
12. NARB, 389-1-4, report of Gend.-Postenführer in Stolpce, Schultz, to Gend.-Gebietsführer in Baranowitsche, August 8, 1943, betrifft: Bereinigung des Kreises Stolpce von Juden.

OPSA

Pre-1939: Opsa, *village*, *Brasław powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland*; *1939–1941: Braslav raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian*

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SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Braslaw, *Gebiet Glebokie*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Oposa*, *Braslau raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Opsa is located about 180 kilometers (112 miles) north-northwest of Minsk. The Jewish population of Opsa in 1921 was 334 out of a total population of 714.

German forces arrived in Opsa at the end of June 1941. A few weeks after their arrival, the Germans established a Jewish Council, which was chaired by David Lewin. The council had to enforce anti-Jewish decrees, including the wearing of a yellow badge, the performance of forced labor, and the severance of relations with the non-Jewish population. Large contributions were also collected from the Jews throughout the region.[1] The German occupiers humiliated the Jews in Opsa, on one occasion forcing them to crawl and eat grass on the marketplace.[2]

In the fall of 1941, a German civil administration was established in the region. Opsa became part of Rayon Braslaw in Gebiet Glebokie. In Opsa a police force was recruited from the local residents, and this was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie. The name of only one Gendarme who served in Opsa is known—a man called Lundner.[3]

The Jews of nearby Jody were murdered in December 1941. Shortly after this, in early 1942, some of the Jews in Opsa were reportedly transferred to the towns of Widze and Brasław, where ghettos were established.[4] According to a German report dated July 1, 1942, however, there were still 300 Jews living in a small ghetto in Opsa on that date.[5]

On the eve of Rosh Hashanah (September 12, 1942), about 50 Jewish craftsmen from the ghetto in Opsa were transferred to Brasław, where a "second ghetto" was created, after the murder of most of the inhabitants of the first Brasław ghetto in June 1942. This transfer probably marked the end of the ghetto in Opsa. According to local Belarusian sources, those Jews unfit for work, women, children, and the elderly, were "liquidated" by the Germans and their collaborators in Opsa at the end of 1942.[6]

The second Brasław ghetto existed until March 19, 1943, when the Germans and the local police surrounded it and drove the Jews to the pits to murder them. On this occasion the Jews decided to fight. About 10 of them barricaded themselves in a house inside the ghetto and resisted with weapons, killing several of their foes before the Germans destroyed the house with grenades.[7] In the summer of 1943 Soviet partisan units, including a number of Jews, attacked the German garrison in Opsa.

At least one Jew from Opsa, Motke Rosenberg, is known to have survived, having been transferred from Widze on to the Wilno ghetto and from there to various camps.[8]

SOURCES A yizkor book dedicated to the Jews of Brasław, which includes information on the community of Opsa, was prepared by Ariel Machnes and Rinah Klinov, eds., *Emesh Sho'ah—: Yad li-kehilot: Gevidment di kehile's Braslav*, *Opsah*, *Okmenits*, *Dubinah*, *Zamosh*, *Zarats'*, *Ya'isi*, *Yod*, *Slobudkah*, *Plusi*, *Kislovshts'iznah*, *Rimshan* (Israel: Irgun yots'e Braslav veha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1986). It contains a number of survivor accounts in Hebrew, which are also extracted in English.

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community and the ghetto in Opsa can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAVO (2841-1-1); NARB (370-1-483); and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q-116; and M-1/E-1908).

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NOTES

1. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 35.
2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, p. 407.
4. 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), pp. 939–340; Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 37.
5. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15.
6. *Pamyats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995), p. 126; GAVO, 2841-1-1, p. 37. A memorial composed of a sculpture was erected at the cemetery in Opsa in 1983. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 169.
7. YVA, 1631/98-R and M-1/E-2129/1908. See also Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), p. 160; and Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, pp. 41–44.
8. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 41.

OSTROSHITSKII GORODOK

Pre-1941: Ostroshitskii Gorodok, *town*, *Minsk raion and oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostroschitskij Gorodok*, *Gebiet Minsk-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Astrashytski Haradok*, *Lahoisk raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Ostroshitskii Gorodok is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. According to the 1926 census, the population of Ostroshitskii Gorodok included 665 Jews (332 males and 333 females).[1] In the period 1927–1941, the number of Jews in the town decreased somewhat, primarily due to the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 27, 1941, five days after their invasion of the USSR. During this time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and the men who were eligible for military service either volunteered or were conscripted for the Red Army.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Ostroshitskii Gorodok was included in Gebiet Minsk-Land, where the Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, from early 1942, was Gendarmerie-Leutnant Karl Kalla.

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Soon after the town was occupied, the German military commandant ordered the Rayon authority to register the Jews. Jews were also required to perform various types of forced labor, including some work for the Organisation Todt (OT). In late August or early September 1941, the local authorities ordered the establishment of a "Jewish quarter" in the town. According one survivor, the ghetto was unfenced but was surrounded by barbed wire. The Jews were required to wear yellow circles on their clothing. Conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded, and the Jews had only potatoes to eat. Local Poles and Belorussians sometimes brought food to the ghetto for the Jews. As rumors spread of the massacres of Jews in other places, some Jews considered escape, but people did not know where to go, and joining the partisans was another unknown.[2]

In early October, the Germans organized a roundup of the Jews, ordering them all to report to the main square. Some Jews hid in cellars and managed to evade the roundup. Those that reported were then either shot nearby or transferred to the Minsk ghetto.[3] Very few Jews from the Ostroshitskii Gorodok ghetto survived until the end of the German occupation in July 1944.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ostroshitskii Gorodok can be found in the following archives: GAMINO (623-1-51); GARF (7021-87-6); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel7); VHF (# 37789); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda, Tom X* (Moscow, 1928), p. 214.
2. VHF, # 37789, testimony of Valentin Petrov, born 1924 in Minsk.
3. GAMINO, 623-1-51, p. 1.

PARAFJANÓW

Pre-1939: Parafjanów, town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Paraf'ianovo, Dokshitsy raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Parafianowo, Rayon Dokschizy, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Paraf'ianovo, Dokshytsy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Parafjanów lies 28 kilometers (17.5 miles) south-southeast of Głębokie. In early July 1941, when the German Army occupied the small town, about 265 Jews lived there.

In late 1941 or early 1942, the Germans established a ghetto based around two streets of the village, where most of the Jewish population had previously resided. The ghetto was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, and in this area two police guards were posted.[1] There was a pharmacy shop inside the ghetto, which also sold groceries. The Jews of the Parafjanów ghetto were mostly engaged in forced labor at the sawmill.[2]

There was a local police station in Parafjanów, which included the following members: Commander Antoni Maslowski, Bołesław Kniaziewicz, Piotr Czernianin, Hilary Makarewicz, Jan Janukowicz, Eugeniusz Buczak, and Eugeniusz Karwowski. The local policemen often spent time in the ghetto area, demanding valuables such as jewelry from the Jews, or just conversing with residents of the ghetto.

The liquidation of the Parafjanów ghetto probably took place on May 29 or May 30, 1942.[3] The Aktion was carried out by units of the Gendarmerie of Gebiet Glebokie, together with the local police from Parafjanów and Dokszyce; it was probably coordinated by Security Police/SD officers from Lepel' to the east. The Aktion started at about 9:00 A.M., when local policemen surrounded the ghetto. First, the German forces and their collaborators collected all the Jews from the ghetto and herded them into the fire station, having ordered them to take all of their valuables with them. The Jews had been informed that they would be resettled to a different location. It appears that Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought into the Parafjanów ghetto either beforehand or at the time of the Aktion. From the shed, where the Jews were held, local policemen escorted them to the killing site, which was about 200 meters (219 yards) outside the town.[4] Eyewitnesses recalled that the victims consisted of about 200 Jews, including the elderly, women, and children.[5] The pits used for the execution were at the same place where the town's garbage was usually dumped.

The following policemen took part in escorting the Jews to the execution site: Nikodem Derwinski, Stanisław Wojnicz, Eugeniusz Kut (later Gorecki), Józef Frąckiewicz, A. Kossak, and G. Makarewicz. With loaded rifles, these policemen were instructed to prevent any Jews from escaping. The Germans ordered the Jewish victims to deepen the pits into which they were subsequently shot. The corpses of the Jews were covered with lime fertilizer. All the property of the Jews was brought to a warehouse on the orders of the Germans.[6]

Some Jews managed to hide or escape from the ghetto and thereby avoided the initial roundup, in some cases receiving help from the local population. However, over the ensuing days the local police in Parafjanów played a particularly active role in searching for hidden Jews. In one instance, a member of the local police, Kniaziewicz, caught two Jewish men and two Jewish women and shot them personally at the same place where the other Jews were murdered. This perpetrator was well known for his cruelty towards the Jews. He volunteered to shoot these four people even though he was not actually on duty that day. The corpses of these victims were then buried by local workers.[7] Among those Jews captured by the German Gendarmerie in Parafjanów in June 1942 were Shlena Levitan and Rubin Gilbert.[8]

In 1962, a court in Warsaw sentenced Frąckiewicz and Wojnicz to 15 years, Gorecki (Kut) to 12 years, and Derwinski to 10 years in prison for crimes committed while serving in the Schutzmannschaft (local police) in the Dokszyce/Parafjanów area.[9] On October 19, 1962, Kniaziewicz was indicted in the Szczecin District Court for participating in the murder of Jews who had escaped from the Parafjanów ghetto. The verdict of the court in Poznań on March 30, 1950, sentenced him to the death penalty, but an appeal to the President of the

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People's Republic of Poland, Bolesław Bierut, reduced his punishment to 15 years in prison.[10]

SOURCES The most important sources for this article were the Polish trials against Nikodem Derwinski and other local policemen from the Dokszyce/Parafjanów area, which can be found in the following archives: IPN (SWWW 715-20 and SAP 49); IPN-Kos; and IPN-Szcz (Ko 29/89, pp. 27–28).

Additional information on events in Parafjanów can be found in the yizkor book edited by David Sztokfisz, *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov: Monument tsum ondenk fun tsvey Yidishe kehile's* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Dokshits-Parafyanov be-Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1970). The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports on the fate of the Jewish population of Parafjanów under German occupation are located in NARB (845-1-64, pp. 48–51) and in GARF (7021-92-214, p. 3).

Monika Tomkiewicz
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Protokót przesłuchania świadka (statement of) Wacława Kołotucka z dnia 18 lutego 1949 roku, akta Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Poznaniu, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Bolesławowi Kniaziewiczowi, sygn. I K 163/49, s. 9 nn.

2. Statement of Wacław Rzeczycki z dnia 21 lutego 1948 roku, akta Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Poznaniu, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Bolesławowi Kniaziewiczowi, sygn. I K 163/49, s. 11 nn.

3. BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65, vol. 1), pp. 130–132, Y. Shapiro statement, May 3, 1966—Shapiro states that the Jews of Parafjanów were shot first, on the same day that the Aktion started in Dokszyce (May 29 according to German documentation; see NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15); the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports (NARB, 845-1-64, pp. 48, 51, and GARF, 7021-92-214, p. 3) date the Aktion in Parafjanów on May 30, 1942.

4. Statement of Bolesław Wojnicz, Protokół rozprawy głównej z dnia 13 listopada 1962 roku, Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Nikodemowi Derwińskiemu i innym, sygn. IV K 160/62, s. 235 nn.

5. Statement of Bolesław Olszewski, Protokół rozprawy głównej z dnia 13 listopada 1962 roku, Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Nikodemowi Derwińskiemu i innym, sygn. IV K 160/62, s. 238 n.

6. Statement of Jadwiga Janukowicz z dnia 14 maja 1990, GKBZHwP IPN OK. w Koszalinie, o w Szczecinie, sygn. Ko 29/89, s. 27-28.

7. Statement of Bronisław Czernicznia z dnia 18 lutego 1949 roku, akta Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Poznaniu, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Bolesławowi Kniaziewiczowi, sygn. I K 163/49, s. 6 nn.

8. GARF, 7021-92-214, p. 3. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report also mentions a commandant of the post in Parafjanów, Benz, and a Meister (presumably Gendarmerie) Hick.

9. See IPN, SWWW 715-20. All of these sentences were reduced on appeal.

10. See IPN, SAP 49. He was released in 1959.

PLESHCHENITSY

Pre-1941: Pleshchenitsy, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Pleschtschenizy, Rayon center, Gebiet Borissow, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pleshchanitsy, Laboisk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pleshchenitsy is located some 60 kilometers (37 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. In 1939 there were 827 Jews in the town (22.5 percent).[1]

The German armed forces occupied Pleshchenitsy on June 28, 1941. With the approach of the front, Soviet officials and party workers fled the town, leaving behind the archive, state property, and also prisoners in the jail. The population plundered supplies from stores and warehouses. People then buried some of this food and other loot in their gardens to conceal it from the occupiers. The church and some of the houses were set on fire by artillery and aerial bombardments. Soon after the arrival of the Germans, the temporary military commandant appointed a town elder (mayor) and recruited a local police force (Ordnungsdienst). An Orthodox priest was permitted to hold a service in the former church, which had been converted into a cultural center after the Bolshevik Revolution. Under pain of death, Jews were forbidden to leave their homes without a yellow patch sewn onto their chest and back. The peasants were not allowed to trade with the Jews, converse with them, or even greet them.

An open ghetto was formed on the edge of Pleshchenitsy during the summer of 1941, when a number of Jews had to exchange houses with other local inhabitants. The ghetto was guarded but remained unfenced. It existed until mid-October 1941.[2] It consisted of about 50 houses, and approximately 1,000 people were settled into them.[3] The chairman of the Jewish community and the rabbi had to compile a list of the town's Jews, including infants, within two days, indicating the professions of the men. According to the testimony of Izrail' Segal, the aged rabbi of Pleshchenitsy died in his sleep from emotional stress. The entire town turned out for his funeral, which the Nazis did not impede.[4]

The ghetto in Pleshchenitsy had no real economic significance for the Germans. Therefore, the German authorities did not concern themselves with the poor sanitary conditions in the ghetto, or provide any food. The main goal was to concentrate the Jews and isolate them from the local population. The Jews were compelled to perform forced labor, including the most arduous forms of work, without argument or any remuneration. They were used to collect garbage, clear the town of rubble, and load and distribute fuel and cargo. All contacts with the local population were prohibited.

The murder of the Jews of Pleshchenitsy was conducted shortly after the establishment of a civil administration in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien on August 31, 1941. The first Aktion was carried out probably at the end of September 1941. At this time all of the Jews from the villages of Rayon Pleschtschenizy had been concentrated in the ghetto.[5] Then it was announced in the market square that the Jews

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would be resettled from Pleshchenitsy to Logoisk, where, it was said, a ghetto had been created for the entire region (volost'). People were ordered to take only their valuables and food provisions at first. Furniture, warm clothes, and kitchen utensils were to be left behind under the pretext that they would be delivered later. According to the mayor, it was planned to resettle the non-Jews from the countryside into Pleshchenitsy. The mayor personally selected the skilled workers—cobblers, tailors, carpenters, the stove maker, the blacksmith, tinsmith, the glazier, the barber, and photographer—who, along with their wives, initially were permitted to stay in Pleshchenitsy. He explained that when Russians and Belorussians had been trained for these professions, the Jews would be sent to join the others.

The "resettlement" was set for the next day. When dawn broke, carts were already standing in the market square. These were assigned to courtyards belonging to the Jews. The families loaded the carts with what they could. They carefully tied together their belongings and piled them in a corner of their homes. They were ordered not to lock the doors. Feeble elderly men and women, sick people, and pregnant women with little children were placed on the carts. The police recruited from among the local inhabitants helped and saw that order was maintained. When everything was ready, the Jews were allowed to say their farewells to those staying behind, and then they drove off.

Hirsh Aronchik, the photographer, and his wife Rakhel' categorically refused to part with their children and joined the train of carts. The Jews were taken along the forest roads to a farmstead near Palik Lake some 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Pleshchenitsy. The lists were checked, valuables and money were confiscated, and the Jews were led into a barn "for a rest." The policemen who had accompanied them locked the door of the barn, which had a straw roof, and set it on fire. Those who tried to get out were shot. After an hour, it was all over. The men who had driven the carts brought news of the tragedy to Pleshchenitsy when they returned to town.

On October 16, 1941, Lithuanian volunteers, subordinated to German Reserve Police Battalion 11, murdered the remaining Jewish skilled workers.[6] On this occasion, there were more than 50 victims from Pleshchenitsy.[7] A few younger Jews managed to flee the ghetto before its final liquidation and escape into the forest; 4 of these Jews were interviewed by the Shoah Foundation in the 1990s.[8]

According to Dovid (Shmuel) Kugel', of the more than 1,000 Jews held in the Pleshchenitsy ghetto, only a few individuals survived. After the first Aktion, Kugel' was among the skilled workers left behind. On October 16, he and four other ghetto inhabitants were returning from work outside town. Belorussians warned them with the words, "Run to the forest. The Gestapo is rounding up the remaining Jews." Shmuel and his comrades went to Dołhinów, where the local ghetto was still in existence.[9]

The Nazis collected the valuables, money, bonds, and precious metal items. Personal items and clothes were given to the local police. The SD and Wehrmacht took custody of the greater part of the Jews' belongings. According to a report by the mayor of Rayon Pleschtschenizy to the Gebietskommissar concerning the sources of income for the Rayon budget in 1941, 41,011 Reichsmark (RM) were received from the sale of Jewish property, including 15,855 RM from the sale of houses; 6,686 RM from cattle and household animals; and 18,470 RM from clothes, dishes, and furniture.[10] Some of the furniture and consumer goods were turned over to the German authorities. Twenty-five gold rubles were transferred to the Reich Credit Bank (Reichskreditenkasse) in Minsk in early December 1941. The civil administration sold off the remaining Jewish property on behalf of the Rayon.[11]

During the German occupation, 2,063 people were murdered in Pleshchenitsy and the surrounding Rayon, the majority of them Jews. The town was liberated on June 30, 1944, in the course of the Minsk Offensive. According to a recent census, 7,860 people lived in Pleshchenitsy in 1999.[12]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pleshchenitsy can be found in the following publications: Izrail' Segal, *Lesnoi skitalets* (Tel Aviv: Moriaa, 2001); David Mel'tser and Vladimir Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); *Pamiats'. Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia kniga, 1995); *Kholokost v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg. Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2002); and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* [trans. from Russian by John Glad and James S. Levine] (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 182–186.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Pleshchenitsy during the Holocaust can be found in the following archival files: IPN (SWP 101-105, Case of Napoleon Piasecki); NARB (651-1-1; 391-1-22; and 370-1-486); and VHF (# 6710, 11666, 45575, and 49188).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust. A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Yad Vashem, 1998), p. 232.

2. VHF, # 6710, testimony of Vladimir Kogan Savel'zon (born 1933), in 1995, # 49188, testimony of Vladimir Zavol'ner (born 1933), in 1997, # 45575, testimony of Raisa Solovera (born 1920), in 1998, and # 11666, testimony of Dora Vudina (born 1923), in 1996; V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii Belarusi, 1941–44* (Minsk, 2001), p. 51; and NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 42–43.

3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, pp. 182–183.

4. Segal, *Lesnoi skitalets*, p. 14.

5. NARB, 391-4-64, Investigation of the Rayon mayor of Pleshchenitsy by the Gendarmerie in Borisov. The Rayon mayor was accused of enriching himself personally from Jewish property and taking bribes from the craftsmen for tempo-

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rarily sparing their lives. The dating of the Aktion at the end of September is confirmed by the above document and also the testimony of Dovid Kugel in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, pp. 182–183, which states that the Jewish holiday of Sukkot (October 6, 1941) took place between the first and second Aktions.

6. NARB, 651-1-1, p. 10, and 391-4-64, which notes that the craftsmen were arrested and taken away by Lithuanian policemen.

7. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 44, gives the figure of 75 victims.

8. VHF, # 6710, 11666, 45575, and 49188.

9. Mel'tser, and Levin, *Chernaia kniga*, p. 276.

10. *Kholokost v Belorussii*, p. 55; NARB, 391-1-22, p. 25.

11. Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat'ko, and Natalia Redkozubova, eds., *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, 1998), p. 93; NARB, 370-1-486, p. 25.

12. *Entsyklopedyia historyi Belarusi u 6 tamakh* (Minsk, 1999), p. 513.

PLISSA

Pre-1939: Plissa, village, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Plisa, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Plissa, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Reichskommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Plissa, Hlybokae raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Plissa is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. By 1925, the Jewish population was 528 out of a total population of 1,358.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, German forces reached Plissa within two weeks. The frontline units did nothing against the Jews, but soon the temporary German military administration (Ortskommandantur) forced them to wear a yellow Star of David and mobilized them for forced labor, such as cleaning work, while the Belorussians remained exempt. The Ortskommandantur also ordered the recruitment of a police force made up of non-Jewish local residents. Among those recruited was a man named Dombrowski.[1]

On August 31, 1941, Plissa was incorporated into the newly formed Gebiet Glebokie in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Głębokie was Paul Hachmann. Initially, the Jews continued to live in their own homes, but in the fall of 1941, all the Jews were moved into a ghetto composed of several houses. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence.[2] At this time the local police was renamed the Schutzmannschaft, and responsibility for it was transferred from the German military to the German Gendarmerie (Order Police).

In the fall of 1941, the German civil administration demanded that Jews surrender any valuable items, as well as all livestock, as Jews were forbidden to own animals, including domestic cats. The Germans also punished severely any Jews who tried to contact local peasants to exchange their possessions for food.[3]

At Passover (April 2) 1942, the Jews in the ghetto managed to bake matzots with their last reserves of flour. At the end of April the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie reaffirmed that it was strictly forbidden for Jews to leave the ghetto unless they were going to work in columns. Even Jewish craftsmen issued with special passes by the German authorities in order to perform work tasks were not permitted to go more than 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the ghetto.[4]

On June 1, 1942, forces of Einsatzkommando 9 known as "Trupp Lepel," assisted by the German Gendarmerie of Gebiet Glebokie and local policemen, surrounded the ghetto. They rounded up the Jews, driving them out of their houses with sticks and gathering them on the market square. Then the Germans and their collaborators escorted the Jews in small groups to a large ditch that had been prepared about 800 meters (875 yards—half a mile) to the north of the village, where they shot them. The Gebietskommissar in Głębokie reported shortly afterwards that 419 Jews had been murdered in Plissa.[5]

According to one account, during the roundup a Jewish policeman named Yakov helped the Germans and their collaborators by pointing out the places where some Jews were hiding in the ghetto.[6] A few selected craftsmen and also some others who survived the Aktion were transferred, or subsequently made their way, into the ghetto in Głębokie, which was not finally liquidated until the summer of 1943.[7]

Jews from Plissa were among those who fled to the forests and joined the Soviet partisans to gain revenge. Boma Genikhovich tracked down and killed a German named Koppenberg who had murdered his father. Moshe Tsimkind successfully escaped from the Plissa ghetto, and after hiding with non-Jewish friends for three months, he subsequently served in the Soviet partisan unit of Lieutenant Medvedev.[8]

SOURCES Information regarding the ghetto in Plissa can be found in the following publications: Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 218–219; Gennadii Vinnitsa, *List'i Istorii* (Vitebsk, 1999), pp. 176–178; Vladimir Adamushko, et al., eds. *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Gosudarstvennyi komitet po arkhivam i deloproizdvodstvu Respubliki Belarus', 2001), p. 99; and G. Reykhman, "Moshe Tsimkind, beytarovets iz Plissy," *Evreiskii Kamerton*, March 5, 1999.

Documentation on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Plissa can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/202 AR 629/73); GARF (7021-92-219); GAVO (2841-1-1, p. 37); NARB (370-1-483); Sta. Hannover (2 Js 388/65); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 25); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33/1113, p. 5; and M-41/237).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL/202 AR 629/73, vol. 2, p. 410.
2. Vinnitsa, *List'i Istorii*, pp. 169–171.
3. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 218–219; USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 13, (GAVO, 2848-1-44), p. 11.
4. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)*

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(Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 234–235, Gebietskommissar in Głębokie to the head of the local administration in Miory and Brasław, April 30, 1942.

5. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15; *Memorial Book of Glebokie* [a translation into English of *Khurbn Glubok* by M. and Z. Rajak] (Buenos Aires: Glebokie Former Residents' Association in Argentina, 1994), p. 66. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report (GARF, 7021-92-219) recorded the murder of 325 peaceful Soviet citizens, including about 100 children between the ages of 2 and 10.

6. Reykhman, "Moshe Tsimkind, beytarovets iz Plissy."

7. Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 388/65, vol. 6, pp. 1038 ff., vol. 12, pp. 2520 ff., vol. 4, pp. 690 ff., and vol. 5, pp. 813 ff.; Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), p. 163.

8. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*, p. 165; Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 218–219.

POGOST

Pre-1941: Pogost, village, Starobin raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Starobin, Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pahost, Saligorsk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pogost is located 127 kilometers (79 miles) south of Minsk on the northern tip of the Soligorsk Reservoir. Before the war, there were around 500 Jews living in the village. After the Soviet annexation of eastern Poland in the fall of 1939, a number of Jewish refugees arrived in Pogost from Poland. They warned people about the Germans' treatment of the Jews, but few people paid attention to their stories.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village at the end of June 1941. Only a few Jews managed to flee or were conscripted into the Red Army. Some were unable to leave, as they lacked any means of transport.[1]

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village; authority was transferred to a German civilian administration in September 1941. Pogost was then incorporated into Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

Also during the summer, German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Pogost. A Judenrat was formed, Jews had to perform heavy labor, and they were forbidden to leave the limits of the village. On July 31, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 conducted the first Aktion in Pogost. A German report mentions that 38 Jews were shot for their alleged support of the partisans, but the number of Jews killed may have been twice this number, or possibly higher.[2]

Around the time of this Aktion, in late July 1941, the new "mayor" of Pogost, Grigorii Fedorovich Bel'ko, who had been chairman of the kolkhoz in Pogost, took the initiative in organizing a ghetto for the Jews in the former priests' residences on Tserkovnaia (Church) Street (other sources name it as Naberezhnaia Street), which were surrounded with barbed wire. The ghetto inmates were composed mainly of women, children, and elderly persons. Around five families were forced to share each room, having only one bed per family. Adult Jews had to wear white armbands on their left arms bearing the image of the Star of David. The Jews received nothing to eat but potatoes.[3]

On August 24, 1941, German SS cavalrymen conducted a second Aktion in Pogost. Local police informed the Jews that a detachment of Germans would be arriving from Slutsk, and instructions were issued for pits to be dug near the buildings of the kolkhoz. Then at 5:00 A.M. on the day of the Aktion, the Jews were ordered to assemble at a large barn on the kolkhoz. From here the Jews were escorted to the pits and then lined up facing the Germans, who were armed with submachine guns, rifles, and grenade throwers. The shooting lasted more than an hour, and the account of one German cavalryman indicates that hand grenades were thrown into the crowd, and the soldiers continued shooting until there was no further movement. Some Jews hid in concealed spaces within the ghetto, and at least two Jews, Klara Fediuk and Sarah Shapiro, managed to escape on the way to or at the killing site.[4] On this day several hundred Jews were shot by men of the 4th Squadron of the 1st SS-Cavalry Regiment and the 5th Squadron of the 2nd Regiment.[5] Any gold teeth were removed from the corpses before the pit was covered with earth.

This second Aktion probably represented the liquidation of the ghetto, although a few Jews may have been killed over the following weeks. According to Soviet sources, more than 440 Jews were counted among those who were killed by the Germans during the occupation of Pogost in World War II.[6] Of the few Jews who managed to escape from the ghetto before or during the Aktion in late August, most survived by joining the Soviet partisans operating in the area.

When Chaim Kuntser returned to Pogost as a soldier in the Red Army, shortly after the town's liberation in the summer of 1944, he found that non-Jewish neighbors had taken over Jewish property without any legal proceedings. He managed to reclaim his mother's cow and at gunpoint obtained some compensation for his family's stable.[7]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Pogost can be found in the following publication: Chaim Kuntser, "Pohost," in N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor-Book Committee, 1962), pp. 469–471.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; BA-MA (RS 4/430 and 936); GARF (7021-82-7); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 24); and VHF (# 37017).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 37017, testimony of Klara Fediuk (née Podlipskaia).

2. The report of the Einsatzgruppe B on activities from the second half of July 1941 to the first half of August 1941: Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR (Berlin), Zentralarchiv, RHE

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4/85 SU, vol. 7, p. 182, gives the figure of 38 Jews shot. *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, p. 471, however, states that 80 Jews and 5 non-Jews were murdered as a reprisal for the murder of a priest by the partisans for allegedly cooperating with the Germans. The smaller of the two marked graves in the village commemorates 180 people buried there.

3. VHF, # 37017, testimony of Klara Fediuk (née Podlipskaia); *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, p. 471; and GARF, 7021-82-7, pp. 10–11.

4. VHF, # 37017, testimony of Klara Fediuk (née Podlipskaia), dates the Aktion on August 24, 1941; *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, p. 470; and Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939-1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), pp. 196–197.

5. Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah*, pp. 196–197. A former member of the 5th Squadron, 2nd Regiment, recalled that over 1,000 Jewish men, women, and children were killed in the Aktion, but this figure is probably too high. GARF, 7021-82-7, p. 10, indicates that more than 440 people were shot on this occasion.

6. GARF, 7021-82-7, pp. 5 (and reverse side), 32–35. In total, 289 murdered Jews are listed by name.

7. *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, p. 470.

POHOST ZAHORODZKI (AKA POHOST ZAHORODNY)

Pre-1939: Pohost Zahorodzki, village, Pińsk powiat, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pogost-Zagorodskii, Pinsk raion and oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Pohost-Zahorodzki, Rayon Lohiszyn, Gebiet Hansewitschi, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pahost Zaharodzki, Pinsk raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pohost Zahorodzki is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) north-northeast of Pinsk. On the eve of World War II, the village had probably about 1,000 Jews.

The Germans arrived in the middle of July 1941. They established a police station in the Denenberg house and they hanged the owner of the property. Some of the local citizens enlisted in the police force. Shwartz from Pińsk was appointed the commander, Jakov Samokhowecz was appointed the village elder (starosta), and Semen Voronovskii was appointed his deputy.

In the first days of the occupation, the Jews were collected in the square near the church and were forced to watch as Moishe Pasternak, who had quarreled with the son of policeman Volodia Solonevich, was beaten. The Jews were assigned to arduous labor tasks such as chopping wood, cleaning houses, and cleaning the streets. The policemen and their families could enter Jewish houses and take what they wanted with impunity.[1]

The first Aktion against the Jews was carried out by a squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment on August 10, 1941. On the pretext of an urgent work assignment, the Germans assembled about 150 Jewish men and youths over the age of 12. They then escorted them to a natural ditch near Malaia Dolina, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Pohost. The men were led into the grave next to the Kamen' Road, where the German cavalrymen shot them. Among the victims were Lazer Lutsky, the head of the Jewish organization in Pohost Zahorodzki, Rabbi Leon Shalom, and the mohel (ritual circumciser) Moishe-Meyer Bortnik. Some of the others managed to flee to the forest.[2]

The Germans established a ghetto in Pohost Zahorodzki in November 1941. It was surrounded by barbed wire and was guarded. It was located on a few blocks of the main street and was directly opposite the railroad station. Along with the families from Pohost, the ghetto also held families from the shtetl of Łunin—in total, some 200 Jews.[3] The ghetto prisoners were ordered to sew yellow markings on their clothing, and they were forbidden to communicate with the Belorussians, Russians, and Poles. One building of the Soviet judicial hall was decorated with an antisemitic banner. Posters and leaflets discussed the worldwide Jewish conspiracy. A Polish Jew named Grinbaum (Grinboim) was appointed as elder of the ghetto, and his helpers were Meyer and Yankel Rabinovich from Pohost. Later, Lazar Lutsky became the elder of the ghetto. The relationship between neighbors changed: friends and acquaintances turned away from the Jews.[4]

Skilled workers—carpenters, blacksmiths, and mechanics—worked in accordance with the wishes of the Germans and local citizens. Other Jews had to transport trees and sand, repair railroads, clear mounds, and pick up trash. Those who worked outside the ghetto tried to smuggle in some food for the small children past the local police guards.

Shortly after the establishment of the ghetto, the Germans began demanding money ("contributions") from the Jews: money, jewelry, and even warm clothing and gold teeth. They only had one meal a day in the ghetto. Before returning from work, the inmates were given 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread and a bowl of watery soup (*balanda*). As starvation approached, Jews started exchanging what little clothing remained from the police raids for food.[5]

Almost every night, the Jewish houses were searched, and the women were taken to the police station and raped. When Peisach Proshitzkiy (16 years old) and Mordechai Shifman (25 years old) became sick with typhus, the Germans murdered them. Then in March 1942, all the Jewish men over the age of 14 (about 120 of them) were rounded up and taken to the labor camp in Hancewicze, some 60 kilometers (37 miles) away.[6] There they worked in the forest, built the road to Baranowicze, and performed other labor tasks. Some of these men escaped to the forest and joined partisan units after hearing in August 1942 of the liquidation of the ghettos in Pohost Zahorodzki and Lenino. Others were killed trying to escape, while the remaining inmates of the camp, and those who returned, were murdered by the Germans shortly after the mass escape.[7]

On the morning of August 15, 1942, a large German force arrived in Pohost Zahorodzki to liquidate the ghetto. The Aktion was organized by the Security Police outpost (KdS) in Hancewicze (from mid-August 1942 under the direction

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of Alfred Renndorfer), assisted by Latvian auxiliaries of the Security Police, as well as Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft) units from throughout Gebiet Hansewitsche.[8] The local Jews were told that a few partisans had infiltrated the ghetto and were trying to hide. All the ghetto inmates were ordered to leave their houses, taking only their children with them. As the Jews were frequently ordered to appear for roll calls in the ghetto, they did not expect that this was the end, although some Jews went into hiding in prepared bunkers. Then the Nazis stated that those who wanted to buy back their lives could do so in exchange for clothing, money, gold, and valuables. After the previous robberies, however, no one had anything left.[9]

The prisoners were kept in the square for 24 hours, closely guarded by local policemen. The Jews were neither fed nor given any water. The children cried from hunger. During this time, local policemen carefully searched the houses for the missing Jews. Then the gates of the ghetto were opened, and a large truck appeared. The Germans and their collaborators loaded people onto the truck. Those who did not fit inside the truck were ordered to run behind it. Those who fell while following the vehicle were shot on the spot. Semen Bobrov (who was about 25 or 30 years of age) jumped off the truck and hid under a bridge, but he was later found and killed.

The convoy was stopped near the suburbs of Pohost Zahorodzki between the flour mill and the lumber mill. The prisoners were undressed and taken to the top of the hill in groups. Below the hill was a ditch. Four SS men carried out the mass shooting. Not everyone was killed; some of the wounded, including children, crawled out of the grave. The Germans came back and finished them off. In total, about 600 people, men, women, children, and the elderly, were killed on that day. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the blood flowed like a river out of the ground in places.

Only three people are known to have survived the mass killing. Under the cover of darkness, the wounded Yudit Tzippershtein, Feigel Lutsky, and Rivka (Yoselewska) Goldman crawled out from beneath the dead bodies and escaped into the forest.[10]

Two days after the mass shooting on August 16, 1941, someone notified the authorities that 27 Jews, mainly youths and children, were hiding in a secret ditch in Pasternakov. They were surrounded and shot in the garden of Nikolai Misherevitza.

The Jews who succeeded in running away from the Hancewicze labor camp banded together, then split up into smaller groups scattered in the forests around the villages of Bogdanovka and Borky. There they hunkered down and waited for winter. Not everyone was lucky. Yankel Tzipershtein died in the swamp from a heart attack. The local police found Lazari Lutsky hiding in the forest and burned him to death. They also caught Avraham Tzipershtein, tied him to a horse, and dragged him until he died.[11]

After the destruction of the Jews, the Germans settled Russians from the Smolensk oblast' into the former Jewish houses in Pohost Zahorodzki. By the spring of 1943, the surviving Pohost Zahorodzki Jews hiding in the forest had created a partisan force called "Lazar Kaganovich," which was augmented by Jews from Baranowicze. The Jews from Pohost took part in attacks on the German garrisons in Telechany, Chotin, and Malkowicz.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jews of Pohost Zahorodzki can be found in the following publications: Vera Laska, ed., *Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust: The Voices of Eyewitnesses* (London, 1983), pp. 265–270; Itshak Iuzhuk and Reiven Iuzhuk, *Darovano vyzhit'. Gody i sud'by* (Pinsk, 2002); *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) Lfd. Nr. 617, pp. 17–18; *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992), pp. 514–518.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Pohost Zahorodzki can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR 932/65); GARF (7021-90-29); NARB (510-1-103, pp. 72–73); YVA; and the personal archive of the author (Leonid Smilovitsky).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. S. Shapiro, *Brat'ia "Aviv"* (Minsk), No. 9–10 (2001), p. 2.
2. NARB, 510-1-103, pp. 72–73; GARF, 7021-90-29, p. 24; *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, pp. 514–515, testimony of Rivka Yoselewska in Session No. 30.
3. In 1921 there were 51 Jews residing in Łunin.
4. V. Ilenkov, "Ego skrizhali," *Pinskii vestnik*, June 2, 1999.
5. "Ia vypolnil svoi dolg," *Polesskaia pravda*, April 17, 1996.
6. Author's personal archive, letter from Itshak Iuzhuk in Rishon-le-Zion, December 24, 1999, published in Leonid Smilovitsky, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 220–222; *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii. Zhitkovichskii raion* (Minsk, 1994), pp. 361–362.
7. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR 932/65, vol. 1, testimony of Jacob Epstein from Lenin on February 24, 1966.
8. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 617, pp. 17–18. The German court dates the Aktion somewhat later in September or October. The date of mid-August 1942 is from *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, p. 515.
9. Laska, *Women in the Resistance*, pp. 265–270, testimony of R. Yoselewska on May 8, 1961, at the Eichmann Trial.
10. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, pp. 514–518, testimony of R. Yoselewska.
11. Iuzhuk and Iuzhuk, *Darovano vyzhit'*, p. 9.

POŁONKA

Pre-1939: Połonka, village, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Polonka, Novaia Mysh' raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Polonka, Rayon Nowa Mysch, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Polonka, Baranovichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

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Połonka is located about 20 kilometers (12 miles) west of Baranowicze. According to one source, there were 480 Jews living in the village on the eve of the German invasion.[1]

The Germans occupied Połonka at the end of June 1941. Soon after their arrival, the German military administration recruited an auxiliary police force from local inhabitants. The area initially came under German military administration, but in September 1941 a civil administration was established, which became fully staffed over the ensuing months. Połonka was located in Rayon Nowa Mysch, Gebiet Baranowitsche, where the Gebietskommissar was Rudolf Werner.

According to a census conducted for the German authorities, dated July 12, 1941, there were 257 Poles, 238 Jews, and 105 Belorussians living in Połonka.[2] In the summer of 1941, German soldiers raided Jewish homes, helping themselves to livestock and other property. Jews were forbidden to leave the village or conduct commerce with non-Jews. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by a man named Rozen, which organized forced labor and the collection of valuables to be surrendered to the Germans. Jewish men and women over the age of 14 had to perform various physical labor tasks, which included cleaning toilets as well as work in agriculture in the surrounding villages. On one occasion a German SS or police unit arrived and murdered a number of Jews, allegedly for their support of the Communist regime. When the Jewish Council was ordered to send 17 men to dig the graves for these victims, these men were also murdered.[3]

In the fall of 1941, a small squad of German Gendarmerie formed a Rayon post in Nowa Mysz, which also took over responsibility for the local Belorussian police based in Połonka. The Gendarmerie and local police in Połonka conducted a series of Aktions against the Jews and other groups over the ensuing months. During the winter and spring they arrested and shot about 20 former Soviet soldiers who were living and working on local farms in the surrounding villages and also hanged three suspected partisans in the village.[4]

At some time during 1941 or in early 1942, the Jewish families from the surrounding settlements (about 20 people) were rounded up by the local police and brought to Połonka, where a form of open ghetto existed.[5] The survivor Hirsz Lachozwianski recalled that no special ghetto was created but that the Jews were unable to move about freely. He worked at the turpentine factory a few kilometers outside the village near the Połonka railway station. While he was working there together with several other Połonka Jews, they were kept behind a barbed-wire fence.[6]

In early 1942, local policemen from Połonka arrested a Jewish woman, Mrs. Winnicka, and her two children, who were suspected of having escaped from the ghetto in Baranowicze. They escorted the 3 Jews to a ditch on the edge of the village and shot them there. Mrs. Winnicka was only wounded and escaped later from the grave, but the local policeman Jan Rudy recaptured her and shot her. Several other Jews were shot on this day. According to the Jewish survivor Israel Czernichowski, in the spring of 1942 the Germans conducted a campaign against all the elderly Jews in the village, rounding them up and shooting them with the participation of the local police.[7] Reportedly about 80 of the 300 or so Jews in the ghetto were shot just outside the village on April 18, 1942, including the cantor and the ritual slaughterer.[8]

In June 1942, local farmers began preparing a large hole just outside the village, allegedly as a military entrenchment. Understanding what this meant, the young people called on the Judenrat to organize an escape to the forests. However, others feared for the fate of those who would have to be left behind if such an escape took place, as the Germans threatened to kill everybody if even one person was missing. The shooting of the remaining Jews in Połonka took place on August 12, 1942.[9]

Gendarmerie Captain Max Eibner, based in Baranowicze, reported in late August 1942: "in order to prevent further escapes I have eliminated the Jews still present in Polonka and Mir. A total of 719 Jews have been shot." A Jew armed with a knife wounded one local policeman (Schutzmann) during the Aktion in Połonka. Given the figures known for the number of Jews murdered in Mir, it appears that about 150 Jews were shot in Połonka on August 12, 1942.[10] At the time of the shooting of the Jews, Józef Legun was chief of the local police in Połonka. The mass shooting took place early in the morning. Among the Jews who were shot were Dr. Komulinksi and the teacher Rozen, both refugees from western Poland. Policemen from the other local police stations in Rayon Nowa Mysch were also present during the Aktion.[11] After the Aktion the local police searched the former Jewish houses for any Jews hiding there. They continued to shoot any escaped Jews they encountered in the surrounding area over the ensuing months.[12]

The Red Army liberated the area in the summer of 1944. Only about 10 Jews from Połonka are known to have survived the occupation. Several local policemen were convicted in Poland and the Soviet Union after the war for their participation in the shooting of Jews and other crimes, including Jan Rudy, Bołeslaus Bakacz, and also Jan Kojpasz, who was sentenced to death by a Soviet Military Tribunal in Baranovichi in December 1950.[13] A number of others, however, escaped to the West at the end of the war and avoided punishment.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the fate of the Jewish community in Połonka can be found in the following archives: GABO (995-1-4 and 7); GARF; IPN (e.g., SWB 231 and 253; and SWSz 69-78); NARB; USHMM (RG-68, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 29); WCU; and YVA (e.g., O-33/1791; and M-1/E/806).

There is also a brief article on Połonka's Jewish community in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), p. 520.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/806, testimony of Hirsz Lachozwianski, born 1895.

2. USHMM, RG-68, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 29 (YVA M-41/1015); GABO, 685-1-12, p. 2.

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3. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:520, and YVA, M-1/E/806.

4. IPN, SWB 253, Interrogation of Franciszek Borsukiewicz, February 21, 1963.

5. Ibid.; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:520, and *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:267. Both use the term *ghetto* in reference to Połonka but do not give evidence in support of this.

6. YVA, M-1/E/806.

7. IPN, SWB 231 (Case against Wincenty Andrukiewicz), pp. 24–30, statement of Israel J. Czernichowski on August 23, 1944; and YVA, M-1/E/806.

8. 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), p. 1012; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:520.

9. Ibid.; and YVA, M-1/E/806.

10. GABO, 995-1-7, pp. 211–212, Hein Report on August 20, 1942, and p. 237, Report of Gendarmerie Captain Eibner, August 26, 1942; YVA, M-1/E/806. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 6:267, gives the figure of 140 Jews shot in August 1942.

11. IPN, SWSz 69-78, record of examination of the witness Pawel Charkiewicz, November 18, 1969, in the case of Wacław Woronko.

12. GABO, 995-1-4, p. 456, Gendarmerie Report, December 5, 1942

13. IPN, SWB 231, pp. 103–104, Verdict in the case of Jan Kojpasz, December 21, 1950.

POSTAWY

Pre-1939: Postawy (Yiddish: Postav), town and powiat center, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Postavy, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Postawy, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pastavy, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

The town of Postawy lies in the northwest of Belorussia near the Lithuanian border, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1941, the population was about 5,000, including some 2,500 Jews.[1]

German forces entered Postawy on June 30, 1941; the ghetto was established in July 1941. The Germans forced the Jews to move into an area surrounded by a wooden fence with barbed wire between Basiliana, Kolejowa, and Braslava Streets.[2]

In the same month, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Judenrat. The dentist, Dr. Rubinstein, was appointed as its chairman. Gendel Hirsch, Simon Lubotaki, and Michael Taibes were also members.

During the following months, Jews from the villages around Postawy were brought into the ghetto, increasing its population. Some of these people had fled from mass shootings conducted in other parts of Gebiet Glebokie. Survivors estimate the number of people forced to live in the ghetto at around 3,000.[3] However, the office of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie reported to the Generalkommissar on July 1, 1942, that there were 848 Jews in the Postawy ghetto.[4] In view of the high estimates of the number of victims in the Postawy ghetto, some larger groups of Jews probably arrived in Postawy before November 1942.

Group portrait of students and teachers at the Hebrew Tarbut school in Postawy, with their bicycles, ca. May 1930.
USHMM WS #28974, COURTESY OF FANYA SZUSTER PORTNOY

The ghetto was guarded by a small squad (10 or 12 men) subordinated to the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei), which was commanded by an officer whose name survivors remember to have been William. An outpost of the German Gendarmerie was based in Postawy as well.[5] Its commanding officer was a man named Schmidt. After the war, witnesses remembered the names of other policemen appointed to Postawy as Adam, Kezik, and König.[6] In guarding the ghetto, these German units were supported by local auxiliary policemen (Schutzmannschaften) from either Lithuania, Latvia, or Belorussia. The leaders of these auxiliaries were called Alexander I and Alexander II by the inmates, who were especially afraid of the former, as he used to shoot people at random while on patrol.[7] In addition to the Sicherheitspolizei and the Gendarmerie, there was a fortified base of the Wehrmacht in Postawy.[8] In the summer of 1942 the Polizeischule für Reit- und Fahrwesen Ostland (Police Riding and Driving School) was established in the former Polish Lancer barracks near the town.[9] Thus, the German presence in this small town was quite considerable.

Every morning, the inmates left the ghetto through its only gate to perform forced labor. Besides cutting peat, male prisoners had to carry out construction work at the railway station, on the sewage system, or at German military or police facilities. Women functioned as kitchen or domestic servants for the Germans.[10] During work hours, the guards beat, tortured, and occasionally even killed Jews.[11]

Each day, Jewish craftsmen were brought to workshops in the town's Christian quarters. If the non-Jewish inhabitants had a document signed by the Sicherheitspolizei, they could take the Jews as forced laborers, paying the German authori-

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ties for the work. Due to this arrangement, the inmates had some contact with the world outside the ghetto. Helpful Belorussians established contact with a group of Postawy Jews who had been hiding in the forests from early in the occupation. Their leader was Michael Friedman, whose parents were among the victims shot in July 1941. Through this channel, the Jewish upholsterer Zalman Rochman was informed of the imminent destruction of the ghetto in November 1942. Together with his family and some other inmates—about 60 persons altogether—he fled the ghetto.[12]

From the beginning of the occupation, the Gendarmes in Postawy escorted groups of people outside of town into the surrounding forests and shot them, for example, in early 1942, 30 women and 25 men were shot in the Kaschizy wood, 5 kilometers (about 3 miles) outside the town. The victims had been brought there from other Rayons. Ghetto inmates were also frequently killed arbitrarily in Postawy.[13]

Between November 19 and 26, 1942, the Germans launched Operation Nuremberg in the region of Głębokie-Lepel'-Borisov. It was the first operation against partisans carried out by Kampfgruppe von Gottberg.[14] The inmates of the Postawy ghetto were murdered by von Gottberg's troops between November 23 and 25, 1942. It was one of the first Aktions intended to "liquidate the peripheral ghettos," which meant the systematic extermination of the Jewish population in the ghettos on the edges of the Belorussian forests and swamps, conducted under the pretext of fighting partisans.[15] After the war, the commanding officer of the Police Riding and Driving School, Oberstleutnant Albrecht, stated that the first partisan activities around Postawy did not start before 1943.[16] This information reveals the true objective of Operation Nuremberg, which was the mass slaughter of innocent civilians.

It is difficult to determine exactly which units were responsible for the extermination of the Jews in Postawy. The regimental headquarters of Polizeiregiment 14 were definitely located in Postawy on November 23.[17] Elements of Sicherungsgruppe Barkholt, probably Ukrainian auxiliaries commanded by Oberstleutnant Barkholt himself, were at least responsible for cordoning off the ghetto. The following day, this task was performed by a Baltic squadron of the Police Riding and Driving School.[18] The SD unit in charge of the liquidation was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Artur Wilke, an expert in the conduct of antipartisan warfare subordinated to the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei (KdS) in Minsk.[19]

The liquidation of the Postawy ghetto took several days. Groups of Jews were taken to the shooting sites on Lenin Street and to a large pit next to the railway. German policemen along with Ukrainian auxiliaries searched for those in hiding several times and set fire to many buildings. Only very few people managed to escape from this inferno.[20]

It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of victims, as the population of the Postawy ghetto at the time of its liquidation is not known precisely. On November 26, 1942, Kampfgruppe von Gottberg reported that 1,826 Jews had been shot during Operation Nuremberg,[21] not including "the bandits and Jews burned in buildings and bunkers."[22] According to one survivor, there were about 1,500 Jews in the ghetto at the time of the ghetto liquidation Aktion.[23] Given the disparities in the available sources, it appears as if somewhere between 1,000 and 4,000 Jews were murdered in Postawy in November 1942.[24]

By the time the Postawy area was liberated by the Red Army in 1944, many of the Jews who had managed to escape the massacre had died of the hardships and dangers of life in the forests.

One of the first trials to deal with the Postawy massacre took place near Minsk shortly after the war. The ghetto guard Alexander I was charged by the Soviet authorities.[25] A Polish member of the local police was also sentenced to 10 years in prison in Poland for his participation in the liquidation of the ghetto.[26] Although during the 1960s, the German courts conducted many investigations into Nazi mass murders in Belorussia, the public prosecutors were not able to identify all those responsible for the liquidation of the Postawy ghetto.[27] The most important investigation was conducted against members of the Police Riding and Driving School, accused of having participated in the mass shootings in Postawy.[28] The investigation was closed without any result on April 1, 1969.

SOURCES There are two short articles dealing with the Postawy ghetto: Daniel Schmidt, "'Der grosse Weltenbrand 1939–1945.' Erfahrungswelt und Alltag eines Polizeibeamten im Nationalsozialismus," in Alfons Kenkmann and Christoph Spieker, eds., *Im Auftrag. Polizei, Verwaltung und Verantwortung* (Essen: Klartext, 2001); and Moritz Felix Lück, "Partisanenbekämpfung durch SS und Polizei in Weissruthenien 1943: Die Kampfgruppe von Gottberg," also in Kenkmann and Spieker.

The main archival source on the Postawy ghetto is the trial file of Walter Jucknies et al. (Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 21/64). The records are held in Sta. Mü and selected copies are also in BA-L (B 162/3888 [202 AR-Z 42/61]), together with some Soviet investigation files. Additional survivor testimonies can be found in VHF (# 6428 and 9920); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/496; O-3/3493, 3496, and 3498 [Shmuel Zaslavsky]).

Daniel Schmidt

NOTES

1. Instruction of Sta. Dortmund, April 1, 1969, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

2. Testimony of Raja E., June 16, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64; according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report (NARB, 845-1-63, p. 45), the ghetto was not established until February 1942. It enclosed three streets in the northern part of town.

3. Testimony of Boris Jizhak Barkan, June 18, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

4. NARB, Minsk 370-1-483. In view of the high estimates of the number of victims in the Postawy ghetto, some larger groups of Jews probably arrived in Postawy before November 1942.

5. Testimonies of Zalman Rochman, June 17, 1963, Boris Jizhak Barkan, June 17, 1963, Walter Jucknies, November 3,

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1965, Kurt Littau, November 5, 1964, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64. The public prosecutor supposed that the Sipo officer might have been Oskar Wiljam, who was investigated in another trial (BA-L, 5 AR-Z 14/58).

6. BA-L, Findbuch UdSSR, Heft 5, pp. 190–194.

7. Testimonies of Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, Boris Jizhak Barkan, June 17, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

8. Report of Polizei Oberstleutnant Friedrich Wilhelm Albrecht, February 22, 1965, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

9. See Schmidt, "'Der grosse Weltenbrand 1939–1945,'" pp. 255–256.

10. Testimonies of Walter Jucknies, November 3, 1965, Boris Jizhak Barkan, June 17, 1963, and Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

11. Testimonies of Raja E., June 16, 1963, and Zalman Rochman, June 17, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

12. Testimony of Zalman Rochman, June 17, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

13. BA-L, Findbuch UdSSR, Heft 5, pp. 190–191.

14. See Moritz Felix Lück, "Partisanenbekämpfung durch SS und Polizei in Weissruthenien 1943," p. 234.

15. Instruction of Sta. Dortmund, April 1, 1969, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64. See also Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde. Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), p. 913.

16. Report of Polizei Oberstleutnant Friedrich Wilhelm Albrecht, February 22, 1965, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

17. Instruction of Polizeiregiment 14, November 22, 1942, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

18. Testimonies of Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, and Walter Jucknies, November 3, 1965, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

19. See Klaus-Michael Mallmann, "'Aufgeräumt und abgebrannt.' Sicherheitspolizei und 'Bandenkampf' in der besetzten Sowjetunion," in Gerhard Paul and Klaus-Michael Mallmann, eds., *Die Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg. 'Heimatfront' und besetztes Europa* (Darmstadt: Primus und Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), p. 518. The unit came either from Minsk, Wilejka, or Riga; see instruction of Sta. Dortmund, April 1, 1969, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

20. Testimony of Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

21. Daily report of Kampfgruppe von Gottberg, November 26, 1942, in Instruction of Sta. Dortmund, April 1, 1969, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

22. Personal file of von Gottberg, BDC; see Lück, "Partisanenbekämpfung," p. 239. BdS Ostland to Reichskommissar Ostland, November 30, 1942, BA-L, Doc. Coll. USA 25; see Mallmann, "'Aufgeräumt und abgebrannt,'" p. 518. During Operation Nuremberg the ghetto in Dunilowicze was destroyed as well.

23. Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer Zikaron le-Esrim ve-Shalosh Kehilot be-Ezor Shvintsian* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Ezor Shvintsian be-Yisrael, 1965), p. 1633, contains a brief account of the liquidation of the Postawy ghetto [in Yiddish], which includes this estimate.

24. Schmidt, "'Der grosse Weltenbrand 1939–1945,'" p. 256. Christian Gerlach states that there were possibly as many as 5,000 victims in Postawy; see Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 705. Shortly after the war, the Soviets estimated 4,000 victims: 1,500 Jews from Postawy and 2,500 Jews from the surrounding districts (see NARB, 845-1-63, p. 45). Considering these pieces of information, the number of ghetto inmates in Postawy seems to have increased considerably after July 1942.

25. Testimonies of Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, and Raja E., June 16, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

26. IPN, SAZG 3, Verdict in the case of Stanisław Szakała on December 14, 1950.

27. Sta. Coburg 5 Js 660/64, against members of 1. SS-Infanteriebrigade (mot.); BA-L, 45 Js 3/31, against members of KdS-Aussenstelle Wilna and Glebokie; Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, against members of Gendarmerie Glebokie.

28. Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

RADOSZKOWICZE

Pre-1939: Radoszkowicze, *town*, *Mołodeczno powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Radoshkovichi*, *raion center*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Radoschkowitschi*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Radashkovichy*, *Maladechna raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Radoszkowicze is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) northwest of Minsk. There were around 1,200 Jews in Radoszkowicze in September 1939. The German army occupied Radoszkowicze at the end of June 1941. Several Jews were killed during the initial bombing of the town, including Eliezer Godes and Dorum Chanan together with his wife and daughters. At the end of July 1941, the local military commandant (Ortskommandant) ordered the Jews to wear distinctive markings. There was also a strict curfew for the Jews, lasting from 6:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M. Every day the Germans ordered all Jews ages 15 to 55 to gather in the market square at 7:00 A.M. From there, they were escorted to work on various tasks, including road building, wood chopping, and street cleaning.[1]

At the end of August 1941, authority in the area was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Radoszkowicze became a Rayon center within Gebiet Wilejka, under the authority of Gebietskommissar Schmidt. At this time, an operational unit of the Organisation Todt (OT) comprising between 25 and 50 people arrived in the town. It was headed by OT-Haupttruppenführer William Schneider, a German from Cologne. The firm used 700 Jews as forced laborers to build a highway from Mołodeczno to Minsk, to crush stones for projects, and to build barracks.[2] The OT personnel were protected by the 2nd Platoon of German Police Battalion 69, which was quartered in House no. 3 on the market square.

In the summer of 1941, a Judenrat was established in Radoszkowicze. Its members included Meszulem Wajenblum, Słoszczer, and Ber Czecis. They handled German demands for clothes, shoes, underwear, bedclothes, and money, which had to be met under penalty of death. In September 1941, the German authorities demanded the surrender of a number of nickel-plated beds by the Jews. The Judenrat assisted by the Jewish Police then confiscated these items from their Jewish owners and gave them to the Germans.

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The head of the Judenrat tried to maintain good relations with the Germans. For example, he requisitioned the contents of a jewelry shop, passing them on to the Germans to keep them well-disposed.[3] The German authorities set a daily bread ration of only 200 grams (7 ounces) for the Jews. However, the Jews staved off hunger by bartering their remaining clothes and other items with their neighbors for food. Up to March 1942, sanitary conditions remained reasonable among the Jews under the careful eye of the Judenrat and the Jewish doctors Abram Szuster and Naum Wajsbort.

On March 10, 1942, Rudolf Grave, the chief of the Security Police and SD outpost (KdS Aussenstelle) in Wilejka, arrived in Radoszkowicze with a small detachment of Security Police to conduct an Aktion against the Jews. As no ghetto had been formed, Grave called on the local police and other German forces, including personnel from the OT based in Radoszkowicze to assist in rounding up the Jews.

On the morning of March 11, 1942, SS-Obersturmführer Grave issued orders for the Gendarmerie and local policemen to clear the Jews from their residences. The town had been encircled during the night to prevent any Jews from escaping. As they brutally drove the Jews to the market square, the old and infirm, as well as those who put up any kind of resistance, were shot on the spot. The Jews were gathered in front of the police station while the police continued searching the houses, also confiscating Jewish property. Finally, the Germans and their collaborators marched the Jews off in a column down Minsk Street and Ilska Street to the killing site, at two barns 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town to the east.[4]

At the two barns, Grave selected 60 craftsmen along with their families. The other Jews had to surrender any items of value and remove their top layers of clothing. The Security Police officers from the Wilejka outpost then shot the Jews at the entrance to one of the barns. At the end of the Aktion, all of the corpses were dragged inside the barn by the last remaining Jews, who were then in turn shot. Grave then closed the door and tossed a hand grenade inside, burning the corpses inside the barn. About 800 Jews were murdered there in the barn, and 60 more were shot at different locations around Radoszkowicze.[5]

At the end of March 1942, the head of the OT in Radoszkowicze, Schneider, organized a ghetto for the remaining 350 Jews (the craftsmen and their families, plus a few other Jews who subsequently emerged from hiding). A high barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto, and members of the local police guarded the two gates. In the ghetto there was terrible overcrowding, with as many as 30 persons sharing one room. Mosze Kliaczkowski was appointed by the Germans as the head of the Judenrat in the ghetto.[6]

After an attack by the partisans in the area of Radoszkowicze in the late spring of 1942, five young men and women escaped into the forest. But soon they returned to the ghetto, as the partisans refused to accept them, and once in the ghetto the Germans ordered their arrest and execution.[7] In the ghetto eight young persons collected money to buy weapons and also planned to escape. However, the Judenrat tried to restrain them, warning that their flight would result in the death of each and every Jew. The Judenrat members even threatened to inform the Germans of the plan.

In June 1942, about 60 Jews were working on the road near the village of Rogowa, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Radoszkowicze. During the construction work, Hauptmann Willi Schneider arrived. His revolver accidentally discharged and wounded Chaim Szuman in the side. He then amused himself by shooting the man to death.[8] Also in the summer of 1942, a Jewish butcher from Radoszkowicze named Jakow Zager was headed to the township of Udranki, to exchange items for food. He was caught by the German Gendarmes and beaten so severely that he came down with a very high fever. He suffered for a long time, and it took the efforts of Dr. Szuster in the ghetto to save his life. The local police and the German Gendarmes also shot some other Jews they caught outside the ghetto.

The final liquidation Aktion took place on March 7, 1943. Two young persons escaped from the ghetto. Aware of German warnings that everyone would be punished if even one person went missing, the 350 remaining Jews became highly anxious, with some also trying to flee. This only caused the Germans to become suspicious and organize a roll call, which led them to discover that a few Jews were missing. The German forces assisted by the local police, including Adam Jasiński, then shot 290 Jews. About 35 people managed to escape to the forest, and the Germans still kept alive 22 specialist workers.[9] Among these 22, 5 soon died, but the remainder did not expect their reprieve would last long, and they managed to arm themselves from German supplies.

In June 1943, Filip Horman passed on a request from the 17 Jews in the remaining two houses of the Radoszkowicze ghetto to the partisan group from the Kotovsky brigade called "National Avenger," asking the partisans for their assistance in organizing an escape. On June 13, 1943, the commandant of the Krasionak partisan section dispatched several partisans to liberate the Jews from the ghetto. The group consisted of four people and was headed by Eliah Żukowski. They arrived in Udranki, which was located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Radoszkowicze. But they encountered a German blockade and had to turn back. On July 13, 1943, the 17 Jews finally escaped to the forest. Reconnaissance personnel from the Kotovsky detachment met them and took them in. On July 1, 1944, the Red Army liberated the town. Only 40 Jews returned from the forests, as 10 had been killed while serving with the Soviet partisans.[10]

After the war the provincial court in Olsztyn tried Jan Ciechanowicz for his participation in the shooting of Jews while serving as a local policeman (Schutzmann) in Radoszkowicze under German occupation. The case went to the Supreme Court in Warsaw, and on November 5, 1954, he was sentenced to eight years in prison. The German Regional Court in Bochum tried three men in 1979 for their role in the murder of Radoszkowicze's Jews. However, the court acquitted them, as it deemed they had only acted as accomplices, a crime for which the statute of limitations by then had already expired.[11]

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SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Radoszkowicze during the German occupation can be found in the yizkor book edited by I. Rubin and M. Rabinsohn, *Radoshkovits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun yots'e Radoshkovits be-Yisrael [u]-M. A. Bar-Yuda, 1953), pp. 199–209.

Additional information regarding the fate of the Jews of Radoszkowicze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/4425); BA-L (B 162/1472 [II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42]); LG-Bo (7 Ks 45 Js 3/61); SNW (III K 970/54); SWOl (IV K 19/55); VHF; and YVA (e.g., 1436/133).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/4425, relacja Lejb Bomsztejn, June 1946.
2. Ibid.
3. AŻIH, 301/4425a, relacja Eliah Żukowski.
4. Protocols of the testimony of the accused Jan Ciechanowicz, April 9, 1954, and of the witness Jan Ganicz, March 8, 1954, from the case against Jan Ciechanowicz (SWOl, IV K 19/55). Jan Ganicz was the owner of the barns.
5. LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61, p. 46.
6. AŻIH, 301/4425.
7. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 226, citing YVA, 1436/133 (Baruch Shub).
8. AŻIH, 301/4425a.
9. Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 233. These 20 Jews continued to work as specialists in the leather-making factory. See David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 151–152; NARB, 845-1-140, pp. 33–34, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report on the Crimes of the German Occupants in the Radoszkowice raion, April 24, 1945; Protocols of the testimony of the witness Stanisław Kiciński, February 12, 1954, case against Jan Ciechanowicz, SWOl, IV K 19/55.
10. AŻIH, 301/4425a. Among those liberated were: Lejb Bomsztejn, Beniamin Zilburg, Szmuel Lapidos, Baruch Szepsenwol, Izak Elman, Reuwen Miednik, Hirsz Szelman, Abraham and Icchak Fenkel, Leon Tenenbojm, Nechemie Szulman, Pesi Bomsztejn, Chaim and Reuwen Grinbojm, Szalomon Bomsztejn, Zusman Grintlid, and Icchak Izraelski. See also Rubin and Rabinsohn, *Radoshkovits*, pp. 205–209.
11. SNW, III K 970/54; and verdict of LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61, pp. 74–76.

RADUŃ

Pre-1939: Raduń, town, Lida powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Radun, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Radun', Voranava raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Raduń is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, the Jewish population of the town exceeded 1,000.

German forces entered Raduń at the end of June 1941. Initially a German military administration ran the affairs of the town. In September 1941, a German civil administration took over responsibility for the region. Raduń became a Rayon center within Gebiet Lida, in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Lida was Hermann Hanweg. In Raduń, the German authorities appointed a former Polish army captain, Kulikowski, as mayor and established a local police force, made up of Belorussians, Poles, and Lithuanians.

The German authorities also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to assist them in enforcing their regulations. The head of the Jewish Council was Noah Dolinski, who had fairly good relations with the Polish mayor, Kulikowski, as they were both ardent anti-Communists. Among the first anti-Jewish measures the German authorities imposed were the wearing of armbands bearing the Star of David (later changed to a yellow patch on outer clothing) and the imposition of forced labor. Jews were also forbidden to eat meat, butter, or eggs.[1]

A number of survivors from Orany, Olkieniki, and Ejszyszki made their way to Raduń in the days and weeks that followed the massacres in those towns in late September 1941. For example, about 260 Jews are believed to have found refuge in Raduń from Ejszyszki.[2] On November 16, 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Raduń, on Żydowska Street, where most of the Jews lived. This street was separated from the rest of the town by a fence.[3] Jews were also brought in from the surrounding villages, including Nacza, Zabłoc, and Dowgieliszki. All together, more than 2,000 Jews were confined

A yellow star bearing two safety pins, worn by Shalom Ben Shiemesh Sonenson in the Raduń ghetto.
USHMM WS #N01378, COURTESY OF YAFFA ELIACH

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within the ghetto, where they had to remain unless sent out on a work detail. An unarmed Jewish police force operated inside the ghetto.

Many of the refugees were able to get residence permits for the Raduń ghetto by obtaining forged documents stating that they were natives of Raduń. According to one survivor, in the ghetto four families lived together in one house. People slept on the floors and had to share cooking facilities.[4] Often space within rooms would be demarcated by hanging up sheets to provide some privacy for individual families.

Healthy Jews of both sexes from the ghetto were drafted in shifts for forced labor in the Mieszczanca Forest about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Raduń, cutting firewood for the German army on a weekly basis. They were punished severely for not meeting unrealistically high quotas and had to work in the bitter cold. Jewish men were also requisitioned to perform various tasks in and around town, including escorting sheep to the railway station at Bastuny, working in the flour mill, and cleaning and other work for Germans and local Poles. Obtaining food was a major problem. Some formerly wealthy Jews received assistance from former Polish maidservants who helped smuggle food into the ghetto.[5]

In the first days of 1942, a German assistant to the Gebietskommissar, Stabsleiter Rudolf Werner, arrived in Raduń. With the aid of the police he conducted a house-to-house search for any Jews residing in the ghetto without official residence permits. The Aktion uncovered about 40 Jews, who were then marched out of the ghetto and murdered. They were buried on the road to Bastuny in a bomb crater from World War I.[6] Especially notorious among the Jews of the ghetto was a German Gestapo man named Kopke, who ordered the construction of a gallows in the center of the ghetto, where Jews were publicly hanged. He also shot Jews execution style, especially young girls.[7]

Despite the terrible conditions, some Jews continued to conduct religious services in secret, and improvised schools were also organized for small groups of children. At Passover, matzot were baked from flour smuggled into the ghetto. In recognition of the difficult situation, Rabbi Hillel issued permission for the young and the sick to eat nonkosher meat.

The liquidation of the Raduń ghetto took place on May 8–10, 1942. First, forces of the German Security Police, the Gendarmerie, and the local Polish police surrounded the ghetto. All groups working outside the ghetto were ordered to return, and no new details were sent out. Families within the ghetto debated heatedly whether some should try to flee or go into hiding. Suspecting their fate, a number of Jews tried to escape during the encirclement. As many as 150 were shot dead over three days and nights. However, it is believed that some 300 may have succeeded in escaping from the ghetto, some even abetted by local policemen who turned a blind eye.

On May 10, 1942, the Germans seized 100 young Jews to dig the pits at the Jewish cemetery. However, on a signal by Meir Stoler, the Jews attempted a mass escape, and although many were gunned down, about 30 of them fled into the woods.[8] As a result the Germans had to seize a new working party of Jews to complete the graves under very close guard and with brutal beatings. These Jews were given special permits to reassure them they would not be shot. Then German officials, assisted by the local police, drove all the Jews out of their houses and assembled them in the center of the ghetto. Those unable to walk were shot on the spot.

Avraham Aviel testifies during the Eichmann trial about atrocities in the Raduń ghetto, 1961.
USHMM WS #49336, COURTESY OF AVRAHAM AVIEL

Meanwhile, the Christian farmers from the countryside had come into town on wagons, "ready to begin looting once the Jews were led to their deaths."[9] The assembled Jews were escorted to the pits in a long procession. Here they were made to undress and then shot in the large pit some 25 meters long and 30 meters wide (27 yards by 33 yards).[10] The firing squad consisted of Germans and local police. Halfway through the execution, the shooting was halted, and the "specialist" grave diggers were permitted to identify their family members, who were also taken to one side. Estimates vary, but probably about 1,500 Jews were murdered on May 10, 1942, in Raduń.

About 300 Jews preserved as specialist workers (including their families) returned to the ghetto, which was reduced to

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just a few houses near the gallows. The returning Jews were registered together with others who came out of hiding or even returned from the forests. However, these survivors were again assembled on the market square and forced to lie facedown. A number were shot almost at random by the local mayor, Kulikowski, and the German official, Werner, from Lida, before they were released.[11] The surviving Jews were now employed to bury the dead bodies scattered around the town and sort out Jewish property, with the most desirable items being sent off to Germany. In June 1942, most of the specialist workers were transferred to the Lida ghetto, while the other Jews were sent to the ghetto in Szczuczyn. These Jews shared the fate of the other Jews in these ghettos (the last remnant in Szczuczyn being deported to Majdanek concentration camp in September 1943).

Of those who fled from the Raduń ghetto, some managed to survive by hiding, usually with the aid of local peasants, and others served in various partisan units that operated in the surrounding forests. In July 1999, Yad Vashem awarded Antoni Gawrylkiewicz, a shepherd in the village of Korkuciany, the title of Righteous Among the Nations. He assisted in hiding 16 Jews who had fled from the Raduń ghetto, providing them regularly with food at great risk to himself between May 1942 and July 1944, when the Red Army drove out the German occupying forces.[12]

SOURCES Information on the Raduń ghetto can be found in the following publications: Yaffa Eliach, *There Once Was a World: A 900-Year Chronicle of the Shtetl Eishyshok* (Boston: Little Brown, 1998), pp. 595–609; Lieb Lewin, "At Radun," in *Fun letsten hurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 66–74; Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), pp. 128–129; Leon Kahn, *No Time to Mourn: The True Story of a Jewish Partisan Fighter* (Vancouver, BC: Ronsdale Press, Vancouver Holocaust Education Society, 2004); and Avraham Aviel, *A Village Named Dowgalishok: The Massacre at Radun and Eishishok* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006).

Documentation and testimonies on the ghetto in Raduń can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/638, 1475, 3629); BA-L (B 162/3424-51 [II 202 AR-Z 94d/59]); GARF; NARB (845-1-8 and 4420-1-3); USHMM (RG-50.030*0372); and YVA (e.g., O-3/508, 2815, and Kaf-5 [Margolies diary]).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/638, testimony of Hersz Zuker; and 301/1475, testimony of Luba Lewin.
2. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 595.
3. Lewin, "At Radun," pp. 66–74; and AŻIH, 301/638.
4. USHMM, RG-50.030*0372, Interview with Dora Kramen Dimitro, July 18, 1996.
5. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 599; and YVA, Kaf-5, Margolies diary.
6. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 599; and Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, pp. 128–129, testimony of Shoel Kaplan, April 12, 1944.
7. Kahn, *No Time to Mourn*, p. 57.
8. YVA, O-3/2815, testimony of Moshe Michalowski; Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, p. 128.
9. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 601.
10. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992), 1:495-499, testimony of Avraham Aviel.
11. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 606.
12. YVA, M.31, file of Antoni Gawrylkiewicz. Yaffa Eliach was among those who testified on his behalf.

RAKÓW

Pre-1939: Raków, *village*, *Mołodeczno powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Rakov*, *Radoshkovichi raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rakow*, *Rayon Radoschkowitschi*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Rakau*, *Valozh raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Raków is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) west of Minsk. On the eve of war in September 1939, there were probably around 1,000 Jews in Raków.

The Red Army entered Raków on September 17, 1939, and imposed a Soviet regime. Private businesses were closed or nationalized, and Jewish craftsmen were organized into cooperatives. Many younger Jews found employment in government and party institutions. Jewish schools were closed and converted to the Soviet system. Zionist and Jewish communal activities were suppressed.

The Germans occupied Raków on June 26, 1941. Shortly afterwards, based on a list provided by local collaborators, the Germans arrested more than 45 young Jews suspected of Communist activity and shot them just outside the settlement. A few weeks later SS men visited Raków again and arrested and shot another 14 young people.

In the summer of 1941, the Germans appointed a four-man Judenrat, which included M. Alperowicz, Y. Obrazenski, and H. Grynholz. The Judenrat had to provide people for various forms of hard and humiliating labor. Local Poles collaborated with the Germans in the persecution of the Jews. Among those who took an active part were Oleś Szydłowski, Władysław Judzkewicz, Franciszek Łukaszewicz, and Jan Leszka.[1]

In late September or October 1941, SS men again came to Raków and surrounded the town with the assistance of local police. The Jews were ordered to assemble in the market square while the police searched their houses. The sickly and any stragglers were shot in their homes. The Germans broke into the synagogue, piled up the sacred books in the courtyard, and set them on fire. One man was thrown into the flames and burned alive. The assembled Jews were forced to

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sing "Hatikva" (the Jewish national anthem) and dance, and as they did so, they were beaten with rifle butts and whips. They were ordered to turn over their money. Then 31 young men were removed from the crowd and taken to the Jewish cemetery to dig a pit. Once they were finished, more than 100 Jews were escorted to the cemetery to be shot. Their bodies were thrown into the pit. At least 1 person managed to escape.[2]

In October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in the area around the synagogue. Around 1,000 Jews were jammed into the few houses within its boundary, about 15 people to a room. Their abandoned houses on the outside were broken into and looted. Every day about 100 to 200 people were taken for forced labor. About a week after the ghetto was established, the SS demanded four bars of gold, some fur coats, and 300 kilograms (661 pounds) of shoe leather. They gave the Judenrat one hour to meet this demand, threatening to kill many people if they failed. The Judenrat members somehow managed to deliver the ransom. However, the Germans repeatedly demanded money, goods, and other valuables, leaving the Jews destitute.

While the ghetto was in existence a number of younger people escaped into the forest or found hiding places with non-Jewish farmers. By the spring of 1942, when Soviet partisans began to organize in the area, several Jews had been accepted into their groups.[3]

According to hearsay evidence given to a survivor, in February 1942, just before the liquidation of the ghetto in Raków, the policemen there made a list of the Jews in the Raków ghetto and handed it to the German police. They claimed that the ghetto would be liquidated, as the Jewish population was not useful. The list had been prepared in the residence of the pig trader Alexander Szaternik.[4]

On February 4, 1942, German and Lithuanian policemen arrived in Raków, assisted by Polish police from the posts in Raków, Gródek Wileński, and Radoszkowicze. The head of the local police, Mikołaj Sienkiewicz, ordered all Jews to assemble with their baggage at the "cold (non-Hasidic) synagogue," as they were to be sent to Minsk. Then the Jews were brutally driven into the synagogue and their belongings confiscated. The police threw several deadly grenades into the crowd from the women's part of the synagogue, which set the building on fire. All the Jews were burned alive, except for seven people. One person who had escaped from the ghetto before the Aktion was the pregnant wife of Abraham Milsztejn, Chana. But she was betrayed and then thrown into the flames, as was Szyje Megalowicz, the butcher, who also attempted to flee.[5]

Available estimates of the number of victims on February 4, 1942, diverge considerably. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports, 928 Jews were burned alive on that day.[6] The relevant German Einsatzgruppen report no. 168, dated February 13, 1942, however, surmises only that the ghetto in Raków with about 100 people was liquidated, as the Jews were agitating against the Germans among the local population. This information serves also as the basis for the conclusion of the German court in Koblenz, which maintains on the basis of one German witness that about 100 Jews were shot in a pit nearby.[7] It is difficult to reconcile these accounts, but in view of the pre-war population figures, it is likely that more than 1,000 Jews were murdered in Raków between June 1941 and February 1942. It is possible that some Jews were kept alive after the February 1942 Aktion as forced laborers and were sent or escaped to forced labor camps nearby, such as that linked to the Krasne ghetto.[8]

SOURCES Information relating to the history of the Jewish community of Raków can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 596–600; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000); and *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:331.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2214 and 3164-65); GARF (7021-89-14, pp. 20, 48–54); NARB (861-1-10); USHMM; and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8. 596-598. On these shootings, with some divergences regarding the dates and numbers of victims, see also AŻIH, 301/3164-65, testimonies of Hilel Ejdlman; and 301/2214, testimony of Borys Grajneman. The shooting of Jews, Communist officials, and agents in Raków is mentioned also in Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 1 of the Einsatzgruppen, dated July 31, 1941; see Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 117.
2. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:599–600. See also Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 131, which dates this Aktion on September 29, 1941.
3. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:600.
4. AŻIH, 301/3164.
5. Ibid.; NARB, 861-1-10, p. 27, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the Radoshkovichi raion, April 24, 1945.
6. Adamushko et al., *Handbuch der Haftstätten*, p. 131.
7. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 168, February 13, 1942; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978) Lfd. Nr. 552, p. 190.
8. This is suggested by Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:600, although this source may contain some errors regarding dates. For further information, see *Sefer Zikaron Likehillat Rakow* (N.p., n.d.).

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RUBIEŻEWICZE

Pre-1939: Rubieżewicze, town, Stołpce powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Rubezhevichi, Stolbtsy raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rubeshewitschi, Rayon Iwieniec, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Rubiazhevichy, Stoubtsy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rubieżewicze is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Minsk. According to the 1921 population census, there were 903 Jews living in Rubieżewicze, whereas in 1939 there were about 700.

The first German forces entered the town at the end of June or in early July 1941.[1] In the summer of 1941, owing to the shortage of German manpower, much authority was wielded by the local Belorussian police, commanded by a man named Zhikher from the village of Zasule. Local non-Jews from Rubieżewicze and the surrounding area were recruited as policemen. The police office was in Meyer Osherovitsh's house.

The German military authorities introduced a number of restrictions on the Jewish population that were enforced by the local police. Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David, they had to perform forced labor, and they were prohibited from leaving the village. The Jews were also required to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which included as members Eliyah Ayzenbud, Yitskhok Gurion, Yaakov Soleveytshik, Lifshitz, and Yishayahu Shapiro.[2]

Every week, Gestapo officers arrived from Iwieniec and demanded furs, leather goods, jewelry, and other items from the Judenrat. Those who resisted were shot. The Gestapo conducted a first Aktion in Rubieżewicze on July 23, 1941, shooting 36 Jewish men and women aged 17 to 70.[3] The head of the local police, Zhikher, also demanded payments to forestall further Aktions against the Jews. As time went on, these demands became increasingly difficult to meet.

In September 1941, power was officially transferred to a German civil administration. Rubieżewicze became part of the Iwieniec Rayon in Gebiet Nowogrodek, where Wilhelm Traub was district commissioner (Gebietskommissar). In the fall and winter of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Rubieżewicze for its Jewish residents as well as for hundreds of Jews brought in from the nearby villages of Naliboki, Derewna, Wolma, Kamień, Chotów, Grań, and others. Some survivors from the massacre of the Jews in Dzerzhinsk on October 20–21, 1941, also arrived in Rubieżewicze and were not betrayed by the Judenrat, despite the fear of a German reprisal if they were discovered.[4]

The ghetto in Rubieżewicze was established on December 1, 1941.[5] The ghetto area started at Yishayahu Shapiro's house on Raków Street, and it included the entire marketplace, Synagogue Alley, and part of Koidanov Street. The Germans transferred the few non-Jews who lived in the designated ghetto area into houses vacated by Jews outside the ghetto. There was great overcrowding, with as many as 20 or 30 people living in a single room.[6] The local police sealed off the Jewish houses outside the ghetto and confiscated the furniture and other items. Before the transfer into the ghetto, the German authorities gave the Jews one day to bring potatoes and wood into the ghetto. Many of the Jews brought in from other locations had neither food nor fuel. About 15 local policemen guarded the ghetto.[7]

On December 1, 1941, the entire Jewish population of Wolma, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Rubieżewicze, was forced to march to the Rubieżewicze ghetto. The 70 Jewish families of the town mostly ran small businesses or worked as artisans. As soon as the Germans entered Wolma, Jews were beaten, tortured, and robbed. During the transfer of the Jews to Rubieżewicze, the Germans and local police (Poles, Belorussians, and Ukrainians) beat the Jews. As they could take few possessions with them, in Rubieżewicze some of the Wolma Jews risked their lives by leaving the ghetto at night in search of food. If they were caught, they were severely beaten.[8]

It was also forbidden for non-Jews to enter the ghetto. Any non-Jews discovered in the ghetto selling food were forced to wear a yellow patch on their chests and were led through the streets in disgrace to deter others. Every day, the Jews were taken to perform forced labor in agriculture and cutting wood in the forests. If there was nothing to do, they would be ordered to pry the cobblestones out of the road and then put them back. Jewish girls were sent to do the most demeaning tasks, especially cleaning toilets with their bare hands.[9]

In February 1942, the Germans ordered 100 young men to be sent to a labor camp in Dworzec. The Germans forcibly dragged young men out of their houses and loaded them onto wagons. The Jews worked in Dworzec loading rocks from the quarry. With the aid of bribes, the Jews of Rubieżewicze were able to send food and clothing to them through Polish intermediaries. At the end of March 1942, a few of the young Jews escaped from the Dworzec labor camp and returned to the Rubieżewicze ghetto.[10]

In the spring of 1942 an epidemic of typhus broke out in the ghetto. The ghetto residents observed Passover by baking matzot and holding Seders. However, during the Seder on April 2, 1942, the Gestapo broke it up, beating members of the Judenrat and looting Jewish property.[11]

On May 8–9, 1942, Gestapo officers arrived in Rubieżewicze and ordered that about 300 able-bodied Jews be collected and escorted on foot to Iwieniec, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. As the column left, local non-Jews stood by, playing their harmonicas and laughing at the Jews' misfortune. When they failed to keep up, at least 12 people were killed on the way by the mounted police escorts. In Iwieniec the Jews were put into a ghetto based around the synagogue courtyard. They were left to worry daily about finding food and a place to sleep and obliged to dig bunkers for the Germans during the day.[12] A couple of weeks later, a second group of Jews from Rubieżewicze arrived in Iwieniec. Then the labor commissar from Nowogródek conducted a selection of the Jews collected there from several surrounding towns and villages. Many of

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the Jews from Rubieżewicze were escorted to the town of Naliboki, where Belorussian police beat the prisoners and took the best clothing and shoes. The group was taken from there to Lubcz, then by train on to Nowogródek, where they were put into the local ghetto. Many of these Jews were murdered during a large Aktion in Nowogródek in August 1942.[13] Most of the other Jews from Rubieżewicze who were selected for labor in Iwieniec were sent to the town of Dworzec, where they worked in the forced labor camp at the quarry.[14]

The Germans liquidated the Rubieżewicze ghetto on June 8 or 9, 1942, shooting the remaining mainly elderly Jews and children (up to 350 people) in the Simkowicze Forest just to the south of the town. The mass shooting was organized by forces of the Security Police outpost (Aussenstelle) in Baranowicze, assisted by auxiliaries from the Baltic states, German Gendarmerie, and local police. Local inhabitants filled in the graves.[15]

On December 28, 1942, the camp at Dworzec was liquidated, and all the Jews there were murdered except for about 150 who escaped into the forest. Some of these escapees survived until the area was liberated in June 1944.[16]

Sources report that about 75 Jewish survivors returned to Rubieżewicze after the war and marked the mass grave in the Simkowicze Forest. Most Jewish homes had been broken into, and Soviet partisans had destroyed the police station.[17] The Soviet authorities gave the returning survivors housing and employment, but most left for Poland shortly afterwards and immigrated from there to the West.[18] After the war, a monument was erected at the site of the mass killing. Some of the Jews from Wolma and Derewna who had been brought into the Rubieżewicze ghetto were among those who survived the war.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by David Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, *Derevne ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv, 1968), includes a number of relevant testimonies by survivors; a short article on the town can also be found in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 589–592.

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Jews in Rubieżewicze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2849, 2993, 3302, and 3353); BA-L (B 162/3452-59); GARF (7021-81-102); NARB (750-1-72); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1574).

Nancy Krug and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Eliezer Gurion, "Tragic Recollections of the Occupation Years," in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287, also 263–267.
2. Gishke Falayes testimony, in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–252. Another survivor listed Velvel Shimanovitsh and Solomitsh as members in addition to Lotte Ayznburg and Yitskhok Gurion; see idem, pp. 286–287.
3. NARB, 3500-4-346, p. 19.
4. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 258.
5. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 263–267; AŻIH, 301/2993.
6. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–252; AŻIH, 301/2993.
7. BA-L, B 162/3452-59 (202 AR-Z 94e/59), translation file, statement of Anton Borisewitsch, April 16, 1969.
8. Moshe Shimonovitsh testimony in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 163–165.
9. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287.
10. Ibid.; AŻIH, 301/2993.
11. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287; AŻIH, 301/2993.
12. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 175, 263–267, 286–287.
13. Ibid., pp. 253–262; YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik.
14. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–252, 286–287.
15. Ibid., pp. 286–287; BA-L, B 162/3452-59 (202 AR-Z 94e/59), translation file, statements of Anton Borisewitsch, April 16, 1969, and Kazimir Gajdukewitsch, April 1969. The dating of this Aktion and the fate of the remaining Jews in Rubieżewicze are not entirely clear. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 81, for example, dates the Aktion in November 1942, indicating 500 (or 1,000) victims, but these figures are certainly too high, as most Jews from the ghetto were sent to Iwieniec and then on to Nowogródek.
16. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–252, 263–267, and 286–287. These three accounts agree on December 1942 as the date of liquidation of the Dworzec labor camp.
17. On the capture of the police station in Rubieżewicze by partisans of the Stalin Brigade, see NARB, 750-1-72.
18. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287.

RUDENSK

Pre-1941: Rudensk, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Rudzensk, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rudensk is located about 36 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 176 Jews living in Rudensk out of a total population of 1,128 (15.6 percent).[1]

German forces of Army Group Center entered Rudensk at the end of June 1941, one week after the beginning of the German invasion of the USSR. During this week, some Jews managed to leave eastward with evacuation transports, while men of military age were either drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army. It is estimated that at least two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Rudensk at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the summer of 1941, Rudensk was governed by a German military commandant. From September 1941, a civil administration took over responsibility for the town, as the area became part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Rudensk was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land, where the

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Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr Kaiser, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer was Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla.[2] In the fall of 1941, a Gendarmerie post was established in Rudensk, which took over responsibility for the auxiliary police force composed of local volunteers.

Following the occupation of Rudensk, the German military commandant issued an order for the Rayon administration to carry out the compulsory registration of all local Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear special distinctive badges, and they were compelled to perform various types of forced labor, including road construction work. In September 1941, all the Jews were resettled into a ghetto, which was created on Dukora Street, where several houses were designated for that purpose. According to one Jewish survivor, Aleksei Kats, the ghetto remained unfenced and unguarded, but the Jews were forced to pay a large "contribution" to the Germans.[3]

On October 10, 1941, German police forces and their Lithuanian auxiliaries arrived by truck in Rudensk. Assisted by the local Belorussian police, these forces surrounded the ghetto. They then drove all the Jews out of their houses and collected them in the square. Among those gathered together were also some Jews brought in from Minsk. The Germans and their collaborators then escorted the Jews to a nearby quarry, where they shot them. The Jews were forced to undress before being shot.[4]

According to a report by the German military Kommandant in Weissruthenien, on October 9–11, 1941, a combined force involving the 707th Pioneer Company, the Secret Field Police (GFP), the 11th Reserve Police Battalion (commanded by Major Franz Lechthaler), and a unit of Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft (the 2nd detachment, subsequently renamed the 12th Schutzmannschaft Battalion) shot 800 partisans, Communists, Jews, and other suspicious persons in a large-scale operation conducted in the area around Rudensk.[5] As these units conducted a number of separate Aktions against suspected partisans and Jews during this period, it is difficult to establish the precise number of victims in Rudensk. Another report, however, notes that on October 10–11, 189 prisoners were taken in the Rudensk area, of which 188 were shot. It is probable that the bulk of these 188 "prisoners" were Jews from the ghetto, although on that day 18 people were also shot in the nearby village of Sergeevichi.[6] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports that 118 Jews were murdered in Rudensk in October 1941.[7]

Marat Botvinnik states that the number of Jews murdered in Rudensk was around 300, but his sources indicate that another Aktion (probably carried out against Communist activists and male Jews) had taken place earlier in August 1941.

SOURCES The ghetto in Rudensk is mentioned in the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 131; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 76, 90.

Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Rudensk Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/4267-4272); GARF (7021-87-13); LYA (Trial of Antanas Impulevicius and others); NARB (651-1-1 and 378-1-698); USHMM; VHF (# 49936); and YVA (M-33/431).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-87-13, p. 14 (copy available in YVA, M-33/431); and VHF, # 49936, testimony of Aleksei Naumovich Kats (born 1930).
4. LYA, statement of Zinaida Fyodorovna Shlopak (born 1911), resident of Rudensk, given in the trial against Antanas Impulevicius and others, held in Vilnius in 1962.
5. NARB, 378-1-698, p. 4, report of "Kommandant in Weissruthenien," October 16, 1941.
6. NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 14–15, Kommandant in Weissruthenien, Abt. Ia, report of October 16, 1941, about activity in the period October 1–15, 1941.
7. GARF, 7021-87-13, pp. 6, 8, and 95.

SHATSK

Pre-1941: Shatsk, village, Rudensk raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schazk, Rayon Rudensk, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Shatsk, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shatsk is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. The Jewish population of the village on the eve of the German occupation was probably in excess of 300 people.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 30, 1941. It appears likely that some Jews managed to flee or were mobilized into the Red Army in the week prior to the Germans' arrival. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Shatsk. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Shatsk was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[1] Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser was appointed Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant Kalla of the Gendarmerie became the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer.

Shortly after the occupation of Shatsk, the German Ortskommandantur ordered the village council to arrange for the registration and marking of the local Jews, who were also required to perform various kinds of forced labor. According to an unconfirmed source, at some date before October 1941 (probably in September), all the Jews of the village were moved into a ghetto. German police forces subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3 then murdered the Jews of Shatsk in

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October 1941, when they reportedly shot 319 Jews into a large pit 20 meters by 20 meters and 3 meters deep (about 22 yards by 22 yards by 3 yards).[2] Testimony regarding the murder of Jews in Uzda on October 16–17, 1941, indicates that on the eve of the Aktion there, a Jew from Shatsk stole into the Uzda ghetto and revealed that on the previous day all the Jews of Shatsk had been killed under the pretext of resettlement.[3]

In 1942, the Germans and local police shot six Jews at the Jewish cemetery in Shatsk. This incident was commemorated in 1944 by the erection of a memorial.

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Shatsk is mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki Genotsida Evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 77–78. Brief information on the Jewish community can be found 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), p. 1169.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Shatsk can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-13) and YVA (M-33/431).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. H. Heer, "Extreme Normalität. Generalmajor Gustav Freiherr von Mauchenheim gen. Bechtolsheim," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 2003), p. 737; RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114, Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941 (this sources identifies the village as Scak). GARF, 7021-87-13, p. 5, indicates that 635 Jews were shot in Shatsk in October 1941. This estimate is probably too high.
3. Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 230–232.

SINIAWKA

Pre-1939: Siniawka, *village*, *Nieśwież powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Siniavka*, *Kletsk raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sinjawka*, *Rayon Klezk*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Siniauka*, *Kletsk raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Siniawka is situated 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) southeast of Baranowicze. According to the 1921 census, there were 379 Jews living in Siniawka, out of a total population of 514.[1]

German armed forces occupied the village on June 25, 1941. Only a few Jewish youths manage to flee the village into the interior of the Soviet Union.[2]

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Siniawka. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village became part of Rayon Klezk in Gebiet Baranowitsche, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. A local Belorussian police force was established in Siniawka. A Belorussian named Huryn served as police commander in Rayon Klezk during the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Siniawka. These included the appointment of a Judenrat, the marking of the Jews with distinguishing badges in the form of a Star of David, and a ban on their leaving the village. The local police subjected the Jews to systematic robbery and beatings, and Jews were required to perform forced labor.

German forces conducted the first large-scale Aktion in Siniawka in the fall of 1941. They collected about 500 Jews in the synagogue. Then they selected 134 mostly elderly Jews, escorted them to a ditch, and shot them. The remaining Jews in Siniawka were then moved into a ghetto.

In the summer of 1942, forces of the German and Belorussian police rounded up the remaining Jews in the Siniawka ghetto and escorted them out of the village in the direction of Pińsk. The Germans then shot all the Jews of Siniawka, together with some 130 Jews who had been brought from Zaostrowicze. The Jews were buried in a mass grave beside the road. About 600 people were murdered altogether.[3]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Siniawka and its extermination under Nazi occupation can be found in the following publications: A.Sh. Shteyn, ed., *Pinkas Kletsk* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun yots'e Kletsk be-Yisrael, 1959); "Lios Siniauskaho geta," in *Pamiats': Hist.-dak. khroniki haradou i r-nau Belarusi: Kletskii r-n.* (Minsk, 1999), pp. 280–282; "Siniawka," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 620–621; and "Siniawka," 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), p. 1186.

Documents about the extermination of the Jews of Siniawka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR-Z 171/67, vol. 2, pp. 231–233); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); and ZGABO (616-1-70).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Siniawka," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:620.
2. Ibid., 8:620–621.
3. BA-L, 202 AR-Z 171/67, vol. 2, pp. 231–233; "Lios Siniauskaho geta," pp. 280–282; and ZGABO, 616-1-70. Soviet sources date the liquidation of the ghetto to June 1942.

SŁONIM

Pre-1939: Słonim, *town*, *powiat center*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland*; *1939–1941: Slonim*, *raion center*, *Baranovichi*

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oblast', *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Slonim*, *Rayon and Gebiet center*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Slonim*, *raen center*, *Beras'tse voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Słonim is located 190 kilometers (118 miles) southwest of Minsk. On the eve of the German invasion in June 1941, there were probably around 20,000 Jews residing in Słonim.

At the start of the war Słonim was bombed heavily from the air, destroying and damaging many of the town's mostly wooden houses. The NKVD organized the evacuation to the east of large numbers of civilians. Many departed on foot the day the Germans arrived. Soviet officials from the east, essential workers, and their families received priority for the limited evacuation capacity. Residents of Słonim who were called up for the Red Army on June 24 soon returned home, once they saw that their Russian officers had fled.[1]

German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied Słonim on June 25, 1941. Soon after their arrival the German authorities ordered all the men to report to the sports stadium, where they were held for one week. They did not receive any food—only water. Those who could prove they were residents of Słonim were allowed to go home.[2]

Słonim initially came under a German military administration. On July 10, the Ortskommandantur ordered Jews to wear yellow patches 10 centimeters (about 4 inches) in size. Jews were also forbidden to use the sidewalks, and in mid-July, they were prohibited from residing in the same house with non-Jews. The Jews themselves organized a council to deal with the many problems facing the community, especially food shortages. An official Judenrat, with different members, was formed by the Germans a little later.

The first Aktion in Słonim took place on July 17, 1941. On that day Einsatzgruppen forces arrived in Słonim with 12 large trucks. They rounded up about 2,000 men in and around the area of the community center, near the market square, and loaded 100 men onto each truck, altogether about 1,200 men. They transported them out of town and shot them in the sandpits at Petralowicze Hill. The rest of the assembled men were then released. According to the report of the Einsatzgruppe, some 2,000 people (mainly Jews) were detained with the assistance of Police Battalion 316: "of these, 1,075 were shot the same day."[3]

At the end of August, Słonim came under a German civil administration as part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Słonim was Gerhard Erren. The German civil administrators wore brown uniforms. Part of his staff did not arrive from Germany until January 1942. One of the first measures taken by the civil administration was to conduct a census, which counted 14,461 Jews in the town.[4]

In September 1941, Erren ordered all the Jews to move into a ghetto composed of four separate parts, as follows: the ghetto of the island on Zhabinka Street, the ghetto on Ulinska Street where the Judenrat was located, the third ghetto on Mikolovska Street, and the fourth ghetto on Podgorna Street. Twelve Jewish doctors and their families were permitted to live outside the ghetto.

Pre-war photograph of the Słonim synagogue and market.
USHMM WS #48362, COURTESY OF TOMASZ WISNIEWSKI

Each ghetto section also had several more small side streets apart from the main streets named. Those Jews not residing in areas assigned to be part of a ghetto had to leave their homes and move into one of the ghetto areas. At that time, in September 1941, the ghetto was not enclosed, but soon work started on erecting barbed-wire fences. There were also gates set up for entry and exit. The ghetto was guarded from the inside by the Jewish Police, who were nominated by the Judenrat, and externally by the Belorussian police. Jews entering the ghetto were searched by the Belorussian policemen, and those leaving had their work passes checked by both the Jewish and Belorussian police.

In early November, the German Gebietskommissariat official dealing with Jewish matters, Hick, issued the Jews with green and yellow certificates. The yellow certificates were issued to useful Jews (*nützliche Juden*), such as craftsmen. Initially, most Jews did not grasp the significance of these cards, but people noticed, for example, that the island ghetto section on Zhabinka Street was inhabited only by Jews with yellow cards. Those who had green cards were permitted to live in the other three ghetto sections but not in the Zhabinka Street ghetto.[5]

In early November 1941, the German authorities took about 100 Jews hostage, including members of the Judenrat, threatening to shoot them unless a ransom of 1.5 or 2 million rubles (in gold or silver objects) was paid. Strenuous efforts were made to meet at least part of this impossible demand, even though the community had already been squeezed dry by two previous levies. Then on November 14, some women and part of the Judenrat were released, but the 60 Jews remaining in prison were all shot the next day.[6]

In the meantime, the German authorities organized a large-scale Aktion against the Jews of Słonim on November 14, 1941. One Jewish survivor was prevented from returning

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home after visiting a friend, as German forces had sealed off the ghetto. From the loft of his friend's house, he observed German soldiers chasing people and beating them, throwing children to the ground. The people were screaming. Then he heard the sound of engines coming from the old marketplace. Then everything went quiet for about two hours. Finally things returned to normal—shops opened, and people emerged onto the streets. Most of his family was caught in the roundup, and he never saw them again.[7]

This Aktion was a joint operation between the Gebietskommissar and the Security Police, assisted by the Wehrmacht, Latvian and Lithuanian police auxiliaries, and the Belorussian police. These forces entered the houses in the ghetto and told people that they would be resettled somewhere else. The old people, children, and women were driven on trucks to Czepielów to pits prepared in advance by other Jews, who had already become the first victims to be shot and buried in the pits that they had dug themselves.[8]

A selection took place on the market square, and those with yellow employment cards were spared. In his report dated January 1942, Gebietskommissar Erren boasted of having rid Słonim of 8,000 "unnecessary hungry mouths." He concluded that "the approximately 7,000 Jews remaining in the town were all employed in the work process, they work willingly owing to their constant fear of death, and in the spring they will be most carefully vetted and selected for a further reduction."[9]

A Jewish survivor has described the march to the pits. After being told in the square that they were being relocated, the Jews initially departed in an orderly fashion. Panic set in at the railway station, however, once they realized they were not leaving by rail but being marched off into the forest. From here the guard was tightened, and anyone who fell out of the column was shot. It was too far across open fields to the forests for a successful escape. In the distance the Jews heard machine-gun fire. After marching for one hour, the Jews were made to sit on the ground. The men were separated from the women and forced to undress. The guards beat them with rifle butts and whips.

In groups of 20 people, all naked, the Jews were escorted up to a hill. At the top of the hill two large pits, one completely full with bodies and the other half full, were visible. As he was about to be shot, the survivor feinted and only came to later, when he was surrounded by blood and bodies inside the pit. Miraculously he managed to crawl out of the pit towards fresh air and sneak back to the ghetto under cover of darkness.[10]

Several witnesses observed the participation of the local Belorussian police in this Aktion. The local police had been organized by the Wehrmacht as an Ordnungsdienst and were at this time only dressed in civilian clothing. It was formed of young men from Słonim, from the villages, and some Poles. One survivor saw Belorussian policemen going into the houses and taking people out. Others describe them being used as escorts and cordon guards during the shootings. Following the mass shooting, the policemen held a party to celebrate.[11]

In Gebiet Slonim, units of the Wehrmacht also conducted shooting Aktions against the Jews in some of the smaller villages. At the end of 1941 the civil administration issued orders for all Jewish communities of less than 1,000 people to be concentrated into the main ghettos. The Gebietskommissar in Słonim requested that the local military commandant, Glück, continue with his assistance in this process. Glück, however, replied that this was currently impossible due to the absence of necessary transport.[12]

In the ghetto, there was a soup kitchen to help the poorest Jews, and Rabbi Singer from Ostrów Mazowiecka organized services in the ghetto synagogue. In March 1942, the Germans also moved into the ghetto any apostate Jews (including at least one who had become a Christian monk) found in the area. According to one Jewish survivor, who was moved into the Słonim ghetto with his family in March, at this time the ghetto was fenced off and guarded by Jewish Police. He received only a few grams of bread each day and when he got a job as a mechanic in the waterworks, he left the ghetto each day to go to work.[13]

After the November Aktion, Jews in the ghetto formed an Anti-Fascist Committee to coordinate plans for resistance. Jews working in ammunition depots for the Germans managed to smuggle some arms into the ghetto. In the discussions whether to resist in the ghetto or flee to the forest, most people favored the latter. Contact was made with the partisans, and a number of Jews fled from the ghetto into the forests.

In May 1942, 400 male Jewish workers were assembled and deported by train to work at an SS labor camp in Mogilev. Most of these men were murdered by the end of 1942.[14]

At the end of June 1942, a squad of Waffen-SS and Security Police (KdS) from Minsk traveled to Słonim to participate in a large-scale Aktion to liquidate the ghetto there.[15] The Security Police forces were assisted by local policemen, members of the Wehrmacht, Lithuanians, and men from the Gebietskommissariat, who surrounded the ghetto area.[16] The Aktion started when Stabsleiter Rithmeyer shot the head of the Jewish labor office, Kwint. This made it clear that the Jews' fate was sealed, and the Jewish Police and others fled to their prepared hiding places. The Germans and their collaborators then entered the ghetto, driving the Jews out of their homes. Some resistance was offered by those Jews who possessed arms.[17]

In Słonim it appears that the German forces deliberately set fire to the ghetto to drive out those in hiding. One Jewish survivor concealed himself with his brother in a storeroom close to the house. From here he observed a group of Germans and Lithuanians approaching:

> The Germans were giving orders and shouting with their weapons pointed "Juden raus" [Jews come out], but nobody came out. Then an order was given to throw phosphorous grenades into the house and it caught on fire. We saw all of this through the gaps in the wooden planks of our hiding place. Since there was no room for the whole family to hide under the

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> kitchen, some of my family members hid in the attic. I saw that my cousin jumped down and he was shot by a Lithuanian while he was still in the air. The Gebietskommissar, Erren, clapped his hands and shouted "Bravo Lithuanian."[18]

One of the local firemen, called out to deal with the wooden houses on fire in the ghetto, saw German soldiers and Belorussian police there next to the river. He put the pump in the river to draw water to put out the fires. When he started to pump water onto some houses, he heard people shouting and emerging from the cellars. When he aimed the hose towards the people, a German told him to stop and shot at the people in the cellars.[19]

On the day of the main Aktion, it appears that members of the Gebietskommissar's office, including Erren himself, played a leading role, while most of the Gendarmes were apparently absent on an antipartisan operation. Nevertheless, over the following days, members of the Gendarmerie and about 50 Schutzmänner were responsible for combing the ghetto once more for any survivors. Any who tried to escape were shot on the spot, while the rest were escorted to the prison. From here they were taken in batches to be shot by the Gendarmerie shortly afterwards.[20]

Approximately 8,000 Jews were killed in Słonim at this time.[21] Apart from the Aktion in Słonim, other ghetto liquidations were also carried out in the surrounding towns, for example, in Byteń on July 25.[22] In September, Gebietskommissar Erren boasted that of the 25,000 Jews originally living in the Gebiet, only some 500 remained. These people had been saved due to important considerations regarding the war economy.[23] These last remaining Jews of the Słonim ghetto were murdered a few months later, at the end of 1942.

In Słonim more than 100 Poles were arrested on the night of June 29, 1942. Among those arrested, some along with their families, were teachers, lawyers, and priests. Eleven men were transferred to Baranowicze and shot there in July. Of the remainder, about 90 were taken to be shot at Petralewicze near Słonim on December 19, 1942.[24]

About 400 Jews managed to escape to the forests from the Słonim ghetto, most joining Soviet partisan units. Many joined the Shchors unit (Company 51), which operated in the Słonim area.

SOURCES There are a number of relevant publications concerning the Słonim ghetto, including Nachum Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989); the memoirs of Ljuba I. Abramovic, *Die faschistische Gehenna am Beispiel des Ghettos der Stadt Slonim* (Hannover: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995); and Jacob Shepetinski, *Jacob's Ladder* (London: Minerva Press, 1996). The yizkor book, edited by Kalman Likhtenshtein, *Pinkas Slonim*, 4 vols. (Tel Aviv: Irgun 'ole Slonim be-Yisrael, 1961–1979), contains information on the ghetto. There is a short article in German by Hans-Heinrich Nolte in Gerd R. Ueberschär, ed., *Orte des Grauens: Verbrechen im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2003), pp. 237–247. Brief information on the history of the Jewish community of Słonim can be found in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 18:676–677.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports for Słonim and some relevant German documentation can be found in GARF (e.g., 7021-81-103) and NARB; additional captured German documentation can be found in BA-BL, CDJC, and NARA. A number of Belorussian, German, British, and Polish criminal investigations can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGrO; BA-L; NA (WCU); and IPN. Most extensive are the investigative and the trial documents concerning Gebietskommissar Gerhard Erren (LG-Hamb (50)19/72), who was convicted in 1974 but then released on a legal technicality. There are also, many relevant testimonies collected in AŻIH (e.g., 301/2851); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 172–173; BNA (WCU), D7812, S282.
2. WCU, S325.
3. Ibid., D7812; BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 32, July 24, 1941; Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 175–176—this source dates the Aktion on July 14; Likhtenshtein, *Pinkas Slonim*, 2:40–50.
4. Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry*, pp. 68–69.
5. WCU, statement of Zorach Kremen, August 25, 1995 (D7808); Likhtenshtein, *Pinkas Slonim*, 2:40–50.
6. Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 178; Likhtenshtein, *Pinkas Slonim*, 2:40–50.
7. WCU, D7852.
8. Ibid., D7812.
9. Ibid., D6249 and D6291; CDJC, CXLVa-8, Report of Gerhard Erren, January 25, 1942. GARF, 7021-81-103, pp. 179–180, also gives the figure of 8,000 victims.
10. WCU, D6291.
11. Ibid., D7852, D6249, and D6291; see also BA-L, B 162/4614-17 (202 AR-Z 228/59, Indictment in the case of Gerhard Erren), p. 4277, and B 162/5093, pp. 6129–6134.
12. NARB, 3500-2-38, pp. 533–553.
13. WCU, statement of Ahron Bandt, August 14, 1994.
14. Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry*, pp. 132–136.
15. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1965), p. 242, Gruppe Arlt report, Minsk, August 3, 1942.
16. BA-L, B 162/4614-17 (Erren Indictment), pp. 4314–4324.
17. Ibid., p. 4302; Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry*, pp. 160–163.
18. WCU, D7809.
19. Ibid., S282.
20. BA-L, B 162/4614-17 (Erren Indictment), pp. 4322–4341; WCU, D7809.
21. BA-L, B 162/4614-17 (Erren Indictment), p. 4305. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue*, p. 242, Gruppe Arlt, Minsk, August 3, 1942, reported 4,000 victims. Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry*, p. 160, gives the figure of 12,000 Słonim Jews prior to the Aktion.

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22. BA-L, B 162/5088 (202 AR-Z 228/59), pp. 1823–1826, and B 162/5100, p. 4344.

23. CDJC, CDXXXVI-46, Report of Slonim Gebietskommissar, September 26, 1942. See also GARF, 7021-81-103, pp. 181–182, Protocol given by Moysha Yudelevich, who was among the specialist workers saved during the June Aktion.

24. A. Galinski, "Eksterminacja inteligencji polskiej latem 1942 r. w. nowogródzkiem," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji* 23 (1972): 188–189.

SLUTSK

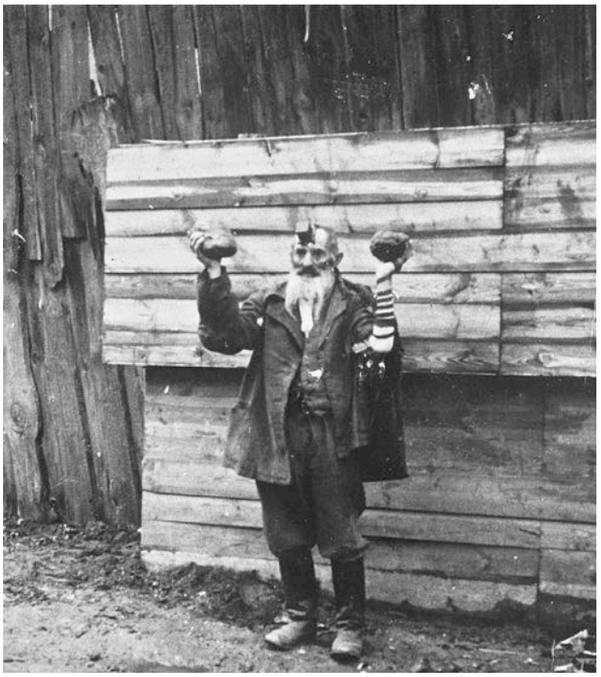
Pre-1941: Slutsk, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sluzk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Slutsk, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Slutsk is located 105 kilometers (65 miles) south of Minsk. In 1897, the town was predominantly Jewish, with the 10,624 Jews accounting for 74 percent of its 14,349 residents. By 1926, the Jewish population had declined to 8,358 (53.3 percent), and by 1939, it had dropped further, to 7,392 (33.7 percent).

Following the German invasion on June 22, 1941, martial law was declared in Slutsk within 24 hours. People were instructed to remain at their jobs and not give way to panic. Men began to be conscripted into the Red Army. There was no evacuation. Instead, official propaganda repeated slogans about victory over the enemy coming "with little blood and on foreign soil." Leaving work without permission was considered desertion. In the shops, people bought up foodstuffs and the necessities of life. Depositors sought to withdraw their savings from the State Bank, but only 200 rubles per customer (about one week's earnings) were permitted. Refugees from western Belorussia arrived in Slutsk, telling of the Germans' rapid advance. On June 24 and 25, the town was bombed.[1]

On the afternoon of June 26, the Germans entered Slutsk. Only a few Jews managed to escape. On the first day of the occupation, the Nazis shot 70 Jews and Soviet activists.[2] A Belorussian police force was organized. The police station was situated in the building of a kindergarten and a day nursery. In Slutsk, on the grounds of the military camp, an assembly point for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was set up.[3] In June and July 1941, German security forces conducted selections at the POW camp in Slutsk, and according to Soviet estimates, they shot between 1,500 and 2,000 Jewish servicemen. By September 20, 1941, a Stammlager (Stalag 341) was operational in Slutsk, and there the Security Police continued to select out and shoot Jews.[4]

In the summer of 1941, units of Einsatzgruppe B combed the town of Slutsk on several occasions, arresting and shooting several hundred Communist activists and Jews. For example, the Einsatzgruppen activity and situation report for the first two weeks of September 1941 noted that in Slutsk five members of the Soviet People's Court had been "rendered harmless" (one of whom was Jewish), and in total 115 people had been shot.[5]



The public abuse of an elderly Jew wearing tefillin (phylacteries) in Slutsk, ca. 1941.
USHMM WS #71234, COURTESY OF YVA

In July and August 1941, the Jews of Slutsk were required to sew yellow patches on their clothing and were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks or enter stores. Initially they continued to live in their own homes and had to perform various forced labor tasks, including construction work and cleaning. The German authorities established a ghetto in Slutsk at some time between July and October 1941.[6] The Germans ordered a fence and barbed wire to be placed around Bobruiskaia, Monakhova, and Parizhskoi Kommuny Streets, enclosing about 40 buildings, and the ghetto was guarded by local police. In the ghetto, each person had no more than 2 square meters (21.5 square feet) of living space, and the buildings were unheated. People slept wherever they could find space. At night, an armed patrol enforced a curfew (from 10:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.), and offenders were shot on the spot. Eli (Eliaga) Epshtein was killed on the steps of his building when he went outside to urinate at 5:00 A.M. Food was in very short supply. The Jews cooked food on "trigons" (metal stands): a thick soup of potato peelings, beets, and bran. Sometimes they were able to trade their clothing with Belorussians for potatoes. Jews who performed work were issued, 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per person per day, while the remaining prisoners were supposed to obtain their own, by risking their lives. Illegally carrying food into the ghetto was punished by death. Malka Troichanskaia was hanged on the gates of the Judenrat office when she tried to exchange clothing for flour and went a few meters outside the barbed wire. The Nazis brought additional Jews into the ghetto from the surrounding villages and small

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towns, bringing the total, including some refugees trapped in Slutsk, to approximately 10,000 Jews in the ghetto.[7]

Units of German Reserve Police Battalion 11, together with two companies of Lithuanian partisans, organized a large Aktion in Slutsk on October 27, 1941. The Aktion was not coordinated with Gebietskommissar Heinrich Carl in advance. His request for a postponement of at least one day, to select out skilled Jewish workers and their families, was refused. The officer in charge of the police battalion replied that he had only been given two days to cleanse Slutsk of Jews, but he did promise Carl to spare Jews who had been issued official German passes.[8]

Carl's plan was for all Jews, including those at work outside the ghetto, to be concentrated inside the ghetto for an orderly selection. Instead, many Jews were taken straight from their factories and workshops. The Lithuanian auxiliaries conducted a brutal roundup throughout the town in which even local Belorussians suffered. They forced the Jews out of their houses and placed them in trucks; any who resisted were shot on the spot. They took the prisoners to a birch grove near the village of Selishche, stripped them, and shot them. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, after the graves were filled with earth, people who were still alive tried to crawl out.[9]

On the streets of Slutsk lay dead and wounded citizens, their belongings scattered about. Carts without horses stood abandoned everywhere. Gebietskommissar Carl submitted a report to Wilhelm Kube, the Generalkommissar of Weissruthenien, in which he complained of the unwarranted cruelty and sadism of the perpetrators. In his words, the German administration, which had won the "full trust" of the Belorussian population in Slutsk, had now lost it again. Carl's particular indignation was aroused by the murder of skilled Jewish workers: tanners, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers, who could not be replaced with Belorussians. This brought to a standstill vitally needed production for the Wehrmacht. One estimate of the number of Jews shot in Slutsk on October 27–28, 1941, is in the range between 3,000 and 4,000 people.[10] The German police battalion collected Jewish valuables during the Aktion in Slutsk, and the Lithuanian auxiliaries looted the town, taking items also from Belorussians.

Many Jews managed to hide successfully during the roundup, including some who were tipped off by the German physician Dr. Leder. Subsequently, he also smuggled food and medicine into the ghetto, assisted by two young Jewish girls who worked in the office of the military commandant. After the October Aktion, by January 1942 at the latest, the Germans established a separate ghetto on the outskirts of town, known as "Polevoe" (the field ghetto), for the elderly and those designated as incapable of work. Living conditions were much better for the Jews in the main ghetto because the prisoners who were escorted out to work every day received meager rations and had the opportunity to obtain extra food. In the field ghetto, life was harsher, as the prisoners were not allowed to cross its boundaries and had no reserves or opportunity to barter. The field ghetto was liquidated gradually. Shootings were carried out, generally on Mondays and Saturdays. Trucks came to pick up the weak and feeble and took the doomed prisoners into the forest near the village of Bezverkhovichi. The field ghetto was dissolved around Passover (March 1942). Those who were still alive were then taken to the main ghetto.[11]

At some time in May 1942, according to a German Security Police report, 30 partisans were publicly hanged in Slutsk, and 38 hostages were shot.[12] In September 1942, according to correspondence of the civil administration, some Jews were still being employed as translators in the Gebietskommissariat, as no suitable replacements could be found.[13]

The ghetto was liquidated on February 8–9, 1943. On February 5, 1943, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eduard Strauch, the commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Minsk, issued a detailed order for the forthcoming Aktion. In Strauch's order, the killing of the Jews was referred to as "resettlement," and its supervision was entrusted to SS-Obersturmführer Müller. Assisting the Security Police were more than 100 Latvian volunteers. The Jews were to be transported in six trucks, with four Latvian guards in each vehicle. Two pits were prepared in advance, and at each of them the firing squads were to be relieved every two hours.[14]

One female survivor, Mania Temchin, has described the ensuing roundup in Slutsk: "[T]he entire area was surrounded, and they began to load people onto trucks. Pinkhos was taken first. Then they took mama and the children. That was at 9:00 A.M. They took me at 1:00 P.M. I can still hear the screams of our little sisters as they were taken to be shot. Roza was shot. Children and men who had been wounded resisting were with me in the truck. We were taken down the Bobruisk highway. The truck bed was covered with a tarpaulin. Two Germans sat with us. I decided to jump off. It was better to die on the road."[15]

As many Jews went into hiding, the Germans decided to set the ghetto on fire to smoke out the remaining Jews. About 400 had emerged by evening, and these Jews were also transported to the graves to be shot.[16] The prisoners were driven to the execution site along the Slutsk–Starye Dorogi highway, which was 0.4 kilometers (a quarter of a mile) west of the village of Sloboda on the bank of the Veseika River. According to incomplete information, about 3,000 Jews in total were murdered over the course of two days.[17]

After the ghetto was liquidated, a certain number of Jews were still being held in the Slutsk prison, through which thousands of prisoners of various nationalities passed during the occupation. According to one source, around 14,000 people were tortured in the town's prison altogether, and many of these people perished.[18]

Semyon Ongeiberg escaped from the Slutsk ghetto on February 8, 1943. At night he went 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) on foot to the village of Chaplitsy and hid in a pigsty. When the peasant woman came to feed the pigs, he surreptitiously ate along with the animals from the same trough. In the village, he was hidden by Tatyana Zabrodskaia and Afanasy Rimsha. After several days, Ongeiberg went into the forest, where he lived for three months until he encountered the Kalinin partisan brigade.[19]

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The Shmerkovich family—10-year-old Yuzik, 3-year-old Dora, and their father Girsh—was saved by Fenia Kostiukevich from the village of Varkovichi in the Slutsk raion. Before the war, Fenia had worked for the Shmerkoviches as a domestic helper. When the Nazis began herding the Jews into the ghetto, Girsh dug a hole in the cellar, covered it with boards, and hid there with Yuzik. Fenia passed off Dora as her daughter, had her baptized in church, and named her Ol'ga. Ella and Liuda Plotkina were saved by their domestic helper, Maria Semenovich. In 1941, the two children were on holiday at a Pioneer camp, and the onset of war left them cut off from their parents. In Slutsk, Maria and her sister Nadezhda Semenovich hid the girls in their home until October 1941, then sent them to a children's home as non-Jews, under the names Valia and Liuba, and brought them food.[20]

Slutsk was liberated on June 30, 1944, by forces of the 1st Belorussian Front, along with partisans. Much of the town had been destroyed and burned by the Germans. It is estimated that altogether at least 10,000 Jews perished in and around Slutsk during the occupation.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Slutsk can be found in the yizkor book edited by N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor-Book Committee, 1962). Additional information on the events of the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981); R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izdatel' E.S. Gal´perin, 1997); and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

Documentation regarding the ghettos in Slutsk and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/16148); BA-MA; GAMINO (Fond 1619 and 1607-1-6); GARF (e.g., 7021-87-177 and 8114-1-961); HHStA-W; NARB (e.g., 845-1-60 and 4683-3-961); RGVA (500-1-769); Sta. Koblenz; TsGAMORF (28th Army Collection, 8423-84); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.378*0011); VHF (# 39742); and YVA (e.g., M-11/76).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, letter of Raisa Tychina from Slutsk, September 13, 2000.
2. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 204.
3. NARB, 845-1-60, pp. 38, 40; and GARF, 7021-87-177, p. 34.
4. TsGAMORF, 28th Army Collection, 8423-84, p. 141; Aron Shneer, *Plen: Sovetskie voennoplennye v Germanii, 1941–1945* (Moscow: Mosty kul'tury; Jerusalem: Gesharim, 2003), 1:170.
5. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 57 (more than 50 victims in August) and 183 (Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 4, Sept. 15, 1941).
6. Available sources disagree on when the ghetto was established: e.g., BA-L, B 162/16148, vol. 1, p. 134, statement of Cadok Feigin, September 7, 1967 (September); Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 248 (October); and VHF, # 39742, testimony of Mariia Aizenshtat, born 1933 (mid-July). The ghetto is mentioned explicitly in the report of Gebietskommissar Carl, dated October 30, 1941; see N-Doc. 1104-PS.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 204–205; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 132, estimate that the Germans murdered around 10,000 Jews from the ghetto altogether.
8. Report of Gebietskommissar Carl, October 30, 1941 (Nbg. Doc. 1104-PS); see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) Lfd. Nr. 546, pp. 800–810.
9. Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003), p. 191.
10. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 613.
11. Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 606; and Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 248; VHF, # 39742; and YVA, M-11/76, which dates the dissolution of the "field ghetto" in May 1942.
12. BA-BL, R 58/697, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 6, June 5, 1942.
13. Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 225–227.
14. RGVA, 500-1-769, pp. 113–116.
15. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 250.
16. HHStA-W, 7 Js 140/63, Bd. 3, pp. 203–207, statement of Arthur Wilke, March 21, 1963; and Sta. Koblenz, 9 Js 716/59, statement of Frantz Mischke, June 2, 1961.
17. *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995), p. 594.
18. GARF, 8114-1-961, p. 332.
19. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 204–206, testimony of Semyon Ongeiberg (New York).
20. Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Sul'man, eds., *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk: Tonpik, 2004), pp. 67–68, 105.

SMILOVICHI

Pre-1941: Smilovichi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Smilowitschi, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Smilavichy, Cherven' raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

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Smilovichi is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Minsk. At the time of the German attack on the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, there were at least 1,500 Jews in Smilovichi. Most of the population believed Soviet propaganda proclaiming that the enemy would be destroyed on its own territory. Nevertheless, the situation was very tense; local residents remembered the many refugees arriving from Poland in 1939, when almost every Jewish family in town took in several people. There was no organized evacuation from Smilovichi. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army, leaving their families to fend for themselves. Only a few people tried to leave independently. Most remained, assuming that the Germans would not harm the Jews.

On June 27, 1941, a column of refugees—about 30 families—left Smilovichi. There were a few horses and wagons, which carried children and the elderly; the majority left on foot to the east. The refugees used country roads, as the major highways were blocked by Soviet troops and under attack from the Luftwaffe; they spent nights in the fields. The group went through Cherven', Berezino, and Pogost. On approaching Mogilev, about 20 families decided to return home, believing that German forces had already blocked the road ahead. About 10 families, however, continued on and crossed the Dnieper near Mogilev; behind them Soviet troops demolished the bridge.[1]

German forces entered Smilovichi on June 29, 1941. Part of the local population, which had been on good terms with the Jews, now changed its attitude. They did not conceal their antisemitism but robbed Jews openly; a few, however, sympathized with the Jews and tried to help.

The Germans established a police station in the fire department building, on the corner of Sovetskaia and Komsomol'skaia Streets. About 40 people joined the local police. The policemen were mostly young men, aged up to 25 years, and many were known as hooligans. They acted with impunity, beating and robbing Jews. Andrei Kureichik came to the house of Moisei Gorelik and stole his bicycle. He also grabbed some boots, remarking: "You won't need these anymore."[2]

Isolated shootings of Jews, Komsomol (youth wing of the Communist Party) members, and Soviet activists began immediately after the arrival of the Germans. On June 29, 1941, a group of 50 Jewish men were arrested in Smilovichi. They were told they were needed to repair a bridge, but the Germans shot them the same day, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) outside the town, near Gudovichi. Rivka Gorelik witnessed the shootings. The Nazis also murdered the observant Jew Simcha for refusing to carry out German orders. He was hanged from the Lenin monument in the main square.[3]

In early July 1941, based on the denunciation of the peasant Pisarchik, the Germans arrested the chief architect of the new Minsk train station and his 13-year-old nephew in the village of Dukorshchina. They were brought to Smilovichi, questioned, beaten, and hanged from a telegraph pole. Each had a sign saying "Zhid" (Jew) on his neck. Pisarchik was rewarded with a pair of boots. Three days later, Boris Plaksa, Abram Teif, and Khaim Kaufman had to take down the bodies and throw them into a ditch near the market. As they carried out these orders, the Jews were forced to sing the "Internationale," the anthem of the Communist movement.[4]

From June 29 until August 1941, the Jews lived in their houses. The ghetto was created in August.[5] It comprised several streets—Minskaia (Respublikanskaia), Girsh Lekkert, Voiskovaia, Zelenaia, and some houses on Solominka Street. The ghetto contained about 100 houses, most of which had previously been occupied by Jews. The few Belorussians in the area were given houses vacated by Jews on Sovetskaia Street. About 20 or 30 Jewish families had to be relocated.

There were at least 1,700 Jews in the ghetto. Of these, over 1,000 were natives of Smilovichi, from a pre-war Jewish population of 1,500. The Germans also moved more than 100 Jews into the ghetto from the surrounding villages of Liady, Dukorshchina, Starino, Zhuravkovichi, and others. Besides this, there were approximately 200 Polish Jewish refugees, who had arrived before the German invasion. There were also no fewer than 300 Jews from Minsk in the ghetto. These Jews had fled towards Mogilev—and were trapped in Smilovichi—as they were unable to continue further east.

There were many women, children, and elderly people in the ghetto. Before the Germans' arrival, the older schoolboys (born 1924–1926) were sent to Uzliany to build an airfield. However, German aircraft fired on them, and they soon returned to Smilovichi to find the Germans had arrived.

The ghetto was enclosed by a fence, and there was a gate on Minskaia Street. On one side was the Volma River, and beyond it there was a swampy meadow on which the hay had been mown. During the roundup on October 14, 1941, many Jews fled towards the meadow, where they met their death. There was no constant guard on the ghetto; the police patrolled only intermittently. But Jews who left the ghetto without permission were taken away and disappeared forever, such as Avremul Voskovich.

Moyshe Shapiro was the head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). He was a former innkeeper, dispossessed by the Soviets. Shapiro's main function was to transmit German orders to the Jews. Jews were occupied in the Smilovichi ghetto in leatherwork and at the felt factory. Moshe Gorelik (born 1925) transported bread from the bakery to the store, managed by his former teacher Zelinskaya (a Belorussian). The workers were mostly men. The most prudent inmates prepared bunkers in case of an Aktion. Many Jews in the ghetto were related, and they helped each other out. The observant Jews still attended synagogue. There had ceased to be a kosher butcher or a rabbi even before the war. Meyer Tsarfin led religious services in Smilovichi, as the most learned observant Jew.

The ghetto inmates did not receive any rations; they had to fend for themselves. People ate vegetables from gardens in and around the ghetto, and some Jews prepared potato pancakes, which they traded for other provisions in the villages. In August 1941, all the livestock was removed from the ghetto, and conditions worsened. At that time, the ghetto was not completely isolated from the Belorussian part of town; the felt factory lay inside the ghetto, and non-Jewish workers came in

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to work there. However, there was no place for Smilovichi Jews to find refuge. Soviet partisans did not become active in the area until late 1942. Belorussians feared severe German punishments imposed on those who helped Jews. Once, David Avrukhin, a former Jewish chairman of the suburban kolkhoz, appeared in the ghetto with a rifle, but he was spotted on Tatarskaia Street and killed.[6]

The Aktion in Smilovichi was planned and carried out by men of the German 11th Reserve Police Battalion, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliaries. On October 14, 1941 these forces arrived early in the morning on buses. The buses unloaded on Sovetskaia Street, and the police forces surrounded the ghetto. Jews who tried to escape were shot on the spot. Former neighbors—local policemen—chased the Jews from their homes and drove them to Chkalov Street.

When the roundup began, some Jews committed suicide. Mania Gorelik climbed onto the roof of her house and killed herself by jumping off. Aaron Finkelstein hanged himself just before the Aktion.

"Solominka" was chosen as the place of the massacre: a quarry on the right side of Minskaia Street, before the Jewish cemetery. Before being shot, the victims were forced to drop their money, jewelry, and other valuables into a bucket, and some were forced to undress. The Lithuanian "partisans" carried out the shootings, while Belorussian policemen formed the cordon. At the edge of the ditch, people were lined up, 50 at a time, and the perpetrators opened machine-gun and submachine-gun fire. Children up to 2 years of age were thrown in alive.

During the Aktion, the Nazis spared only one tailor, whose family was killed. He was instructed to train several Belorussians, and subsequently he was also shot. Isolated shootings continued after October 14, 1941. Sorka Margolin was found after the Aktion and shot in Korzuny by a local policeman. Leyzer Gorelik, who was drafted into the Red Army, served only for two weeks near Brześć; his unit was surrounded, and he returned to Smilovichi. He hid during the October 14 Aktion, then set off for Minsk. Unfortunately, a police car overtook him near Opchak. Gorelik was tied up and dragged behind the car until he died. In the "Solominka" quarry, the former secretary of the Smilovichi party raion committee, Pletnev, was shot with his two children and his sister.[7]

A German report dated October 21, 1941, stated that on October 14, 1,300 Jews, Communists, and "elements hostile to Germany" had been shot in Smilovichi. During the punitive operation, 100 rubles, silver, copper, and nickel items, and used clothing were confiscated. This property was delivered to the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) in Weissruthenien.[8] Some sources, however, indicate that about 2,000 Jews were murdered in Smilovichi.[9]

Not many Jews managed to survive from the Smilovichi ghetto. German-language teacher Liubochkina adopted a Jewish girl from the hospital whose parents (refugees from Minsk) had disappeared.[10] The Germans ordered Khaim Gorelik, Izrail' Kaufman, and Itsik Plaksa to shepherd a herd of 60 cows, taken from the Jews, to Rudensk, where they witnessed an Aktion against the Jews; one day later, the same thing happened in Dukora. Gorelik, Kaufman, and Plaksa fled to Minsk instead of returning to Smilovichi, and they survived as a result.

Three days before the mass shootings, 10 Jews escaped from Smilovichi and went to Minsk, among them Maria Kaufman and her two children.[11] On October 14, 1941, a few people were able to survive in Smilovichi: Abram Teyf (born 1927) concealed himself in a hiding place in his house.[12] The Voskovich family—Zalman (1904), Iosif (1928), Masha (1930), and Nekhama (1932)—was able to get to the "Russian" part of town and climb into the attic of their house, where they hid. When policemen came to check the house, they decided that the stairs were too dilapidated, which saved the Voskovich family.[13] Moisei Gorelik was lightly wounded in the head during the shootings and fell unconscious into the quarry. He was buried under other bodies, but he later climbed out and fled to Minsk.[14]

Smilovichi was liberated on July 3, 1944. About 20 Jewish families returned from evacuation; some demobilized Jews also returned from the Red Army.

SOURCES Information on the Jews of Smilovichi and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995), pp. 336–340; "Mestechko Smilovichi i ego obitateli," *Evreiskii Mir* (U.S.), no. 24, September 17, 1998; and "Smilovichi: Kak ono bylo i kak ono est'," "*Okna.*" *Prilozhenie k gazete "Vesti"* (Jerusalem), October 13, 1994.

Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Smilovichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-13); LYA (trial against Antanas Impulevicius and others, held in Vilnius in 1962); USHMM (RG-50.378*0005); and YVA (e.g., M-33/431 and 433). In addition, reference has been made to materials located in the personal archive of the author.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS), letter from David Eig, June 22, 2004.
2. YVA, M-33/433, p. 5.
3. Ibid.
4. PALS, letter from Moisei Khaimovich Gorelik, June 16, 1994.
5. USHMM, RG-50.378*0005, video testimony of Arkady Teif, August 1, 1995.
6. PALS, letter from M. Gorelik, July 14, 2004.
7. Ibid.; a brief description of the Aktion in Smilovichi can be found in LYA, statement of Kazimir Stanislavovich Hermanovich (born 1917), resident of Smilovichi, in the trial against Antanas Impulevicius and others, Vilnius 1962.
8. NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 3–7, Lagebericht des Reserve-Polizeibataillons 11, October 21, 1941; see also Johannes Schlootz, ed., *Deutsche Propaganda in Weissrussland 1941–1944: Eine Konfrontation von Propaganda und Wirklichkeit. Ausstellung in Berlin und Minsk* (Berlin: Freie Universität, 1996), p. 34.

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9. Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk, 2003), p. 392, indicates there were more than 2,000 Jewish victims. Survivor Arkady Teif concurs; see USHMM, RG-50.378*0005.

10. Lubochkina with her adopted daughter left Smilovichi in 1948; PALS, letter from David Eig, May 18, 2004.

11. The Nazis killed Maria Kaufman in Minsk in 1942, following a denunciation when her brother fled to the partisans.

12. USHMM, RG-50.378*0005.

13. The Voskovich family perished in the Minsk ghetto on Ostrovskogo Street during the Aktion there on November 7, 1941.

14. Shimshon Shapiro perished with his family in Minsk on November 7, 1941. Moisei Gorelik found his father Khaim in the Minsk ghetto. He left for the forest in May 1943 and joined the Soviet partisans in the Naliboki Forest; PALS, letter from M. Gorelik, June 16, 1994.

SMOLEVICHI

Pre-1941: Smolevichi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Smolewitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Smaliavichy, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Smolevichi is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) northeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,385 Jews living in the town (20.5 percent of the total).

German armed forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941, four days after the German invasion of the USSR. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate the area. Some Jewish men were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 1,200 Jews remained in Smolevichi at the start of the occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. Smolevichi was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[1]

Shortly after the Germans arrived, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population and their exploitation for various forms of physical labor. On July 28, 1941, the Germans conducted a first Aktion, in which 150 Jewish men were shot.[2] Then in early August 1941, all the Smolevichi Jews were moved into a so-called ghetto, which consisted of an open field surrounded by barbed wire into which Jews from nearby settlements were also brought.[3]

In September 1944, local resident Leonid Aleksandrovich Shitytskii told the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) that all the Jews were driven out of their private homes and concentrated in the ghetto. All their belongings, including clothing, foodstuffs, and furniture, were confiscated. A large number of Jews, 1,400 in total, were herded into a single spot outdoors, surrounded by barbed wire, and were given nothing to eat. For more than 25 days, the Germans tormented them, forcing them to suffer from hunger and cold. A great many were shot in the ghetto by the Germans and the police for the slightest reason—or for no reason at all. The local police and Germans were often drunk, and for their amusement they would bring several people out and shoot them.[4]

During a second Aktion on August 17, 1941, another 80 Jews were killed.[5] Then, probably on August 28, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann, based in Borisov, assisted by a unit of the Wehrmacht, liquidated the ghetto in Smolevichi. All the Jews were lined up in a column and told they were being transferred to another place. They were ordered to wear their best clothes. Then they were escorted up a nearby hill. When some Jews realized they were being taken to be shot, they refused to go any further and were shot on the spot. Women with infants and small children begged for mercy, but not one was spared. A large pit had been prepared at the designated site, and the Jews were made to undress down to their undergarments. They filed into the pit, and the Germans shot them with submachine guns. Many children were thrown into the pit while still alive.[6]

Some sources date the final Aktion in mid-September 1941,[7] but it appears more likely that most male Jews were shot first in July and August; then the women and children, after them, probably at the end of August. A German report dated in early October indicates that 1,401 people were shot. This number is corroborated by some Soviet sources.[8]

When Peter Chodosz, a Jew from Smolevichi who had been mobilized by the Red Army in the summer of 1941, returned home clandestinely in March 1942, he was informed that all of his family had been shot, and he made his way to the Minsk ghetto.[9] In the second half of January 1944, a detachment of Sonderkommando 1005 arrived in Smolevichi and burned the corpses.[10]

SOURCES The ghetto in Smolevichi is mentioned in W. Orbach, "The Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 6:2 (1976): 21, 34; and 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), p. 1204. Additional information can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 573 and 662a.

Documents regarding the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Smolevichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-87-14); NARB (861-1-8); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 7); VHF (# 10927); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-87-14, pp. 2, 11 (and reverse side).
3. Ibid., pp. 1–2, 7–8.
4. Ibid., pp. 7–8.
5. Ibid., pp. 2, 10.

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6. Ibid., pp. 7–8.

7. Manat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 79. LG-Kö, 24 Ks 1/63, Verdict of May 12, 1964, against Werner Schönemann, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 573, p. 177, also inclines more to the later date.

8. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941; GARF, 7021-87-14, pp. 7–8.

9. VHF, # 10927.

10. LG-Hamb (50) 9/67, 147 Ks 2/67, verdict of February 9, 1968, against Krahner, Goldapp, and Drews, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 662a, p. 41.

SNÓW

Pre-1939: Snów, village, Nieśwież powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Snov, Nesvizh raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Snow, Rayon Neswish, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Snou, Nesvizh raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Snów is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Baranowicze. According to one survivor, including a number of refugees from German-occupied Poland, there were 543 Jews residing in the village in 1940.[1]

The German army occupied Snów on June 28, 1941. The town was bombarded by artillery for three days, and a number of houses were destroyed. At that time there were more than 100 houses in the village. In the summer of 1941, Germans came to Snów and shot a number of Jews who had been denounced by local Belorussians as alleged Communists. Jewish girls were also seized at night and raped.

Shortly after the Germans' arrival, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, headed by a man named Dubkowski. Most of its members did their best to help the Jews, but Dubkowski and his brother, who was also a member, treated the Jews harshly, as they thought they would be safe if they did everything the Germans demanded.[2]

From October of 1941, the mayor of Snów was the Belorussian Walerian Sabicz.[3] The chief of the Snów local police from November 1941 was Piotr Korolev, who was initially in command of 12 local policemen. The local Belorussian police post in Snów was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post based in Nieśwież.

Very little information is available about the existence of a ghetto in Snów, but local resident Aleksander Sidorovich recalled in 1996:

> At first the Jews lived freely, but later a ghetto was established, probably in late 1941. The ghetto was outside the village in houses that Jews already occupied. These houses were surrounded by barbed wire. This area was on Nieśwież Street in the northern part of the village. All of the Jews had to live in the ghetto, which was guarded by policemen. Nobody else was allowed near the ghetto, to prevent people giving provisions to the Jews. The Belorussian police guarded the ghetto. Sergeev [Korolev] was the Belorussian policeman in charge, but he didn't come from Snów; he was a Russian. None of the policemen were from Snów.[4]

In February 1942, the German police, assisted by local police collaborators, shot a group of "Gypsies" (Roma) on the Gorny Snów estate. A local woman recalled that "the Snów police came in several vehicles bringing the Gypsies. The police started shooting them. They shot the old people immediately, on the spot, and threw the surviving children in the well."[5]

Jews from the ghetto were escorted every day 8 kilometers (5 miles) to work in Pogorzelce. They were beaten severely by the guards. People would be shot for begging for a piece of bread from local peasants or for other minor infractions. In the spring of 1942, Menachem Korolczuk from the ghetto made contact with Soviet partisans operating in the region, including one Jew, who urged him and others to flee the ghetto for the forest. Korolczuk tried to persuade his friends to leave the ghetto with him, and they gathered some weapons, which had been left behind by the Soviets on their retreat. By the early summer of 1942, rumors began to spread of the complete liquidation of other nearby ghettos, but the head of the Judenrat, Dubkowski, tried to reassure people that nothing would happen in Snów, and he prohibited anyone from fleeing to the forests. He summoned Korolczuk to him and ordered him to prepare a list of all the Jews. When Korolczuk refused, he knocked his teeth out, insisting this had to be done.[6]

On June 28, 1942, the Germans and their Belorussian collaborators arrested more than 70 Poles in Rayon Neswish, including lawyers, teachers, and priests. They were held for a while in the Nieśwież jail. On August 5, 1942, 73 Poles were taken by truck from Nieśwież in the direction of Snów, and then German Security Police shot them with the help of local Belorussian police. Among those killed was the Catholic priest from Snów.[7]

In the summer of 1942, the mayor of Snów, Sabicz, received instructions from the Germans to summon the Judenrat. He then arranged for some Jews to dig a large pit in a wood 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from Snów, under the pretext that this would hold tanks for the storage of gasoline.[8] A few weeks later the real purpose of this excavation became clear.

Several descriptions of the massacre of the Snów Jews have survived. On September 17, 1942, at 2:00 A.M. about 30 local policemen from Baranowicze, 15 from Horodziej, and about 20 from Nieśwież arrived in Snów. Having been given their tasks by about 12 officials of the German Gendarmerie, they drove the Jews out into the street, shooting on the spot any who resisted. The non-Jews had to stay in their houses. More than 300 Jews were then escorted along the Snów-Nieśwież road. About 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) outside the village, they turned into the forest to the pit, which measured approximately 12 meters long and 6 meters wide (39 feet by 20 feet). The Germans, assisted by their collaborators, brought people up to the pit in groups of 30, had them undress, and shot them

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with submachine guns. During the shooting, no notice was paid to the fact that some people lying in the pit were still alive. They were covered over with a new group of people, and then they were buried.[9] A number of Jews managed to hide during the initial roundup and tried to escape to the forests during the following days. But with the aid of the list of Jews prepared by the Judenrat, the Germans and Belorussian collaborators knew that a number of Jews were missing and spread word that a small remnant ghetto would be established in Rubinsztejn's house. After the initial searches, a number of Jews were gathered here and initially given bread and a little milk. Then three days after the Aktion, the 40 Jews who had been found hiding in Snów were shot, once Gendarmes and local police had arrived from Nieśwież to deal with them.[10]

The hunt for other escaped Jews continued. According to a German Gendarmerie report, on September 23, 1942, seven male Jews and one female Jew who had escaped from Snów on September 17 were caught and shot in the village of Dudichi.[11] Only two Jews from Snów are definitely known to have survived the German occupation. Korolczuk, who escaped at the time of the roundup with some weapons, subsequently served in the Chapayev brigade of Soviet partisans until the Red Army liberated the region in July 1944.[12]

The mayor of Snów, Walerian Sabicz, was tried in Poland and initially sentenced to death in 1952, but on appeal his sentence was reduced to only 5 years. The police chief in Snów, Piotr Sergeevich Korolev, was tried in Baranowicze in 1949 and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment. German and Canadian investigations were also conducted into other senior NCOs in the local Belorussian police, especially with regard to the murder of Jews and Gypsies in Snów. No prosecutions were brought to a successful conclusion, however, mainly owing to the unreliable nature of the Soviet testimonies, which provided the main evidence in these cases.

SOURCES There is a brief section in an article by Eric Haberer that deals with the crimes committed by the German police and their collaborators in Snów: Eric Haberer, "The German Police and Genocide in Belorussia, 1941–1944. Part II: The 'Second Sweep': Gendarmerie Killings of Jews and Gypsies," *Journal of Genocide Research* 3:2 (2001): 207–218. Haberer, however, argues on the basis of the evidence then available to him that no ghetto existed in Snów.

Documents on the murder of the Jews of Snów can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBMO; BA-BL (R 6/348); BA-L; GARF (7021-81-102); IPN; NARB (845-1-6); WCU; and YVA (M-1/E/805).

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NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/805, testimony of Menachem Korolczuk, born 1895.
2. Ibid.
3. Up to October 1941 there was a Polish mayor in Snów, Wąkowicz.
4. WCU, D8660, Aleksander Adamovich Sidorovich, February 2, 1996. These records are currently held in NA, London, but are subject to customary privacy restrictions.
5. WCU, D9317.
6. YVA, M-1/E/805.
7. A. Galinski, "Eksterminacja inteligencji polskiej latem 1942 r. w. nowogródzkiem," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji* 23 (1972): 188–189; see also GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 99–101, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report for Nesvizh February 2, 1945.
8. IPN, SW KsZ 25, case against Walerian Sabicz, p. 42, statement of the accused on January 7, 1952; and YVA, M-1/E/805.
9. NARB, 845-1-6, pp. 54–56; WCU, D8660, A.A. Sidorovich, February 2, 1996. According to the testimony of the accused Sabicz, there were 548 Jewish victims of the Aktion in Snów; see IPN, SW KsZ 25, p. 42, interrogation of Sabicz on January 7, 1952. Piotr Sergeevich Korolev testified in his own case that 400 Jews were rounded up to be shot; see AUKGBRBMO, Arch. No. 3617, Case No. 35694, vol. 2, p. 116, Korolev testimony in court session in Baranovichi, October 28–29, 1949. YVA, M-1/E/805, however, dates the Aktion on June 17, 1942.
10. BA-L, ZStL, 2 AR-Z 16/67 (Eibner investigation), vol. 9, pp. 1771–1779 (interrogation of Korolev), March 10, 1979; AUKGBRBMO, Criminal Case 53302, Arch. No. 3617, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, and vol. 2, pp. 208–214, cited by Haberer, "The German Police," p. 215. YVA, M-1/E/805, indicates that 88 Jews were gathered in the remnant ghetto in Snów before they were shot.
11. BA-BL, R 6/348, pp. 101–107.
12. YVA, M-1/E/805.

STAROBIN

Pre-1939: Starobin, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Starobin, Saligorsk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Starobin is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) south of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,210 Jews residing in Starobin (35.43 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941, four days after their invasion of the USSR. During this time, some Jews evacuated to the eastern regions of the country, and men liable for military service were mobilized by the Red Army.

In the summer of 1941, a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) were in charge of the town. The German military authorities appointed a mayor and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Starobin became a Rayon center in Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

According to Soviet sources, the first Aktion in Starobin took place on July 18–19, 1941, when a motorized detachment of the Wehrmacht arrived from the direction of Slutsk. The German troops surrounded the town and drove all adult inhabitants into the market square. Here they arrested the head of a local kolkhoz and his bookkeeper, allegedly for having

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participated in the killing of three German officers in a nearby wood. The German soldiers beat up these 2 men and together with 370 Jewish men ages 18 to 50 and loaded them onto trucks. They drove them into a wood on the western edge of town, where they shot them all, then left Starobin.[2]

On August 5, 1941, an SS detachment about 200 strong arrived in Starobin from the direction of Slutsk and conducted a pogrom over the following two days. They arrested several hundred Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, and shot them in two locations—behind the Russian cemetery on the northern edge of town and behind the slaughterhouse on Starobin's western edge. A number of Jews were also shot in their homes or in hiding places, such as barns and cellars, during the roundup. The SS unit then departed in the direction of Petrikov.[3]

Another series of mass shooting Aktions against the Jews of Starobin took place in late August 1941, when detachments of the 1st SS-Cavalry Regiment were present in the town. On August 22, at 9:00 A.M., the 3rd Squadron of the 1st SS-Cavalry Regiment arrived in Starobin to "pacify" the town. That evening, the cavalry squadron's commander, SS-Hauptsturmführer Johann Schmidt, reported to the acting regiment commander, SS-Hauptsturmführer Waldemar Fegelein, on the situation in the town, describing it as "extremely unsatisfactory." The mayor appointed by the German authorities and several auxiliary policemen had been killed, he said, and the town had no leadership; the population was being "terrorized" by Jews who had turned Starobin into a "partisan stronghold." The cavalry squadron named a new mayor, who, assisted by the squadron, formed a new auxiliary police force.[4] In addition, as evident from two wireless messages sent by the squadron to regimental headquarters on August 22, the squadron shot first 13 and then 66 "robbers," respectively.[5] On the basis of Schmidt's report, Fegelein sent the entire regiment (minus the 1st Squadron) to Starobin, and it reached the town at midday on August 23. Meanwhile, the situation in Starobin had deteriorated: the new mayor had been "murdered by three Jews," and partisans had tried to set the town on fire during the night of August 22–23. In retribution, Fegelein first ordered all male Jews to be shot and a "cleansing" of the non-Jewish population to be carried out; 21 non-Jews were shot, and 15 of the men arrested were released.[6]

As for the Jews, the 4th Squadron of the 1st SS-Cavalry Regiment (squadron commander SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Gadischke) reported in a wireless message sent to regimental headquarters on August 23, 1941, at 4:00 P.M. that 203 "robbers" had been shot.[7] On August 24, 1941, the regiment left Starobin, but on August 26 it passed through Starobin once again, leaving the 2nd Platoon of the 2nd Squadron (platoon commander SS-Untersturmführer Georg Vieth) in the village for further "pacification," a task it pursued until August 30. On August 28, 1941, at 6:00 P.M., the platoon commander reported: "Around 150 Jews of both genders have returned to Starobin. The platoon concentrated these Jews in one place."[8] A wireless message sent at 9:40 A.M. on August 29, 1941, states: "Yesterday and today, 109 robbers were shot. A search for the others is now under way. Last night, Jews returned to Starobin again. No other incidents of special interest."[9] That same day, at 4:15 P.M., the platoon commander reported: "Eighty more robbers were shot. It must be expected that additional Jews will return to Starobin at night to store food in the houses they had left. I will take the necessary steps."[10] Soviet sources indicate that the local police also participated in the Aktion on August 28–29.[11] Overall, more than 470 Jews were shot in Starobin in the period from August 22 to August 29, 1941.[12] According to the Slutsk yizkor book, some of the Jews were driven out of town on the road to Slutsk and shot in the forest there. This source also confirmed that some Jews fled to Slutsk and other places during the chaos in Starobin in the summer of 1941. It is likely that some returned subsequently to collect their own property or even to return permanently if they believed that the situation had stabilized.[13]

The Jews that survived the various mass shootings in August 1941 consisted of about 150 to 200 people, who were mainly specialist workers (craftsmen) and their families. These people were gathered together and placed in a ghetto located on Bol'shaia Korpilovskaia Street. The Jewish craftsmen, such as tailors, were kept alive to train non-Jews to take over their professions and were also used to carry out various forced labor tasks. According to the evidence of local Soviet witnesses interviewed in 1969, the Gendarmerie post in Starobin, under the leadership of an officer named Weinmann, was in charge of the ghetto and supervised the work of the Jewish specialists. The Germans shot small groups of Jews successively over the following year and a half. Weinmann and the forces of the local Gendarmerie post also participated in the final liquidation of the ghetto in the spring of 1943. Only 1 Jewish furrier and his family were left alive for some time after this final Aktion. They were also murdered before the retreat of the Germans in the summer of 1944.[14]

A number of Jews managed to escape to the forests from Starobin at the time of the massacres in August 1941 and thereafter. Most of these Jews joined Soviet partisan units in the region, serving alongside non-Jews. Notable among the survivors was Shmuel Pisarovitz, who played a distinguished role in a partisan attack on the German garrison in Pogost. When Jews returned to Starobin from the partisans in 1944, they found that much of the town had been destroyed, and local peasants had even dismantled some Jewish houses to erect them again in their own villages. A few Jews also returned from having been evacuated to the Soviet interior, but most Jews gathered in Slutsk, due to the desolate state of Starobin, where the Germans had even destroyed and burned the *matzevot* (tombstones) in the new Jewish cemetery.[15]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Starobin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publication: N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv and New York: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), pp. 465–466.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Starobin can be found in the following archives: BA-L

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(B 162/16148); BA-MA (RS 4/430); GARF (7021-82-7); NARB; VHAP (Kdo.-Stab RFSS/K 24, A 154); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Some sources give a much larger Jewish population (ca. 3,050 Jews); see BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 119, 124, 129. Nevertheless, a figure of 1,200 to 1,500 Jews in June 1941 seems more likely, given that some Jews fled in time.
2. BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 119–120, 124–125, and 129–130.
3. Ibid. This source gives a figure of 1,000 Jewish victims for this Aktion, but this figure is probably too high.
4. VHAP, Kdo.-Stab RFSS/K 24, A 154, SS-Kav. Regiment 1, Bericht über "Befriedung des Raumes Starobin," September 4, 1941.
5. BA-MA, RS 4/430. Schwadron, Funksprüche, August, 22, 1941.
6. See VHAP, SS-Kav. Regiment 1, Bericht über "Befriedung des Raumes Starobin," September 4, 1941.
7. BA-MA, RS 4/430, 4. Schwadron, Funkspruch, August 23, 1941, 4.00 P.M.
8. Ibid., 2. Zug, 2. Schwadron, Funkspruch, August 28, 1941, 6:00 P.M.
9. Ibid., August 29, 1941, 9:40 A.M.
10. Ibid., August 29, 1941, 4:15 P.M.
11. BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 119–120.
12. According to the list of victims, 429 Jews were killed in Starobin (GARF, 7021-82-7, pp. 13–19).
13. Ch. Rubnitz, "Hurbn Starobin," in Chinitz and Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, pp. 465–466.
14. Ibid.; and BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 119–120, 124–125, 129–130.
15. Rubnitz, "Hurbn Starobin," pp. 465–466.

STOŁOWICZE

Pre-1939: Stołowicze, village, Baranowicze powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Stolovichi, Baranovichi raion and oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Stolowitschi, Rayon and Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Stalovichy, Baranavichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Stołowicze is located 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) north of Baranowicze. Following the outbreak of war in September 1939, many Jewish refugees from central and western Poland arrived in Stołowicze, bringing the Jewish population to about 1,000 people.[1]

German forces entered the village on June 25, 1941. The Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) on September 1, which was headed by Zudl Bayarski from Wilno. There was no Jewish police force. In October 1941, the Germans drove all the Jews into a ghetto on Słonim Street and the neighboring small streets. The ghetto initially remained open with no fence.[2]

On their arrival the Germans began to rob and oppress the Jews in various ways. They would come with written instructions for the Judenrat to provide various things, such as clothing, shoes, bedding, furniture, food, and contributions in money or gold. These requests all had to be met punctually and in full, or the threatened punishment was the death penalty. The Jews were terrified. They gave the Germans their prized possessions, hoping they would thereby remain alive. The Germans also compelled the Jews to perform forced labor. Jewish gravestones were taken from the cemetery and used for construction purposes.[3]

According to the child survivor Richard Vanger (born 1932), the ghetto was enclosed probably in early May 1942, consisting of about 10 houses and two barns surrounded with barbed wire, located right next to the police station. There was only one gate to the ghetto. Presumably the Germans enclosed the ghetto at this time to prevent Jews from fleeing just prior to the Aktion they were planning for mid-May.[4]

On May 13, 1942, German security forces and local police arrived in Stołowicze. They surrounded the village, assembled the Jews in the marketplace, and drove them to two trenches near Bereznianka, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the village. On arrival the Jews were made to climb down into the trenches in groups on a kind of staircase. The Germans then shot the Jews in the trenches. Some Jews were made to arrange the bodies that had already been shot into orderly rows before being shot themselves in turn. On that day the Germans murdered almost the entire Jewish population of Stołowicze.[5]

Only a few Jews managed to escape from the shootings. Two young girls, Basia Ledowicka (16 years old) and Sonia Basiel (17 years old), survived. The commandant of the Belorussian police hid them for two days in his attic, wanting to help them. Then he told them to go, and they left in the direction of Baranowicze.[6] Moyshe Pincaigski, a miller, managed to survive in the pits and fled. Two policemen pursued him, wounding him with a bayonet and eventually shooting him dead.

After the shootings, the local police, assisted by some of the local population, continued to search for Jews in hiding. According to Vanger, after a few days the Germans offered an amnesty to any Jews who emerged from hiding, and about 20 Jews went back into the ghetto, living in the synagogue. Food was still a problem, but Jews obtained some scraps by begging. This remnant ghetto existed for about two weeks. Then Vanger received a warning from one of his father's friends to leave the ghetto that night. The friend dressed him in her daughter's clothes and sent him to hide with other friends outside the village.[7]

The remaining Jews, about 10 to 20 people, were all shot that evening. Among the victims were Itshak Bielous (22 years old), Chaim Czernichowski (36 years old), Shmuel Kangarowicz (40 years old), Michal Dworecki (45 years old), and Aba Derecinski, together with his two brothers. Some of those who fled later served in the partisans and took their revenge against the Germans and their collaborators. One survivor

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who joined the partisans was Tukaszewski, who was wounded and became an invalid.

SOURCES A brief entry on Stołowicze can be found 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), p. 1247.

This account is based mainly on the following two testimonies: AŻIH (301/2190) and VHF (# 37335). Additional documentation can be found in YVA (M-1/E/1447 and 2387).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2190, testimony of Zalmer Goldin on December 16, 1946.
2. Ibid.; according to Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1247, the ghetto was created in January 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/2190.
4. VHF, # 37335, testimony of Heniuk Rzdanuik/Richard Vanger (Wengier).
5. AŻIH, 301/2190.
6. Avraham Shemu'el Shtain, ed., *Baranovits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Baranovits be-Yisrael, 1953), p. 467, notes that some Jews who managed to escape the massacre in Stołowicze subsequently found temporary refuge in the Baranowicze ghetto.
7. VHF, # 37335.

STOŁPCE

Pre-1939: Stołpce, *town*, *powiat center*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Stolbtsy*, *raion center*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Stolpce*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Stoubtsy*, *raen center*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Stołpce is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) southwest of Minsk. In June 1941, there were more than 3,000 Jews living in the town, including several hundred refugees from the German-occupied parts of Poland.[1]

German forces occupied Stołpce on June 29, 1941. Some Jews tried to flee, but most were turned back by Soviet officials at the old Soviet border or were overtaken by the rapidly advancing German army. A large number of houses were destroyed during the bombardment of the town. Jews who lost their homes had to find shelter with others who had been more fortunate.

Within a few days of their arrival, the German military authorities introduced a regime of forced labor for Jews ages 12 to 60: repairing roads and railways, or cleaning German offices. A local police unit was established, which enforced the anti-Jewish regulations.[2]

After a week, the Germans shot around 200 Jews together with several dozen non-Jews, allegedly as a reprisal for sniper fire directed at German soldiers. A few days later, a number of Jews were assembled at the local stadium. Several were murdered, and the rest were taken to the customs office and forced to perform humiliating labor tasks while being beaten. SS forces arrived in Stołpce and conducted a further Aktion in July 1941. Local Belorussians assisted them, pointing out where the wealthy Jews lived. The Germans then arrested 76 people and shot them in a nearby forest.[3]

About three weeks into the occupation, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Members of the Judenrat included Wolf Pras, Tunik Boruchanski, and Wajnrach (all from Stołpce), and Witenberg, Kibelski, and Kinerski (refugees from Łódź). The Judenrat was ordered to collect a large financial contribution and also to surrender valuable items and furs. Subsequently the council encountered difficulties in meeting the unceasing German demands for furniture, clothing, linens, and foodstuffs. A Jewish police force was established to assist the Judenrat in carrying out its duties.[4]

From August 1941 until February 1942, the military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Stołpce comprised men of the 8th Company, 727th Infantry Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Göbel.[5] In late August or September 1941, the German Ortskommandant established a ghetto in Stołpce.[6] The ghetto was located in the worst part of town, and conditions were very overcrowded (up to 30 people sharing a room). The Germans surrounded it with thick barbed wire, and there was only one large gate, guarded by the local police and the Germans. There were no schools in the ghetto, and the rabbis went into hiding, fearing persecution.[7]

In November 1941, men of the 8th Company, 727th Regiment, assisted by the local police, conducted large-scale massacres of the Jews in Nowy Świerzeń, Mir, and other nearby places. However, no large-scale Aktion was conducted in Stołpce. From mid-November 1941, German Gendarmerie posts were established in Gebiet Baranowitsche, which assumed control over the local Belorussian police. However, the Gendarmerie outpost in Stołpce was not established until 1942, still remaining subordinated to the larger post in Mir. Among the leaders of the local police in Rayon Stolpce was Jan Szczekało.[8]

The Jewish survivor, Rochelle Sutin, has described conditions in the ghetto. Initially she was housed in an old meeting hall formerly belonging to the Baptists. Dozens of families were crammed together with only enough room to sleep. There were two wood stoves for cooking and keeping warm, but there was not much to cook, as food rations were limited to stale bread or worse. Sleeping was almost impossible due to the bedbugs in the mattresses, and during the day lice caused her skin to itch and rashes to break out. Those capable of work left the ghetto every day for the sawmill and other places in town, but the many unfit Jews remained behind in the ghetto. Rochelle brought back scraps of bark from the sawmill to be used for heating.[9]

In response to an enquiry made via the Red Cross, the Gendarmerie in Gebiet Baranowitsche reported that three members of the Kapuszczewski family, Israel, Minja, and

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Nechama, were all Jews living in the Stołpce ghetto in June 1942.[10] In the summer of 1942, as news arrived of the uprising in the nearby Nieśwież ghetto in July, young Jews in Stołpce prepared to offer armed resistance, secretly gathering weapons and German uniforms. However, in late July or early August 1942, at least 500 able-bodied Jews from the ghetto were selected for work, including some of those in the underground. They were sent to labor camps run by the Organisation Todt in Baranowicze and Minsk. As this selection was not an extermination Aktion, no uprising was staged; the underground feared for the fate of the women and children. Following this selection, about 2,000 Jews remained in the ghetto.[11]

The Gendarmerie in Stołpce planned to carry out a large Aktion against the ghetto on September 23, 1942, ordering the concentration of all local policemen from throughout the Rayon, as well as members of the Latvian Police Battalion based in the town. These forces surrounded the ghetto early in the morning. A squad of the Security Police and SD from Minsk, including non-German auxiliaries, arrived in Stołpce to direct the Aktion. Some 450 Jews were sent to their workplaces, and 750 Jews, most of them women, were shot, while another 850 either managed to flee or remained in hiding in the ghetto. The Gendarmerie post commander, Hauptwachtmeister Wilhelm Schultz, reported that over the following days up to October 2 another 488 Jews, composed mostly of women and children, were brought in and shot under his supervision. Another 350 Jews were killed on October 11, including many more who had attempted to hide among the work Jews living in the reconstituted ghetto. Schultz concluded that after this Aktion there were no children or unfit people remaining.[12]

Following the killings in October, Schultz ordered for the remaining smaller part of the ghetto to be sealed off by a 2.5-meter-high (8-feet-high) wooden fence. Local peasants came to salvage any property of value from the emptied area of the ghetto. The remaining 210 Jews, roughly half men and half women, were employed at the Stöhr Company Army Base, at the Luftwaffe Supply Office, and at the Zentrale Handelsgesellschaft Ost (Central Trade Society East, ZHO).[13] In November 1942, the Jewish partisan Abraham Zaretski sneaked into the ghetto with the aim of leading out a group of Jews to join the Zhukov partisan detachment in the forest. However, the head of the Judenrat betrayed Zaretski to the Germans, who killed him, as the chairman feared the consequences of such an escape for those Jews who remained.[14]

In December 1942, about 60 Jews fled to the forest after hearing that Schultz was planning a further Aktion; 30 of them returned shortly afterwards, however, when they were offered "amnesty."[15] In late January 1943, around 200 Jewish laborers remained in the Stołpce ghetto and about 250 in the sawmill labor camp (former ghetto) in nearby Nowy Świerzeń. On Friday, January 29, 1943, about 200 Jews fled from the Nowy Świerzeń labor camp run by the Luftwaffe, as they had learned that non-Jewish laborers would soon replace them. In response, Gendarmerie Captain Max Eibner in Baranowicze ordered the shooting of all the Jews in the Stołpce ghetto and all but 12 specialists at the sawmill. On January 31, the Gendarmerie shot 254 Jews, including those brought in from Nowy Świerzeń. Subsequently, another 18 found hiding in the ghetto were shot, and guards killed 6 more as they attempted to flee from the ghetto area at night. Over the following days, Wehrmacht patrols handed over another 15 Jews captured in the surrounding area, such that 293 Jews had been shot by February 4, 1943.[16]

Some of the Jews who fled the Stołpce ghetto survived by joining the Bielski partisan unit in the nearby Naliboki Forest or by serving with other Soviet partisan units in the region.

SOURCES Information on the Stołpce ghetto can be found in the following publications: Nahum Hinits, ed., *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no veha-'ayarot ha-semukhot Rubezevits, Derevno, Nalibok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Stoyebts be-Yisrael, 1964); and Jack Sutin and Rochelle Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle: A Holocaust Story of Love and Resistance* (Saint Paul, MN: Graywolf, 1995).

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Stołpce during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/554, 564, and 569); BA-L (202 AR-Z 16/67); GABO (995-1-4 and 7); GARF (7021-81-102; and 7021-148-316); IPN (SAOl 14; SWGd 27; and SWOl 50-55 and 75); NARB (845-1-6 and 389-1-4); Sta. Mü I (117 Js 2/72, investigation against F. Göbel); Sta. Oldenbourg (2 Js 138/68); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.214; RG-53.002M; and ITS (VCC—Ordner Nr. 6); VHF (e.g., # 11623 and 13957); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3569).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/564, testimony of Berko Berkowicz; and Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, pp. 25–26.
2. AŻIH, 301/564.
3. Ibid.; Hinits, *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no*, p. xv; Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, pp. 33–37; and NARA, T-175, reel 233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 50, August 12, 1941.
4. AŻIH, 301/564.
5. Sta. Mü I, 117 Js 2/72 (investigation in the case of Friedrich Göbel), pp. 1228–1230, statement of Fritz Mühlemeyer on September 6, 1972. The investigation concluded that Göbel was probably deceased, and no other persons were indicted.
6. AŻIH, 301/564. Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, p. 39; here Rochelle states that the ghetto was created two months after the Germans arrived (i.e., in August–September). The Nowy Świerzeń ghetto was established on October 25, 1941; see YVA, O-3/3569, testimony of Yisrael Celkowicz.
7. AŻIH, 301/564; and Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, p. 40.
8. GABO, 995-1-4, p. 297; and IPN, SWOl, trial of Jan Szczekało, who was sentenced to 10 years in prison.
9. Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, pp. 41–42.
10. USHMM, ITS collection, VCC—Ordner Nr. 6, p. 70.
11. AŻIH, 301/564 and 301/554, testimony of Lejzer Zarecki; VHF, # 11623, testimony of Isaac Haskell, who was among those sent to the labor camp in Minsk; Hinits, *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no*, pp. xvii, 140.
12. GABO, 995-1-4, p. 304, and 995-1-7, reports of Gend.-Postenführer in Stolpce, Schultz, to Gend.-Gebietsführer in Baranowitsche, October 3 and 18, 1942. AŻIH, 301/569, tes-

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timony of Basia Pinczonslia, confirms that women and children found in the ghetto were murdered on Schultz's orders in October, leaving only 220 Jews capable of work.

13. GABO, 995-1-7, p. 307; and Hinits, *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no*, p. xviii.

14. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 459–460.

15. AŻIH, 301/569.

16. NARB, 389-1-4, pp. 22, 24.

SZARKOWSZCZYZNA

Pre-1939: Szarkowszczyzna, *town*, *Dzisna powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Sharkovshchina*, *raion center*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Scharkowschtschina*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Glebokie*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Sharkaushchyna*, *raen center*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Jewish men work in a shoe factory in the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto, 1942. USHMM WS #78937, COURTESY OF MARK FINTEL

Szarkowszczyzna is located about 160 kilometers (100 miles) north of Minsk. The number of Jews in the town on the eve of World War II was probably around 1,500.

Szarkowszczyzna was attacked and occupied on July 6–9, 1941, by German units of Panzer Group 3, commanded by Hermann Hoth, and the VIth Infantry Corps, belonging to the 9th Army. At first, the town was in the 9th Army's zone of operations; at the end of August 1941, it became part of Gebiet Glebokie in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

Among the first victims of the German occupying forces were deputy of the town council Zalman Muszkat, Hitl Mindel', Tsodik Rozoy, and Raya Friedman, all of whom were shot during the first month of the occupation. Local police chief Marian Danilecki and his assistant, Michal Klenowski, were responsible for those deaths.[1] The Germans and their collaborators concentrated initially on those whom they suspected of being Soviet activists or who might be capable of organizing resistance.

Between September and November 1941, the Jews of Szarkowszczyzna, together with those of Bildziugi,[2] Hermanowicze,[3] Nowy Pohost,[4] Szkunciki, and other nearby villages, were rounded up and placed in a ghetto. The ghetto was on the corner of the streets known after the war as Kirov and Engels Streets, on the right bank of the Dzisna River.[5] According to witness S.A. Byk, Jews forcibly confined in the ghetto were allowed to bring with them only a few household articles. All livestock was seized, and whatever the Jews left behind was also taken. To heighten security, the ghetto area was surrounded by a tall wooden fence topped with barbed wire, and a guard was posted. Jews were strictly forbidden to leave the ghetto or communicate with non-Jews. About 1,700 people were confined within the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto in conditions of terrible overcrowding.[6] Ekhiel' Lipshin was chairman of the ghetto Judenrat,[7] which organized a small Jewish police force to assist in carrying out its tasks.

Establishing the ghetto was part of the Germans' methodical efforts to weaken the inmates' will to resist. To that end, they forced Jews aged eight and older to engage in heavy physical labor, for example, building a bridge across the Dzisna River, clearing snow from the roads in winter, or working in agriculture. The Jews were starved; each worker received just 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. Violence and humiliation were deliberate. Inmates were systematically beaten and robbed and could be shot for failing to obey the German regulations.

News from outside the ghetto was also alarming. On December 17, 1941, the Gendarmerie from Szarkowszczyzna, assisted by local Belorussian policemen, murdered 450 Jews in the nearby town of Jody. The local population took the clothing of the Jews for themselves. The murderers did not cover up the grave for another month and a half, as they continued to use it to bury Jews they tracked down in hiding.[8]

At the end of March 1942 (three days before Passover on April 2), the Germans divided the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto into two parts, one for "necessary workers" and a second ghetto for the rest. All the ghetto residents suddenly claimed they had items to trade and did what they could to be registered in the "necessary workers' ghetto." At the beginning of June 1942, rumors spread about the slaughter of the Jews in the nearby towns of Miory and Brasław and then a few days later in Dzisna. At this time there were a few cases of typhus in the ghetto, and those who were sick were transferred to the Głębokie ghetto, which had a hospital. The Jews in the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto had procured some weapons secretly and began to station guards at night to warn of any suspicious movements, as most Aktions started early in the morning.[9]

According to the testimony of Y.E. Tseplovich, the Gendarmerie officer Hein (or Heidt) arrived in Szarkowszczyzna from Głębokie on June 17, 1942. Two of the Judenrat leaders met with him. When they asked about the future of the ghetto, the officer replied that there would be no Aktions. Early the next morning, however, on June 18, the German police and their local collaborators surrounded the Szarkowszczyzna

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ghetto and set about killing its inhabitants. They opened fire with submachine guns and machine guns and threw grenades. Some ghetto inhabitants also tried to set the ghetto on fire, but this was mostly unsuccessful because of the recent rain. Many Jews attempted to flee, however, breaking down the ghetto fence in places and bursting through the surrounding police cordon.[10] I.I. Bakhir later testified that "a large number of Jews escaped from the ghetto into the fields, and the Germans from the punitive detachment shot at them."[11] Some 700 mostly elderly ghetto inhabitants, who were unable to flee, were escorted away and shot. The mass shooting was carried out on the eastern edge of town in two ditches on the right bank of the Dzisna River. The bodies of those who had been killed in the ghetto were later brought there as well. Nearly 1,000 Jews took part in the mass escape, however, and the survivors sought refuge in the surrounding countryside.

The Germans, assisted by the local police, recaptured about 300 of the Jews who had escaped. A large group was found hiding close to a mill near Radiuki, a village 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Szarkowszczyzna, and the Germans shot them as soon as they were found.[12] The local police did not tire; for days and weeks they continued searching for fleeing and hidden Jews.[13] Among the survivors were a number of former ghetto inmates who formed a Jewish partisan unit. As many as 500 Jewish escapees from the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto subsequently went into the ghetto in Głębokie. In August 1942, the office of the Glebokie Gebietskommissar spread news of an amnesty for those Jews in hiding if they gave themselves up and came to the Głębokie ghetto.[14] Because of the difficulties in finding a safe place to hide, many Jews accepted this offer, despite their natural doubts as to its sincerity. The Głębokie ghetto was in turn liquidated in August 1943, and ultimately only about 60 Jews from Szarkowszczyzna managed to survive until the Germans were driven from the region by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

German forces and their collaborators murdered Jews both before and after the liquidation of the ghetto, in villages of Rayon Scharkowschtschina, such as Semionowicze, Szkoldri, and Nowosiolki.[15] Some Jews who fled from the ghetto were captured and killed: for example, in Rawiczewka, the Germans burned 7 Jews to death on December 7, 1942; 2 other men who tried to escape were shot. Ia. K. Statsevich was also killed for sheltering Jews. In June 1943, 19 Jews who had probably escaped from the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto were shot in Raypol. In September 1943, 2 other ghetto escapees were killed in Robertowo.[16]

SOURCES Information on the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto can be found in the following publications: Michael Rayak and Tsevi Rayak, eds., *Hurbn Glubok*, *Sharkoystsene*, *Dunilovitsh*, *Postav*, *Droye*, *Kazan: Dos lebn un umkum fun yidishn shtetlekh in Vaysrusland-Lite (Vilne gegent)* (Buenos Aires: Landslayt Farayn fun Sharkoystsene, Dunilovitsh, Postav, Glubok un umgegent in Argentine, 1946); Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* [in Yiddish] (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947); and Gennadii Vinnitsa, "Dve stupeni k vosstaniiu," *Novosti nedeli* (*Evreiskii Kamerton*), June 4, 2003, pp. 6–7.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews in the Szarkowszczyzna raion can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1390-91); GARF (7021-92-224); NARB (370-1-483); USHMM (Art & Artifacts, Acc.1998.89); and YVA (e.g., 0-33/2277). Gennadii Vinnitsa also consulted witness testimonies located in his own (PAGV) and other personal archives.

Gennadii Vinnitsa and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Testimony of Y.E. Tseplovich, GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 320. Danilecki shot several other Jews after the establishment of the ghetto, but he was himself arrested and shot by the Germans in the spring of 1942; see USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc.1998.89, MS of Abraham Sosnowik, "Survival in German-occupied Poland" (1987), pp. 9, 15.

2. Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, pp. 154–155, gives the population of Bildziugi as 280 but dates the concentration of the Jews in Szarkowszczyzna erroneously as the end of 1942 (it should be late 1941).

3. On the Hermanowicze ghetto, which existed only briefly in the summer and fall of 1941, see the separate entry in this volume.

4. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 645–650 and 692–694, statements of Szachna Szteijnman, October 30, 1961, in Buenos Aires, and Moses Treister on January 27, 1962, in Chicago, both survivors from Nowy Pohost, who were taken to the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto in September or October of 1941. See also USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc. 1998.89, "Survival in German-occupied Poland," pp. 7–8, which dates the transfer to Szarkowszczyzna in October 1941.

5. Testimony of L.M. Shlabovsky, in PAGV.

6. Act, April 10, 1945, Concerning the Investigation of Crimes of the German-Fascist Invaders and, their Accomplices on the Territory of Szarkowszczyzna Raion, Polotsk Oblast', GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 4, states 1,600. BA-L, B 162/1391 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 2), p. 936, statement of Zalman Cymmer, September 9, 1962, in Israel, gives the figure of 1,800 ghetto inhabitants.

7. Testimony of Ishayahu Cimmer, in PAGV.

8. Act, March 11, 1945, Concerning the Crimes of the German Invaders in the Village of Jody, Szarkowszczyzna Raion, Polotsk Oblast', GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 56. For more detailed accounts of the events in Jody, see Peter Silverman, David Smuschkowitz, and Peter Smuszkowicz, *From Victims to Victors* (Concord, Ontario: Canadian Society for Yad Vashem, April 1992), pp. 79–88; and also YVA (M-1/E 2129/1912 and 0-33/2277).

9. USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc.1998.89, "Survival in German-occupied Poland," pp. 24–27.

10. Report of Gebietskommissar Glebokie, July 1, 1942, to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, W. Kube, concerning the Judenaktion, NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15; Rayak and Rayak, *Hurbn Glubok* [English trans.] pp. 66–67.

11. Testimony of I.I. Bakhir, GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 309.

12. Testimony of S.A. Byk, GARF, 7021-92-202.

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13. Rayak and Rayak, *Hurbn Glubok* [English trans.], p. 67.
14. USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc. 1998.89, "Survival in German-occupied Poland," p. 46; S. Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, p. 155.
15. GARF, 7021-92-224, pp. 58, 132, 260.
16. Ibid., p. 246.

SZCZUCZYN

Pre-1939: Szczuczyn, town and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Shchuchin, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schtschutschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Shchuchyn, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Szczuczyn is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) east-southeast of Grodno. In 1940, out of 3,500 inhabitants, 1,800 were Jews. Around 20 percent of the Jewish population consisted of recent refugees from central and western Poland. About 600 Jews (120 families) lived in the town of Różanka some 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the southeast.[1]

The German army entered the town on June 26, 1941, arriving via Różanka, where German units had murderd 80 Jews in a reprisal Aktion after local inhabitants had accused the Jews of assisting the Soviets. In Szczuczyn, the German occupants initially arrested scores of prominent local Jews. After holding them hostage for three days, the Germans let them return home. According to the testimony of Liber Losh, the first person murdered in the town was a Jew, hanged in the market square by the Germans as an alleged Communist.[2]

In mid-August 1941, the Germans selected 40 Jews from among those working near the Palace of Drucki-Lubecki, where they were constructing air-raid shelters. They shot them all and buried them on the spot. Among those killed were Herzl Medlinsky, Leib Levin, Yaakov Vitovsky, and Asher Yantchuk. This was the first Aktion.[3]

Among the first anti-Jewish measures ordered by the Germans was that every Jew must wear a yellow star (Magen David). Jews were not permitted to trade in the market or have any communication with the Christian population. Jews were also not allowed to enter or leave the town, and a curfew was imposed on them at night. Every Jewish man and woman under the age of 60 was obliged to perform forced labor.[4]

Initially Szczuczyn was administered by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). During the first days of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur set up a local adminstration and a police force recruited from the Polish population. Among those who joined the police were the Kotzut brothers, the Novick brothers, Yozhvaski and Naomchik, as well as Piltzky and his sons.

From the end of August 1941, control over the area was handed over gradually to the newly created German civil administration. However, the Ortskommandantur remained in place during the transition, and in October 1941, the 12th Company of Infantry Regiment 727 manned the Ortskommandantur.[5] Szczuczyn became a Rayon center within Gebietskommissariat Lida, under Gebietskommissar Hermann Hanweg. The local German civil administrator in charge of Szczuczyn was Kreisleiter Ermann. The commander of the Polish police was Wojciech Kotzut, and the local mayor was Linewicz.[6]

At the beginning of July 1941, the Germans appointed a Judenrat with the following members: Y. Paretzki, Moshe Ilutovich, Yitschak Mendel Levin, Chaim Leib Lidsky, Yosef Listovsky, Zussel Levit, and Tsvi Marshinsky. Later, the following were appointed to the Judenrat: Berl Sosnovitz, Mendel Paretski, Yudel Shavadsky, and others.

The function of the Judenrat was to carry out German orders promptly and to collect "contributions" for the Germans from the entire Jewish population. These contributions provided the Germans with money, clothes, and jewelry, in addition to the free supply of Jewish workers. The Jewish Police assisted the Judenrat. According to the recollection of Jakov Mazowecki, the policemen were Rafael Friedman, Alter Rotman, Simcha Marshinsky, and Aharon Kemenitsky. Golda Shwartz reported that "the Judenrat did everything they could and more to help." According to Mazowecki, they are credited with having organized medical services within the ghetto and establishing a soup kitchen to provide needy people with a hot meal.[7]

About a week after the formation of the Judenrat, in mid-July, the Germans published an order enclosing the Jews in a ghetto. The restricted area covered the following streets: Różanka Street and Railway Street; the market area to the power station; the two streets of the "Pliant"; Grodno Street and Vilna Street; and the market area to the non-Jewish "Meshchanin" houses (postwar: 17 September Street, Gastello Street, Komsomol'skaia Street, and Frunze Street). Once all the Szczuczyn Jews (about 2,500) were concentrated in the ghetto, another 500 Jews from Różanka and the more distant town of Bielica were brought in. Escorted by local police guards, the Jews were permitted to take with them only what they could carry in their arms. Several Jews from Różanka were also included in the Judenrat in the Szczuczyn ghetto.[8] Life in the ghetto was characterized by terrible overcrowding and food shortages.

Available survivor testimony indicates that there was no artificial wall around the ghetto. However, local resident Victor Jarmalkowich claimed that there was a barbed-wire fence. The commandant of the ghetto was a man named Petuchow. According to survivor testimony, the Polish policemen who guarded the ghetto were susceptible to bribery.[9]

About two weeks after the creation of the ghetto, the Germans ordered the local police to assemble, "for the purpose of registration," all the Jewish intelligentsia (e.g., teachers, doctors, lawyers, and religious leaders) with their families. About 10 families, some 50 people altogether, were gathered (including Rabbi Yechiel Michal Rabinowitz, the ritual slaughterer Leib Zarenstein, the dentist Lisa Dvortsky-Sapir, and several teachers). The Germans led them out of the town to the village of Topilishky (about 8 kilometers, or 5 miles, from

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Szczuczyn) and murdered them there by shooting them into pits that had been prepared beforehand.

The final massacre in the Szczuczyn ghetto took place on May 9, 1942.[10] During the early hours of the morning, the members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police numbered the houses and, under orders from the authorities, announced a gathering in the synagogue square for the purpose of a general population census (including children and the sick). When the whole community had gathered, the German Stabsleiter, Leopold Windisch, appeared with his assistant and translator, the Pole Wasiukiewicz from the Gebietskommissariat in Lida,[11] the local police commander Kotzut, the head of the local council Yazhevsky, and about 25 SD men with machine guns. Once those assembled had closed ranks in order (by family), the local police commander announced that 500 men, artisans and workers, with their families would be selected and transferred to Lida. The others would be sent home. When the 500 men had been selected (including some members of the Judenrat and Jewish Police), the remaining people were marched to the market square, where they had to lie facedown, heavily guarded by Polish police.

In the meantime, a group of German motorcyclists appeared in the synagogue square, armed with submachine guns. They started shooting into the crowd. An order was given to move while the murderers surrounded the rows from all sides, shooting nonstop and directing the condemned people to the outskirts of the town towards the pits that had been prepared previously. There, a firing squad of Lithuanians and Latvians awaited them. The people were led to the pits, ordered to undress, and then made to get into them. The murderers showered them with machine-gun fire and threw grenades into the pits. They then covered the dead with a layer of a chloride compound and prepared the next group to be shot. This continued until 5:00 P.M. The following day, the remaining Jews were given permission to gather those killed outside the pit and bury them next to the common mass grave. According to various sources, between 2,060 and 2,180 Jews were killed.[12]

The approximately 500 Jews who remained alive were then returned to the ghetto. The Judenrat was reconstituted (including Chaim Leib Lidsky, Yosef Listovsky, and Tsvi Marshinsky). The public kitchen and the public bathhouse were reopened. A *minyan* was organized to say Kaddish, and an underground *cheder* for about 30 orphaned children was set up. In return for bribes, the new German Sonderführer now appointed to govern the town allowed the Jews to work in the gardens next to their houses or even to gather crops in the village fields belonging to Jews. In September 1942, the Germans started organizing groups of people and sending them to the Organisation Todt labor camps in Lida, Wilejka, Krasne, Oszmiana, and Borisov. Over the next six months, Szczuczyn was almost completely emptied of its remaining Jews.[13]

On September 17, 1943, the last Jews were deported in railway cars to the Majdanek concentration camp. Of 2,500 Jews from Szczuczyn, only 13 men are known to have survived. These men fought against the Germans in Soviet partisan groups. At least 4 Jewish partisans from Szczuczyn were killed in combat.[14]

SOURCES The main published work on the Jewish community and the ghetto of Szczuczyn is the yizkor book by L. Lush et al., *Sefer Zikaron li-Kehilot Shts'uts'in*, *Vasilishki*, *Ostrin*, *Novidvor*, *Roz'anke* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ostrin be-Yisrael, 1964). There is also some useful information in two local history publications: *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Shchuchynskaha raiona* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 2001); and Siarhej Donskich, *Nash Shchuchin* (Grodno, 2001).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAGO; NARB; and YVA. Further information can be found in the German investigative files regarding the case of Leopold Windisch (Sta. Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67).

Siarhej Pivavarchyk

NOTES

1. Donskich, *Nash Shchuchin*, pp. 22–23.
2. YVA, 0-3/4378, testimony of Liber Losh.
3. Lush et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 84.
4. YVA, 0-3/4378.
5. On the Aktions conducted against alleged "Jewish partisans" in the area by 12th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, see Sta. Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67 (case against Leopold Windisch), pp. 1175a–1191e.
6. *Pamiats'*, p. 204; Donskich, *Nash Shchuchin*, p. 125.
7. YVA, O-3/6922, testimony of Golda Shwartz; and *Pamiats'*, p. 204.
8. Lush et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 443–444.
9. YVA, O-3/4378.
10. NARB, 861-1-7, p. 70; *Pamiats'*, pp. 204–205; YVA, O-3/4378. Some sources date the Aktion on May 10.
11. The presence of Windisch is questionable, as some witnesses put him in Żołudek on the morning of May 9; see BA-L, B 162/14386 (202 AR-Z 94d/59, verdict of LG Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67, July 17, 1969).
12. NARB, 861-1-7, p. 70; *Pamiats'*, pp. 204–205; GAGO, 1029-1-75, p. 81; *Niamecka-faschyski genacyd na Belarusi, 1941–1944* (Minsk, 1995), p. 315; see also Sta. Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67, Dok. Bd. 2, pp. 19–21, 50–53, 79–82.
13. Lush et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 88.
14. *Pamiats'*, p. 205.

TIMKOVICHI

Pre-1941: Timkovichi (Yiddish: Timkovitz), village, Kopyl' raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Timkowitschi, Rayon Kopyl, Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Tsimkavichy, Kapyl' raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Timkovichi is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. By mid-1941, emigration had reduced the Jewish population to less than 1,000.[1]

German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied Timkovichi on June 28, 1941, one week after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During that time, only a few Jews

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managed to evacuate to the east or, like Joseph Shuster, were conscripted into the Red Army.[2] Around 900 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Timkovichi was in Rayon Kopyl, Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Timkovichi, including the appointment of a Judenrat, the compulsory wearing of distinguishing markings, and the use of Jews for forced labor. Jews were also forbidden to leave the limits of the village and had to pay large contributions to the German authorities.

According to the recollection of three Jewish survivors, the Germans established a ghetto in Timkovichi only a short time after their arrival, in early or mid-July 1941. The ghetto was composed of a number of small houses, which became very overcrowded, with as many as eight families sharing a single dwelling. The Jews in the ghetto received no food rations.[3] The survivors indicate that a barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto, which was guarded at least part of the time by the local Belorussian police. However, according to one account, the Jews were concentrated first, and the fence was erected later, in the fall of 1941.[4]

On March 25, 1942, the Germans ordered all the Jews to assemble on the market square. Here they conducted a selection. A group of about 300 Jews, comprising craftsmen and their families, were directed to one side and then sent back into the ghetto. The others, probably about 600 people, were taken out of the village in the direction of Prusy and were shot into a large pit.[5]

On June 25 or 26, 1942, four German Gendarmes, assisted by the local police, escorted all the remaining Jews to a pit about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) outside the village. Here they were shot in groups of 15 to 20 people.[6]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Timkovichi can be found in the following publication: Nachum Chinitz and Samson Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv and New York: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), pp. 441–445.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Timkovichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/16148); GARF (7021-82-8); NARB; USHMM (RG-10.455); VHF (# 2409, 24546, 39429); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Chinitz and Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, pp. 441–445; and 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), p. 1308.

2. Isaac Kowalski, *Anthology on Armed Resistance, 1939–45* (Brooklyn, NY: Jewish Combatants Publishers House, 1991), p. 119.

3. VHF, # 24546, testimony of Naum Bratkovskii (born 1915), and # 2409, testimony of Iakov Kuchinskii (born 1929); and BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), p. 151, testimony of Fishel L. Kirman (born 1891), given on July 13, 1970.

4. VHF, # 39429, testimony of Ilya Shuster (born 1922).

5. BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), p. 151, testimony of Fishel L. Kirman.

6. Ibid., p. 184—gives the date of June 25, 1942; the dates of the shootings given on the inscription on the memorial are March 26 and June 26, 1942. According to the list of names, there were 527 victims (GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 112 verso–120 verso). Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 700, however, dates the Aktion in late July or even early August, around the same time as the final liquidation of the nearby Kopyl' ghetto (on July 23, 1941).

URECH'E

Pre-1941: Urech'e, town, Liuban' raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uretschje, Rayon and Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Urechcha, Liuban' raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Urech'e is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 979 Jews living in Urech'e (17.5 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the settlement on June 28, 1941, six days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. Owing to the rapid German advance, only a few Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Around 750 to 800 Jews remained in Urech'e at the start of the occupation. The first Jewish victims were shot shortly after the arrival of German forces in the summer of 1941.[2]

Initially, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ran the settlement. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Urech'e was incorporated into Rayon Sluzk, Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Slutsk from the fall of 1941 was Heinrich Carl. Under the civil administration, the local Belorussian police was transferred to the control of the German Gendarmerie (Order Police) and renamed the Schutzmannschaft.[3]

Immediately after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews and compelled them to perform various forms of forced labor. In the fall of 1941, all the Jews of the town, and probably about 100 more from the surrounding villages, were resettled into a ghetto on Talskaia Street, which was guarded by the Schutzmannschaft and the Germans.[4] According to Einsatzgruppen report no. 182, dated March 18, 1942, 10 Jews from the Urech'e ghetto escaped in order to join the partisans.[5]

Early in the morning of May 9, 1942, German-led forces drove the Jews out of their houses in the ghetto and conducted a selection. About 120 Jewish craftsmen, including tailors, carpenters, and shoemakers, were separated from the

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column. Then the remaining Jews, comprosed mainly of the elderly, women, and children, were escorted to two ditches that had been prepared in advance by local inhabitants about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northwest of Urech'e on the edge of the forest. On the way to the killing site, the Germans shot 12 to 15 Jews who tried to flee. At the ditches, the Jews were forced to undress and made to climb into them, where Germans, assisted by Belorussian Schutzmänner, shot them with machine pistols, rifles, and revolvers.[6]

On that day, a detachment of the Wehrmacht, together with men of the German Gendarmerie and local Belorussian police, shot 715 Jews. Two days later another 40 Jews uncovered in hiding were shot. An entry found in the diary of a dead German soldier recorded: "The young Jewish girls pleaded, 'Don't kill us, we want to live.' Many of them did not want to be shot but jumped into the pit in front of them and were buried alive."[7] A monument was placed at the site of this mass grave in 1967.

Later in 1942, probably in late summer or fall, a detachment of German Gendarmes accompanied by Belorussian policemen under the command of the head of the Schutzmannschaft in Slutsk, Stefan Schneck, arrived in Urech'e from Slutsk and shot the remaining 100 or so Jewish craftsmen. Jewish property was collected from the victims; the Germans took the most valuable items back with them to Slutsk, and the other property, mainly clothing, was given into the custody of the police chief in Urech'e, Pavel Sevruk, for distribution among the local population. This Aktion was conducted in a ditch on the southeastern periphery of the town near the airfield.[8]

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Urech'e can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/16148); GARF (7021-82-7); NARA (NO-3233); TsGAMORF (233/2374/58); USHMM (RG-22.002M and RG-22.008); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. 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), p. 1362.
2. BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), vol. 1, p. 38, testimony of Nikolay Pavlovich Zlobin, March 12, 1947.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. BA-L, B 162/16148, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, testimony of Nikolay Pavlovich Zlobin, March 12, 1947; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 71.
5. NARA, N-Doc., NO-3233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 182, March 18, 1942.
6. BA-L, B 162/16148, vol. 1, pp. 38, 43, 47.
7. See Boris Shub, ed., *Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1943), pp. 199–200. The names of 504 of the murdered Jews can be found in GARF, 7021-82-7, pp. 59–69. TsGAMORF, 233/2374/58, p. 14, Akt, June 30, 1944, records 930 Jews shot on May 8, 1942.
8. BA-L, B 162/16148, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, testimony of Nikolay Pavlovich Zlobin, March 12, 1947, and pp. 57, 63–64, testimony of the former head of the local police, Pavel Sevruk, August 7, 1959 and June 15, 1946.

UZDA

Pre-1941: Uzda, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Usda, Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Uzda, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Uzda is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. The Jewish community of Uzda is first mentioned in records from the eighteenth century; in 1765, 263 Jews lived there. Uzda became part of Russia in 1793. In 1847, 1,618 Jews lived in Uzda; and by 1897, the Jewish population had reached 2,068, comprising 75 percent of the total population. In 1926, the share of Jews in Uzda had fallen to 62.5 percent (1,564 Jews). In 1939, the share of Jews in the local population stood at 33 percent (1,143 Jews).

Most of the men of working age were drafted into the Red Army, but older people and families with many children were unable to leave town on their own. On June 27 1941, the German army entered Uzda without encountering resistance. That same day, the Nazis used the local cemetery as an execution site, where they shot Communists who had failed to evacuate and were revealed by local inhabitants.

The German commandant soon appointed a local police chief, Dlatovskii, and a deputy police chief, Iosif Savitskii. The detachment of German Gendarmes in Uzda was led by Woland. The municipal administration, an organ of local self-government, was headed by Viktor Vitkovskii. Respected people joined it, such as Kruglik, the senior doctor at the local hospital, and his spouse, also a doctor. Brel', a well-known local Stakhanovite (an industrial laborer singled out as a role model for hard work) and a master craftsman in the cobblers' *artel* (cooperative), became town mayor.[1]

At the end of July 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to leave their homes and move into a ghetto within two days. The ghetto was established on two streets: Leninskaia and Proletarskaia.[2] Jews were also brought into the Uzda ghetto from the nearby villages of Losha and Mogilno.[3] The Jews were allowed to take with them only a few basic necessities, such as bed linen. Home utensils, furniture, cattle, and poultry were forbidden. All the ghetto's inhabitants, some 300 families, had to wear a round yellow patch on the left breast and on the back of their outer garments.[4] Jews could walk only in the middle of the road; under no circumstances were they allowed on the sidewalk. The ghetto was not surrounded by barbed wire, but orders were posted on the walls announcing the rules of conduct for Jews: full compliance with the ghetto's internal regime, no

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leaving the ghetto without special permission, no talking with non-Jews, and other restrictions.[5] Any violation of these rules was met with one strict punishment: shooting. Conditions in the ghetto were very cramped. People felt cut off from the outside world and all news. They had to rely only on rumors.

The Uzda ghetto had no great economic significance. It served mainly as a place for concentrating the Jews to facilitate their annihilation at a later date. Therefore, no special measures were taken to provide for their social, medical, and material needs. Forced labor was only sporadic in nature. It is not known whether there was a Jewish Council (Judenrat).

In the first half of October 1941, deep pits were dug beyond the hillcrest at the far end of town on the other side of the bridge over the shallow Uzdianka River. A clay ditch located at the site was made deeper. According to some sources, this work was carried out by prisoners of war who were then shot.

The first Aktion was carried out on October 16–17, 1941. The day before, Vitkovskii, the head of the Uzda administration, convened leading figures from the ghetto in the former Thälmann Club and announced that all the Jews would be resettled to Minsk the next day. The Jews were ordered to dress in their best clothes, lay any valuables and money in the open at home, and leave the doors unlocked. Some of the Jews believed Vitkovskii. He had a reputation as a modest man and a good neighbor. That night, however, a Jew from Shatsk stole into the Uzda ghetto and revealed that on the previous day all the Jews in his ghetto had been killed under the pretext of resettlement.[6]

On October 16, at 5:00 A.M., a detachment of Security Police (subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3),[7] Gendarmes, and local policemen surrounded the ghetto. At 7:00 A.M., the German police ordered those Jews unable to walk to board the trucks. A gut-wrenching cry went up. The remaining Jews were organized into a column and led northeast towards the edge of the forest in the direction of Zabolot'e, 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from town.[8]

Upon arriving at the killing site, the Jews were forced to undress and led to the edge of the pit in groups of 10 to 15 people. They were shot with machine guns and automatic weapons. The bodies were thrown forward into the pit by the shots fired. Those who refused to go to the site were killed on the spot and their bodies tossed into the pit. If the machine guns did not hit those standing in the firing line—as a rule, children—they were pushed into the pit alive, along with their murdered friends and family members. According to witness accounts, a German truck driver lost consciousness at the sight of this massacre, but a local driver replaced him.

On October 17, the Germans hunted down and killed Jews trying to hide in their makeshift refuges. No fewer than 1,200 people were killed in the course of two days. After the pogrom, local policeman Aleksandr (Sashka) Zhdanovich went about town boasting about how he had killed Jews. He went into considerable detail in describing the killing of Jewish girls. Other local policemen involved in the Aktion included Pavel Golub', Yosif Savitskii, and Ivan Koptur.[9]

Before the Aktion the local administration had selected seven of the best Jewish craftsmen; they and their families were spared from the mass shooting, as they were required to work for the Germans.[10] These Jews were placed in a smaller remnant ghetto in the town and may have been joined by other Jewish survivors after the first Aktion. The second Aktion took place in May 1942, when Roma (Gypsies) and, according to some sources, remaining Jewish specialists and their families—as well as possibly Soviet POWs—were killed at the Jewish cemetery. In all, 410 people were killed during that Aktion.[11]

Only a few people managed to save themselves. Edik Uel'skii (12 years old), the son of a Jewish woman and a Belorussian man, was able to tear himself away from the hands of the executioners when he was already standing naked on the edge of the pit, awaiting his fate.[12] A Belorussian family from the village Zhmaka Uzdenskaia was able to save Sima Margolin.[13] Zina and Khaim Grozovskii and their daughter Faina (10 years old) were hidden by Ales' and Tat'iana Krys'ko from the village of Bervishchi (one kilometer from Uzda), putting themselves and their seven children in danger. They hid the Grozovskiis in their home for a year and then helped them link up with Soviet partisans. The commander of the diversionary group at the core of the unit that took in the Grozovskiis was a certain Gritsenevich, also a Jew; the unit's radio operator was Sara Levin. Otherwise—that is, in partisan units without Jewish personnel—the fate of Jews roaming the forests who attempted to join them was uncertain (many were rejected or even hunted down).[14]

Uzda was liberated on June 26, 1944, by partisans of the 300th Brigade (Voroshilov), who held Uzda until the arrival of the 65th Army, 1st Belorussian Front, on July 4, 1944. On October 29, 1944, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission arrived in Uzda and determined the sites where peaceful citizens had been shot. Upon examination, three large pits were discovered. The first of them was estimated to contain the bodies of 1,200 Jews. The second pit apparently contained 540 Jews, 120 POWs, and around 500 Belorussians. The third pit contained an estimated 950 bodies. This was the final burial site, which had been used in 1943–1944 for the murder mainly of non-Jews. The Extraordinary State Commission did not note the nationality of these victims. Another grave was found in Uzda itself, close to the city sauna. Upon opening it, officials found the bodies of 36 people who had been shot after interrogation and torture by Uzda's police and Gendarmerie. The remains of these victims were relocated to the city cemetery.[15]

According to Emanuel Ioffe, 1,610 Jews, and according to Marat Botvinnik 1,750 Jews, perished in Uzda during the occupation. However, these figures are significantly higher than the pre-war Jewish population of Uzda—1,143 according to the 1939 census. A number of Jews managed to flee east with retreating Soviet officials or were mobilized for the Red Army; and some were able to flee occupied Uzda and join the partisans. In addition to the Jews, the Nazis murdered Gypsies, POWs, Soviet activists, and Communists. Therefore, including refugees from western Belorussia and Jews from the

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surrounding villages, it is likely that no more than 1,300 Jews perished in Uzda during the Holocaust.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Uzda can be found in the following publications: Sima M. Margolina, *Ostat'sia zhit'* (Minsk, 1997); Projektgruppe Belarus, ed., "Interview mit Sima Maximovna Margolina in 2001," in *"Existiert das Ghetto noch?": Weissrussland—Jüdisches Überleben gegen nationalsozialistische Herrschaft* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 78–103; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); "Evreiskii kamerton," supplement to the weekly *Novosti nedeli* (Tel Aviv), August 3, 2000; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki Genotsida Evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GARF (7021-87-15 and 16); NARB (845-1-206); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (M-33/433-34).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-87-15, p. 1; and NARB, 845-1-206, pp. 169–171.
2. The description of the ghetto is based mainly on Margolina's memoir *Ostat'sia zhit'*; a brief summary can be found in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 230–232.
3. 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), pp. 748, 841. From Mogilno, 61 Jews were transferred to the Uzda ghetto, and from Losha, probably around 100.
4. Margolina, *Ostat'sia zhit'*. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report gives the figure of 300 families inside the ghetto, but the number of victims it gives for the Aktion on October 16–17 (1,740 Jews) is probably too high; see below.
5. Projektgruppe Belarus, "Interview mit Sima Maximovna Margolina," pp. 82–83.
6. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 230–232.
7. BA-BL, R 70 SU/15, Jägerbericht, December 1, 1941.
8. YVA, M-33/434, p. 2.
9. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, p. 231; NARB, 845-1-206, pp. 169–171.
10. Projektgruppe Belarus, "Interview mit Sima Maximovna Margolina," pp. 83–84.
11. Emanuel Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945 gg.* (Minsk, 2003), p. 393; *Pamiat': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia kniga, 1995), p. 613. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report of October 29, 1944, mentions only the murder of Gypsies in May 1942; see NARB, 845-1-206, pp. 169–171.
12. Margolina, *Ostat'sia zhit'*, p. 16.
13. Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei*, p. 204.
14. "Evreiskii kamerton."
15. YVA, M-33/434, pp. 8–9.

UZLIANY

Pre-1941: Uzliany, village, Rudensk raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Usljany, Rayon Rudensk, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Uzliany, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Uzliany is located about 25 kilometers (16 miles) south of Minsk. By the middle of 1941, the Jewish population had declined by about one third, to around 400 to 450 people.

German forces had occupied the village by June 28, 1941, less than one week after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. According to the survivor Lazar Tsirlin, few Jews tried to flee, as although Jewish refugees had brought information about the Nazi persecution of Jews in occupied Poland, people still did not anticipate Nazi atrocities, recalling the German occupation during World War I in a generally favorable light.[1] In the short time available, a few men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 400 Jews remained in Uzliany at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant controlled the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Uzliany was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land, which was headed by the Gebietskommissar, Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser. Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla was appointed the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer. The Gebiet Minsk-Land became part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

The first German troops to enter the village looted some homes for food but did not distinguish between the Jews and the rest of the local population. Soon afterwards, however, the German military commandant ordered the agricultural administration to register and mark all the Jews in the village. A local administration and a local police force were recruited, which included former opponents of the Soviet regime. For example, a local "kulak" was appointed as starosta (head of the local administration). During the summer of 1941, probably in July, all the Jews of the village were confined within a ghetto composed of a few houses. Jews residing in the ghetto, including young boys, were required to perform various forms of heavy labor, including the repair of roads and bridges.[2]

On October 6–7, 1941, a few refugees from the nearby town of Shatsk brought news of the shooting of most of the Jews there by the Germans on October 5. Then on October 8, Lithuanian auxiliary police (Schutzmannschaften) and German policemen of the 11th Reserve Battalion surrounded the ghetto. These forces rounded up the Jews and escorted them to the Jewish cemetery just south of the village, where they shot about 375 people into a pit that had been prepared in advance.[3] A few Jews managed to escape during the roundup, most of them subsequently finding their way to the Minsk ghetto. According to the report of the German military commandant in Weissruthenien, German and Lithuanian police forces under military authority shot 630 persons in the area of

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Uzliany and Rudensk, whom they deemed to be "suspicious persons without documents, communists, and Jews."[4]

SOURCES Publications regarding the ghetto in Uzliany include Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 58, 77, and 91.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Uzliany can be found in the following archives: NARB (378-1-698 and 651-1-1); and USHMM (RG-50.378 # 0009).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.378 # 0009, oral history conducted with Lazar Samuilevich Tsirlin.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 77, 91.
4. Report by "Kommandant in Weissruthenien," October 16, 1941, NARB, 378-1-698, p. 4. See also NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 14–15, report of "Kommandant in Weissruthenien," October 19, 1941, which detailed activities from October 1–15, 1941; it mentions that 617 persons were shot after the police searched the villages of Dukora, Ozery, and Uzliany and the forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) to the east of Uzliany for "Jews, partisans, bandits, and other politically unreliable elements."

WASILISZKI

Pre-1939: Wasiliszki, town, Szczuczyn powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vasilishki, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wasilischki, Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Vasilishki, Shchuchyn raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wasiliszki is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) east-northeast of Grodno. In 1940, the town had 2,596 inhabitants, of whom 2,190 were Jews.[1] Some 350 Jews lived in the nearby towns of Sobakińce and Zabołoć, located about 25 to 30 kilometers (15.5 to 18.6 miles) to the northwest.

The first German military units entered the town on June 25, 1941. Some local inhabitants presented lists of Jewish names to the German commander, alleging they were Communists. Following these denunciations, on July 26, the German authorities arrested and shot 7 Jewish men: Yakov Stein; Leizer Itche Borenstein, his son Hershl; Hersh Kavalsky, his brother Moishe; Nioma Ginzberg; and Binyamin Miller. In a subsequent Aktion a few days later, 11 more Jews were arrested and taken to Lida; nothing was heard from them again. Allegedly, one of the victims, the watchmaker Reuven Tzeshler, was denounced by a Polish colleague, to whom he had entrusted part of his property.[2]

The Germans set up a local council and a police force recruited from among the local Polish population. The chief of the Polish police was a man named Juzewski; the mayor (Bürgermeister) was Vagit Shmigira; and the offical responsible for Jewish forced labor was a certain Wolkiewicz.[3] The local police escorted the Jews assigned to forced labor each day, beating them frequently as they worked. For half a Reichsmark (RM), any Christian could buy a Jew for a day's work. The town administration made a business out of Jewish labor. When some Christians were dissatisfied with the Jewish workers, they cursed and beat them. Other Christians were more humane, however; they gave the Jews food and even allowed them to take food home for their families. On one occasion, the Jews were obliged to surrender furniture, bed linens, dishes, and antiques in order to equip the office of the commandant. On another occasion, the local authorities demanded boots, fur garments, cloth, and other valuables.[4]

In mid-July 1941, the German commandant called up 20 men, the finest *balebatim* (notable citizens) of the shtetl, and ordered them to form a Judenrat. The members of the Judenrat included Herman Sendik, Yakov Kaufman, Kalman Kravitz, Alter Venzovsky, Yonas Mones, Moishe Bass, Mordechai Lipschitz, Chaim-Berl Gordon, and Dr. Katz. The Judenrat had to carry out all the German decrees and orders and meet every request to supply Jewish workers. The Judenrat was also ordered to form a Jewish police force of 20 men to assert its authority in the ghetto. Every day the German authorities issued new decrees.

Despite difficulties in raising money, the Judenrat did manage to save some Jews temporarily by bribing certain officials. Operating in the region was a German special unit that always arrived in a particular vehicle, called *di boid* (covered wagon). The special unit carried out murders of the Jewish population. For example, those Jewish families whose men had evacuated with the Soviet forces were identified and shot by the special unit, assisted by the local police under the command of Juzewski. During Rosh Hashanah, the "boid" returned, and a number of Jews were arrested during prayers. After much hard negotiating by the Judenrat, and in exchange for a large bribe, the police released the Jews.[5]

In the fall of 1941, the German Gendarmerie arrived in Wasiliszki and assumed control of the local Polish police. The Germans established a ghetto in Wasiliszki on December 12, 1941.[6] The Judenrat was summoned and told to prepare for receiving some 200 Jews from Zabołoć, Sobakińce, and other nearby villages. A few days later, these Jews arrived and were put into houses on Kranker Street. The ghetto occupied half of Kranker Street, Foiler Street, Shulhoif Lane, and half of Vilna Street. In the ghetto, five families had to share one house. No information is available about the existence of a fence or a wall enclosing the ghetto. On moving into the ghetto, the Jews could take only what they could carry in their arms; later, some Jews who went back to visit their old houses to retrieve property were shot.[7]

All the inhabitants of the ghetto had to perform forced labor each day. Jews were forbidden even to talk to people who were not Jewish. Each ghetto inhabitant had to wear a yellow Star of David on his or her chest and back. The Germans

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established a daily food ration of 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread per day for able-bodied Jews. As Samuel Poliachka recalls, the Germans imposed a strict policy of collective responsibility for any infringement of their instructions. A list of the people living in each apartment or house was posted at the entrance. The list was signed by the commandant of police and was certified by a seal. The police frequently inspected the ghetto at night. If someone was missing, or someone unlisted was present, then everyone in the residence would be killed. At night, it was forbidden to burn lights at home. This last decree also gave the police an opportunity to break into Jewish houses,[8] claiming that they saw lights inside. Once inside, they forced the Jews to hand over gold and money.

In the winter of 1941–1942, several groups of Jews were murdered by the German special unit and the local police, including the notorious policeman Szakowicz. Conditions in the ghetto deteriorated as food became scarce and clothes became ragged with no possibility of repairing them. In March 1942, however, the German garrison in nearby Szczuczyn (12th Company, Infantry Regiment 727) left for the front, and after that things became quieter until the ghetto liquidation in May.[9]

On May 8, 1942, many Germans arrived in Wasiliszki, together with Lithuanian policemen. They surrounded the ghetto. All Jews were ordered to surrender their valuables to the Judenrat, and no Jews were permitted to leave their houses. Only Judenrat officials and the Jewish Police were permitted to move about the streets. On May 9, 1942, the police chief Juzewski shot Chaim-Berl Gordon of the Judenrat, after taking the gold and other valuables collected from the Jews in the ghetto.[10]

On the morning of May 10, the police and SS started to chase the Jews out of their houses towards the main square near the Judenrat office, shooting some on the way. At the square, a selection took place. Among those participating in the selection were Shmigira, the mayor; the commandant of the Polish police, Juzewski; and the leader of the labor office, Wolkiewicz. Leopold Windisch, the deputy of the German Gebietskommissar in Lida, was present, together with a large group of high-ranking German police officers, who came to carry out the massacre.[11]

Those Jews who were directed to the left were escorted under severe blows to the cemetery, where mass graves had been prepared. A few tried to escape, but most of them were immediately shot by the guards. The selected Jews were then shot, and their bodies fell into the graves. According to different sources, between 1,800 and 2,159 Jews were murdered over the course of two days.[12] During the summer of 1942, the German authorities transferred the roughly 200 Jews still in Wasiliszki to the Szczuczyn ghetto, where a number of Jews from other towns in the region were also concentrated. Some of the Jews from Wasiliszki later were sent on from Szczuczyn to the Lida ghetto and to the labor camp in Lida run by the Organisation Todt (OT). Some of them were subsequently transferred to other OT camps in Wilejka and Krasne.

The Wasiliszki Jews who were taken to Lida established contact with Soviet partisans in the various forests of the region, particularly in the Naliboki Forest. During the spring and summer of 1943, a number of Wasiliszki Jews succeeded in fleeing to the forest.[13] Most of them joined active partisan units and took part in various battles.

SOURCES A most valuable collection of firsthand survivor testimonies can be found in the yizkor book for Szczuczyn (Shchuchin, Belarus), edited by C.E. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron li-Kehilot Shts'uts'in*, *Vasililishki*, *Ostrin*, *Novidvor*, *Roz'anke* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ostrin be-Yisrael, 1966). Additional information is contained in the local-history publication *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Shchuchynskaha raiona* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 2001).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/294); BA-L (B 162/14386); GAGO; GARF; NARB (845-1-8); USHMM; VHF, and YVA.

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NOTES

1. *Pamiats'*, p. 516.
2. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 232–234. Use has been made here of the translation by Miriam Dashkin Beckerman, put on the web by Jewishgen.
3. Ibid., p. 233.
4. Ibid., p. 235.
5. Ibid., p. 239.
6. Sta. Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67, vol. 2, Hauptverhandlung, p. 373, statement of witness E.W. on March 5, 1969, cited in Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 531.
7. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 239–240.
8. *Pamiats'*, p. 205.
9. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 240–241.
10. Ibid., p. 250.
11. Ibid., pp. 245–246; *Pamiats'*, p. 206; verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch, LG-Ma 3 Ks 1/67, July 17, 1969, BA-L, B 162/14386.
12. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 244; NARB, 845-1-8, pp. 52–53.
13. Among them were Katiev Shlomo, the brother and sister Mudrick, Yerachmiel Portnoy, Leizer Eisishki, Tankel Kushner, Zalman Mednitsky, Peretz Stanetsky, Avraham Gershowitz, Yehuda Shartz, Mordechai Sviatoj, Dr. Alpert and family, Tanchum Gordon, Efraim Kopelman, Yakov Shlomo Boyarsky, Moishele Zablatsky and wife, and Esther Pupko and her children.

WIAZYŃ

Pre-1939: Wiazyń, *village*, *Wilejka powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Viazyn'*, *Il'ia raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wiazyn*, *Rayon Ilja*, *Gebietskommissariat Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Viazyn'*, *Vileika raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Wiazyń is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) northwest of Minsk. According to the 1921 census, Wiazyń had a Jewish population of 137.

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German armed forces occupied the village on July 3, 1941, 12 days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some of the Jews were able to evacuate or flee to the eastern regions of the country. Attacks on Jews took place at the start of the occupation, and a few Jews left for the nearby village of Chocieńczyce.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Wiazyń lay within Rayon Ilja of Gebiet Wilejka, in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. A German Gendarmerie post was established in the village, which took command of the local police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft. One of the members of the local police was a man named Wjaschewitsch.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Wiazyń, including the marking of the Jews with the Star of David, the use of Jews for unpaid forced labor, and a ban on leaving the village limits. The local auxiliary police subjected the Jews to systematic robbery and beatings. In October 1941, the Jews of Wiazyń were moved into a ghetto. At this time, those who had relocated to Chocieńczyce were sent back to the ghetto in Wiazyń. The Germans liquidated the ghetto in early June 1942 by shooting all the Jews, probably around 60 people altogether, including young children.[2]

Two Jews, Lazar and Genya Sosenskiy, succeeded in escaping from the mass grave after the shooting, as they had only been wounded. However, a local man, Mikhail Filistovich, who had come to loot the grave, discovered them hiding in a barn. Despite their pleadings, Filistovich betrayed them, and they were taken back to the mass grave and shot there. After the arrival of the Red Army in 1944, the Soviet authorities tried Filistovich and sentenced him to 10 years in prison. After serving 7 years, he was released under the terms of an amnesty.[3]

SOURCES Published sources on the Wiazyń ghetto include L. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 233. Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Wiazyń can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR 629/73, vol. 3); GARF (7021-89-6); NARB; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 353; and BA-L, 202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, p. 411.

2. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, p. 233; and GARF, 7021-89-6, pp. 81, 82, 150. The overall number of victims is estimated variously at around 20; 60 to 70; and 16. The last figure is given in the report in which the crimes committed in the village by the occupiers and their accomplices are set forth. Possibly it refers to the number of Jews whose names are known. In light of the size of the pre-war Jewish population, the estimate of 60 to 70 victims is probably closest to the truth. 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), p. 1441, give the figure of 60 Jews of Wiazyń murdered in June 1942. The names of some of the victims can be found on the Internet at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/viazhin/viaz_pages/viazhin_yad_vashem.html.

3. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, p. 233.

WILEJKA

Pre-1939: Wilejka, town and powiat center, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vileika, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilejka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Vileika, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wilejka is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) northwest of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, the town had a Jewish population of about 1,000 people.

Following the German invasion on June 22, only a few Jews managed to flee in time. German armed forces occupied Wilejka on June 26, 1941.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. In September, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Wilejka became the administrative center of Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisobmann Schmid, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Gendarmerie-Leutnant Wilhelm Nowak, succeeded in mid-1942 by Gendarmerie-Leutnant Gailke. In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was set up in Wilejka, which took charge of the local police (Schutzmannschaft). Mainly responsible for the anti-Jewish Aktions in Wilejka in 1942–1943 was the SD-Hauptaussenstelle (SD main outpost) there, headed by SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Grave, which also controlled its own squads of Latvian and Belorussian auxiliary police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Wilejka, including the appointment of a Judenrat, the marking of Jews with distinguishing badges in the form of a Star of David, and the use of Jews for forced labor. Jews also were forbidden to leave the town, appear in public places, and walk on the sidewalks. They were required to remove their hats when encountering Germans.

Shortly after the arrival of the Germans, local ruffians broke into Jewish homes to steal property. On July 12, 1941, Sonderkommando 7a conducted an Aktion in the town, during which 140 Jews and 10 to 13 Belorussians were arrested and shot. At first, the Jews were gathered in the former synagogue and their identification papers confiscated. Then they were sent home with instructions to bring their money and valuables to the synagogue. After the skilled workers and professionals had been separated out, the rest were forced to walk 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town to the village of Stavki, where the Germans shot them. On July 30, 1941, Einsatzkommando 9 conducted a second Aktion in Wilejka.

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They rounded up about 400 people, who were then driven in vehicles to the village of Porsa and shot there in five pits that had been dug previously.[1]

By December 1941, all the Jews of Wilejka, together with many Jewish craftsmen and their families brought in from Kurzeniec and other nearby communities, had been moved into a number of separate ghettos and labor camps, only some of which were fenced in. The main ghetto was located in two old army barracks. Those living in open ghettos could move about the town or even sneak back to their home communities, but they faced serious consequences if caught without official permission. According to Dorothy Kleinkopf, by early 1942 there was a so-called children's ghetto, which consisted of a large house surrounded by barbed wire not far from the prison in Wilejka. The children's ghetto was not guarded continuously, but people came to check on it periodically. As more Jews were brought into Wilejka, but the area of the ghettos remained the same, overcrowding increased and living conditions deteriorated.[2]

Food rations for the Jewish workers were quite meager: about 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread with bran and other additives per day and a watery soup. Among the work tasks performed by Jews in the Wilejka camps and ghettos were various industry-related jobs, the clearance of rubble in the town, road construction, and unloading consignments at the railroad. In the fall of 1941, a group of Jews from Kurzeniec clandestinely printed and disseminated anti-German propaganda, using paper and ink from the Wilejka printing shop, where some of them worked.[3]

In early February 1942, a main outpost of the SD (SD-Hauptaussenstelle) was established in Wilejka. Between February 5 and 28, 1942, its members shot 29 Jews.[4] On March 3, 1942—around the time of Purim—the SD-Hauptaussenstelle carried out an Aktion in which all the Jews in the "children's ghetto" were seized and shot; afterwards the building in which they were killed was set on fire, to ensure that the corpses were burned.[5] This pattern, the trademark of the Wilejka SD, was adopted for most subsequent Aktions in the town.

In August 1942 the Jews of the main ghetto (about 250–300 people) were divided into two groups, forming a "small ghetto" for craftsmen (working for the Gebietskommissar). Among work tasks carried out for the Gebietskommissar was the construction of a tennis court. Apart from the original ghetto in the barracks and the small ghetto, there was also an SD camp for Jews and a so-called commercial ghetto. During the summer of 1942, new groups of Jewish craftsmen arrived, and some of the remaining Jews (those unfit for work) were periodically escorted out in groups on trucks to the Lysaia Gora area, where the SD shot them into pits.[6]

Several hundred more Jewish workers arrived at the ghettos and camps in Wilejka in September 1942 from the Szczuczyn ghetto in Gebiet Lida. Jews from Kurzeniec learned of the destruction of all the Jews that had remained in their village at this time. The underground made plans for Jews to escape to the forest, but most people were held back by the fear of reprisals against those who were unable to leave. In early November 1942, the SD conducted a further large Aktion, in which all the Jews of the barracks ghetto and also some from the commercial ghetto were murdered, including many of the recent arrivals. Surviving Jews in the small ghetto learned from local inhabitants that the others had been taken to a small house in the woods about half a kilometer (1,640 feet) away. Here they were herded inside and shot. The building was subsequently set on fire.[7]

News of the liquidation of most of the ghettos and camps in the region caused the remaining Jews to consider escape. Once the worst of the winter was over in March 1943, a group of Jews, who had obtained weapons, fled from the small ghetto and just made it to the forests ahead of the pursuing policemen. Then on March 28, 1943, a selection of remaining craftsmen in the small ghetto was held, and some 40 to 60 Jews deemed unfit for work were shot and their bodies burned.[8]

According to the statement of Haase, the acting Gebietskommissar in Wilejka, made at a conference of the Gebietskommissars in Minsk from April 8 to 10, 1943, there were still Jews in Wilejka who were working in a harness factory and a flax scutching mill. Haase also mentioned the presence of about 50 Jews at the disposal of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle and around 100 Jews in the small ghetto, laboring in workshops subordinated to the Gebietskommissar.[9] On July 17, when the labor camp at Mołodeczno was liquidated, more than 70 Jews were brought to Wilejka, and 15 to 20 of them were placed in one of the remaining labor camps there. The others were taken out to a nearby village, where they were shot and their corpses burned.[10] The other Jewish skilled workers of the small ghetto remained in Wilejka, probably until late June 1944, when they were shot, along with prisoners from the local jail, before the Germans withdrew.[11]

No precise figure for the number of Jews murdered in Wilejka is available, but it probably exceeded 1,500, as many were brought in from other communities in the region.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Wilejka during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: K. Farber and J. Se'evi, eds., *Sefer zikaron kehilat Vileika ha-mezhozit, palakh Vilna* (Tel Aviv: Wilejka Society, 1972); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 165–167; "Wilejka," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds. *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 314–319; and 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), p. 1447. The yizkor book for Kurzeniec, edited by A. Meyerowitz, *Megilat Kurenits; ayara be-hayeha u-ve-mota* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kurenits in Israel and in the USA, 1956), also contains several testimonies relevant to the ghetto in Wilejka; also relevant is the memoir by Charles Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in Poland, 1941–1945* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1989).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Wilejka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/1294-1305, 1443-73, and 14585); GARF (7021-

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89-3); IfZ; NARB (861-1-10 and 845-1-63); USHMM; VHF; YVA (e.g., M-33/1135); and ZSSta-D.

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NOTES

1. Testimony of witness M.M. Iastshomba in a trial in Minsk, January 20, 1946, in *Sudebnyi protsess po delu o zlodeianiiakh, sovershennykh nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami v Belorusskoi SSR (15–29 ianvaria 1946 g.)* (Minsk, 1947), pp. 198–200.

2. BA-L, B 162/1461 and 1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vols. 18 and 42), pp. 4059–4060, 8775–8776, 8800; and Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*, pp. 55, 83.

3. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 165–166; BA-L, B 162/1472, pp. 8767–8768; and Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 137.

4. BA-BL, R 58/221, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 183, March 20, 1942.

5. Ibid., EM no. 178, March 9, 1942; ZSSta-D, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 3/61, indictment of Johann Karl Förster et al., January 25, 1977.

6. Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*, pp. 61, 75–83; BA-L, B 162/1472, p. 8783.

7. Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*, pp. 75–81; and testimony of the witness M.M. Iastshomba. According to Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 497, about 70 to 80 Jews were shot.

8. Meyerowitz, *Megilat Kurenits*, pp. 316–318; GARF, 7021-89-8, p. 98; and Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei*, p. 498.

9. IfZ, Fb 85/I, p. 81.

10. ZSSta-D, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 3/61, indictment of Johann Karl Förster et al., January 25, 1977.

11. BA-L, B 162/1472, pp. 8603, 8610, 8736.

WISZNIEW

Pre-1939: Wiszniew, town, Wołożyn powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vishnevo, Volozhin raion, Baranovichi oblast, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wischnewo, Rayon Woloschin, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Vishneva, Valozhyn raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wiszniew is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) west-northwest of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, about 700 Jews lived in Wiszniew. Following the German invasion of western and central Poland, about 200 Jewish families from Warsaw and Łódź sought refuge in the town, swelling the Jewish population to almost 2,000.

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, a number of Jews tried to flee, but some were turned back at the pre-1939 frontier. The Germans arrived in Wiszniew at 9:00 A.M. on June 27. All Jews were ordered to assemble by 4:00 P.M. on the grounds of the Provoslav Church. During the night, the men were taken in groups of 20 to the gmina (local administration), where they were assaulted and beaten. The women and children were sent home in the morning, but the men were taken for forced labor. They were kept at various tasks for three weeks before being sent home. Their families ventured out to bring them food but otherwise stayed indoors. The Germans set up a local militia, headed by a man named Finger, while Turunsky was appointed mayor. Survivors described these men as "cruel bloodsuckers." Two weeks later, two Jews were arrested and shot. Their families sought permission from the authorities to give them a Jewish funeral, but the response was a storm of abuse: "Thousands of soldiers from the best of German youth are lying in the battlefields and not brought to burial, and you come to ask me for the corpses of two filthy Jews!"[1]

Six teachers from the Hebrew language Tarbut elementary school in Wiszniew pose in the snow in front of their school building, 1935.
USHMM WS #24081, COURTESY OF FANYA SZUSTER PORTNOY

Two weeks later, a German officer known as "Moko" arrived in town. In August, a rumor spread that 80 Jews were going to be executed. The Jewish leadership offered Finger a huge sum of money to intercede, but he simply took the money and shrugged them off. The men were forced to dig a pit in the cemetery; on the next day 38 of them were shot and dumped into the grave.[2]

A Judenrat of five men was selected by the community to administer its affairs. It was composed of Rodensky, Yosef Menachem Rabinowitz, Yosef Bergmann, Bar-Mikhel Rubin, and Mordechai Dudman. The Germans then added five more. The secretary was Gedalyah Podversky. The Germans soon imposed their first demand for gold and silver. The German officer Moko took the money and jewelry, beat up the two

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Judenrat members who delivered it, and physically kicked them out of his office. Non-Jewish neighbors passed on the message that Jews had to wear a yellow marker on both the chest and the right side of the back.[3]

Shortly after the shooting of the 38 people, in the fall of 1941, the Jews were ordered to move into a ghetto. It was located on Krewo Street and in the yard of the synagogue. Christian neighbors stood by during the roundup, awaiting the opportunity to loot and occupy the Jewish homes, as about one third of the community had to relocate. A few days after the move, the ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence and barbed wire with only one entry gate. Over 1,000 Jews were penned up in the small ghetto area, with seven to eight families to a house. In each house, the people organized themselves to share the washing, cooking, and other chores. An order was issued that any Jew found outside the ghetto without permission would be shot.[4]

Inside the ghetto, the Judenrat had a number of responsibilities, as recalled by one of its members, Rubin, who survived. These included organizing the lists of workers for forced labor at 28 separate locations and ensuring that those sent were in reasonable physical condition and had adequate clothing. The Judenrat tried to rotate workers in order to share the burden fairly. The Judenrat also had to meet the endless demands of the Germans for goods: wood, nails, glass, boots, uniforms, watches, bedding, underclothes for their wives, and "money, money, money." Sometimes 15 wagonloads were sent. Invariably the Jew who delivered the goods returned severely beaten and bleeding. Judenrat member Dudman, who repeatedly volunteered for this thankless job, was referred to by the community as Mordechai Ha-Tzaddik, Mordechai the Saint.[5]

The Judenrat enforced strict hygienic rules to avert epidemics. The town physician, a rabid antisemite named Dr. Fobol, denied the Jews access to all medications. The Jewish doctor in the ghetto, Gershon Podzelber, had only a bit of brandy to treat the pain of injury and disease. Food was smuggled into the ghetto in exchange for goods and valuables.[6] As Jews were constantly beaten and humiliated when working outside, living in the ghetto had the advantage of offering some respite, as inside the gates there were only Jews. During the winter of 1941–1942, about 300 Jews from Wiszniew were transferred to the labor camp in Krasne. The first to be selected by the Judenrat were refugees and single men.[7]

The first sign of a change for the worse occurred on Friday, August 28, 1942. Workers returning from forced labor were told they would not go out on Saturday. At 2:00 A.M. on Sunday, August 30, soldiers armed with machine guns surrounded the ghetto. The Jews were driven from their houses to the courtyard of the synagogue and forced to lie on the ground. Anyone lifting his head could be shot. An SS officer ordered a member of the Judenrat to conduct a roll call. When it was discovered that the rabbi was not present, he was the first to be shot, in the synagogue.[8] The Jews, watched by many of their non-Jewish neighbors, were led down the road towards Krewo and taken to the wall of a derelict building on the edge of town. Here the Germans, assisted by the local police, lined up the Jews in rows of around 30 and then mowed them down with a machine gun mounted on a truck. When the shooting started, many Jews ran for their lives, but almost all were caught and shot on the spot. The murders at the wall continued until there was no more room in the building. It was then set on fire, with most of the bodies placed inside along with the children, who were burned alive. The last to die were the doctor, Podzelber (though the non-Jewish townspeople pleaded for his life), and the town barber, Yosef Dudman (who assumed his services to the German officers were essential). In total, about 1,500 Jews were massacred.[9]

The few survivors from Wiszniew included a work detail that was out of town on the day of the massacre, three young boys who escaped to the Soviet partisans, and a handful of others who made it to safety in the turmoil of the final day. The town's yizkor book contains several accounts by survivors who joined the partisans or found ways to elude capture until the Red Army drove out the German troops. Subsequently, in the winter of 1943–1944, Soviet partisans attacked Wiszniew in a raid involving about 200 to 300 fighters, and much of the town was burned down. With the aid of the Jewish partisan fighter Noah Podberesky, the partisans captured the mayor, Turunsky, and beat him to death when he refused to answer questions.[10]

SOURCES There is a yizkor book for Wiszniew, which includes a number of articles about the Holocaust: Hayyim Abramson, ed., *Vishneva, ke-fi she-hayetah ve-enenah od; sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Wiscniew Society in Israel, 1971). The Web site www.eilatgordinlevitan.com offers English translations of parts of the yizkor book. A memoir of Wiszniew by a Jewish survivor includes details about the ghetto and the survival of Jews with the Soviet partisans: Samuel Podberesky, *Never the Last Road* (College Station, TX: Virtualbookworm, 2003).

Documents on the fate of the Jewish community in Wiszniew during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-4); NARB (861-1-10); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/428 and 1011).

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NOTES

1. Abramson, *Vishneva*, p. 111.
2. Ibid., p. 112; Podberesky, *Never the Last Road*, p. 38. According to Podberesky, this incident occurred in October 1941.
3. Abramson, *Vishneva*, pp. 113, 125–148.
4. Ibid. Podberesky, *Never the Last Road*, p. 39, states that the ghetto was established in early November.
5. Abramson, *Vishneva* p. 116.
6. Ibid., p. 114.
7. Ibid., pp. 125–148.
8. Podberesky, *Never the Last Road*, p. 43.
9. Ibid., pp. 43–47; Abramson, *Vishneva*, pp. 117–118, 125–148. The figure of 1,500 victims is from GARF, 7021-89-4, p. 39; and NARB, 861-1-10, pp. 55–62.
10. Podberesky, *Never the Last Road*, pp. 81–87; see also Abramson, *Vishneva*, pp. 148–149.

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WOŁOŻYN

Pre-1939: Wołożyn, town, and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Volozhin, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Woloschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Valozhyn, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wołożyn is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) west-northwest of Minsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was probably around 3,000 people.

In the days following the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, much of Wołożyn suffered fire damage from German aerial bombardment. The German army occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Jewish survivors report that some local non-Jews welcomed the Germans warmly, especially Poles who supported the National Democrats, the most antisemitic group in Poland. Two weeks after their arrival, the Germans appointed a 12-man Judenrat, headed by the teacher Yakov Garber. At this time the German military administration required Jews to wear distinctive markings (initially an armband and later yellow patches) and forbade them from using the sidewalks. The tasks of the Judenrat included meeting German demands for contributions, in money or in kind, and for a daily quota of forced laborers. Male Jews had to work in the local sawmills, and women cleaned the Germans' quarters.[1]

In August 1941, the German Security Police carried out the first Aktion in the town, in which they murdered 45 Jews.[2] During the same month, the German authorities established a ghetto in the quarter around Krumme Gas, Dubinska and Minsk Streets, near the former location of the synagogue. The ghetto, composed of only about 50 or 60 houses, held around 3,000 people, or about four or five families per house, including a number of refugees from the nearby towns of Wiszniew, Holszany, and Oszmiana, as well as others from Lithuania. The overcrowding was unbearable. Inside the ghetto a Jewish police force was organized. The Jews in the ghetto were required to perform forced labor and received no rations. Hunger and horrible living conditions brought people close to despair. To survive, they exchanged their remaining belongings with local non-Jews for food. However, the local police guards brutally beat any Jews caught trying to leave the ghetto. The Jews also witnessed the Germans maltreating Soviet prisoners of war at a nearby POW camp.[3]

In September 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Wołożyn became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wilejka within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. A post of the German Gendarmerie was established in Wołożyn, which took over responsibility for the local police. Survivors indicate that the local police force was made up of worthless wretches from neighboring villages. The policemen would enter the ghetto at night and beat the Jews mercilessly, demanding money and valuables.[4]

On October 28, 1941, the German police ordered the Judenrat to deliver a large quantity of leather within two hours. On November 4, 1941, the Judenrat was instructed to assemble all the Jews on the street in the ghetto. The Germans then conducted a selection, and some 200 people were locked inside the local cinema. The head of the Judenrat, Garber, was informed that they would be taken to work, and he was led away with the group. Instead, the Germans escorted the 200 Jews to the local sports ground in groups of 10 and shot them there. The local police robbed the bodies, also ripping out any gold teeth, and then a group of Jews was forced to bury the corpses. After the Aktion, Shnur Kivelevitsh became the new Judenrat head, and the area of the ghetto was reduced.[5]

During the winter of 1941–1942, some Jews were forced to clear snow from the roads. Jews that had regular work outside the ghetto were issued permits to leave and reenter it. In the spring of 1942, the Germans rewarded Jews who reported for labor with an extra ration of bread, which increased their willingness to work.[6]

On May 10, 1942, members of the SD main outpost (Hauptaussenstelle) in Wilejka together with a Latvian squad, and assisted by German Gendarmerie and local police, conducted a third Aktion in Wołożyn, possibly as a reprisal for the murder of four forestry officials nearby. First they assembled around 1,000 Jews in a forge, where they were required to surrender all their money and valuables. The Jews were held here for many hours without food or water, while local inhabitants came to mock them by dancing and singing. Inspired by the words of Rabbi Reuven Chadash from Holszany, some Jews tried to resist and escape, but only a few succeeded. The SS men then divided the Jews into groups of 10 to 20 persons and escorted them to an empty house near the Jewish cemetery, where the head of the SS shot them. After the shootings, the perpetrators threw gasoline on the corpses and burned them along with the building. The SD company from Wilejka remained in Wołożyn until May 15, 1942, rounded up any Jews found in hiding, and shot them, too.[7]

After the Aktion, the ghetto area was further reduced, and only a few hundred Jews remained. However, once the Germans assured these Jews that they would work and remain safe, some Jews who had fled before the Aktion decided to return.

During the fourth Aktion on August 29, 1942, the ghetto was completely liquidated. On that day, the members of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Wilejka together with the German Gendarmerie and local police surrounded the ghetto, then drove all the Jews into a large barn on Shapovalovskaia Street. Once the Jews were inside, the SS shot at the barn from all sides, killing about 450 people in total. After it was over, they threw gasoline on the corpses and burned them along with the barn. A number of Jews escaped into the forest on the night before this Aktion. Subsequently, some of the Wołożyn ghetto escapees joined Soviet partisan detachments operating in the region. When the Red Army liberated Wołożyn in the summer of 1944, only around 20 Jews returned to the town from hiding in the countryside or serving with the partisans. Pnina Hayat, for example, managed to survive with the assistance of the peasant Ivan Kovalski and his family, who gave

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her and a friend food and shelter at considerable risk to themselves after the liquidation of the ghetto.

SOURCES Published sources on the ghetto in Wołożyn include the following: Eliezer Leoni, ed., *Wolozin: The Book of the City and of the Etz Hayyim Yeshiva* (Tel Aviv: Wolozhin Landsleit Associations, 1970); from this volume, the account of Yusef Shvartsberg, "Volozshin," is also available in the series *Fun letsten hurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946); M. Batvinnik, "Znishchenne Valozhynskago geta," in *Pamiats': Hist.-dak. Khroniki haradoi i r-nai Belarusi: Valozhynski o-n.* (Minsk, 1996); and Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 291–295.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Wołożyn during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1294-1305, 1443-73, and 14585); GARF (7021-89-4); NARB (861-1-10); Sta. Dortmund (45 Js 3/61); USHMM (RG-02.129; RG-22.002M, reel 24; and RG-53.002M, reel 8); VHF (# 1429); and YVA.

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 1429, testimony of Miriam Cukier, born 1924; and Pnina Hayat (née Potashnik), "What My Eyes Have Seen," in Leoni, *Wolozin*, p. 550.
2. GARF, 7021-89-4, p. 2.
3. Mendel Wolkowitch, "The Destruction of Wolozhin," in Leoni, *Wolozin*, pp. 30–31; and USHMM, RG-02.129, testimony of Leon Liberman.
4. Leoni, *Wolozin*, pp. 30, 550.
5. Ibid., pp. 31–32, 550.
6. VHF, # 1429; and Leoni, *Wolozin*, p. 546.
7. Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 3/61, indictment in the case against Johann Karl Förster and others, January 25, 1977, pp. 141–146. See also *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 247–249, SS-Uscharf. Lipps Aussenstelle Wilejka an Burgdorf, May 27, 1942; and Leoni, *Wolozin*, p. 537.

WORONÓW (AKA WERENÓW)

Pre-1939: Woronów (Yiddish: Voronava), town, Lida powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Voronovo, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Woronow, Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Voranava, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Woronów is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Lida. In mid-1941, there were approximately 1,500 Jews living in the town, including refugees from western and central Poland.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 23, 1941, only one day after their invasion of the USSR. As a result, most of the Jews there were unable to evacuate and remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. Shortly after the Germans' arrival, a number of Jews were arrested, beaten, and shot, some as a result of denunciations by local inhabitants. For example, the German soldiers who occupied the town on June 23 seized a truck on the edge of town with 15 people in it (Russians and Jews) and shot them on the spot. A few days later, the auxiliary police arrested several young Jews who had been accused of Communist activity. These Jews were sent to Lida and killed there three days later.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Woronów. They appointed a Judenrat chaired by Hirsh Kopelman and a Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), headed by a man named Zalberg. At the same time they instituted the marking of Jews with badges in the shape of a yellow star 15 centimeters (6 inches) in diameter, which had to be worn by everyone over the age of eight, and a program for the use of Jews for forced labor, performing humiliating jobs. Jews also were forbidden to leave the town limits or to walk on the sidewalks. A curfew beginning at 8:00 P.M. was imposed on Jews, and on days of rest (such as Sunday and holidays), they were forbidden to appear in the streets at all. Jews were forbidden to eat meat, butter, eggs, honey, fats, milk, and sugar; the only foods allowed to them were black bread and potatoes, with water to drink. Jews were not allowed to own horses, cows, sheep, or chickens; they could have no more than 300 Russian rubles; and they were required to hand over all their valuables to the Germans. When meeting a German or a policeman, a Jew was supposed to lift his hat and stay at least 10 meters (33 feet) from the individual. The local auxiliary police subjected the Jews to systematic robbery, beatings, and mockery.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Woronów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Lida within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. There was a German Gendarmerie post in Woronów, commanded from 1941 to 1943 by Polizeimeister Lengen, which was in charge of the auxiliary police recruited from local residents. The German Gendarmes and local police took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

The Germans conducted a large anti-Jewish Aktion in Woronów in the first half of November 1941. By that time, a so-called Jewish quarter (an open ghetto) already had been established there. On November 6, police surrounded the Jewish quarter and began searching the houses, looking for Jewish refugees from Wilno. During this time, several Jews who tried to run away were killed immediately. In the course of the searches, 288 people were caught (in all, more than 500 Jews from Wilno had found refuge in Woronów) and put in the movie theater building. They spent seven days there, subjected to torture and violations of human dignity; 5 men who tried to escape were shot. On November 14, all the Jews were herded towards the railway station and shot there by Lithuanian policemen. Among the Jews who were shot were many representatives

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of the intelligentsia (an artist, Treger Grubiiash; a doctor of philology, Natan Tsimmel; a professor, Orbach; a doctor, Gershun; a mathematics professor, Idelson; and others).[3]

On December 6, 1941, a second Aktion took place in Woronów, during which 35 elderly and sick Jews were rounded up and shot. After this Aktion, in late December 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Lida, a man named Hermann Hanweg, ordered Jews to be transferred to Woronów from the villages of Dziewieniszki, Beniakonie, Konwaliszki, Soleczniki, and others. As a consequence, the number of Jews in the town increased to more than 3,000. Ten days after their arrival, the Germans arrested 28 elderly Jews from Dziewieniszki and brutally murdered them.[4] The accounts of Jews brought into the Woronów ghetto at this time describe intolerable overcrowding and hunger. An infestation of lice resulted in an outbreak of typhus. All able-bodied Jews performed forced labor felling trees and other tasks. By this time the ghetto had been enclosed by a fence about 1.5 to 3 meters (5 to 10 feet) high, which was guarded by Lithuanian, Polish, and Belorussian policemen.[5]

On the night of May 10–11, 1942, the German police and their local auxiliaries surrounded the ghetto. All the Jews were ordered to assemble in the market square, but around 500 Jews bribed their way out of the ghetto and hid in the forest. About 200 Jews hid in the ghetto itself, and 75 others were at work outside the town limits at this time. Therefore, around 2,700 Jews showed up in the square. Gebietskommissar Hanweg and his deputy Leopold Windisch conducted a selection. Those deemed fit for work were sent back to the ghetto, while the remaining Jews (1,885 people) were shot in a previously dug ditch on the northeastern edge of town (in 1964, a monument was erected at this site). During the ghetto liquidation Aktion, Munka Heikles, a butcher, attacked an SS officer with a stone and injured him and two policemen; he was then killed for this act of resistance. Another young man, Zalman Shreira, escaped naked from the killing site, but he was betrayed to the Nazis by a shepherd and was taken back to the killing site and shot.[6] The remaining Jews in the ghetto, as well as those who returned from the forest and emerged from hiding places after the Aktion (about 1,200 in total), were transferred two weeks later to the Lida ghetto. On September 17, 1943, along with the other Jews in this ghetto, they were transported to the Majdanek concentration camp near Lublin.[7]

SOURCES Information about the Jews of Woronów and their fate in the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: H. Rabin, ed., *Voronova; sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Voronova she-nispu ha-shoat ha natsim* (Voronova societies in Israel and the United States, 1971); and "Woronow," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 305–307.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Woronów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/566 and 3953); BA-L (B 162/3424-51, 19298, and 14386); GARF (7021-86-38); NARB (861-1-7); VHF (e.g., # 6403, 26514, and 27223); USHMM (e.g., RG-3.019); and YVA (M-33/706; O-3/3753, 4010, 7310, and 12562; TR-10/646 and 68650).

Alexander Kruglov

NOTES

1. According to Moshe Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova," unpub. MSS, 1943 (USHMM, RG-3.019), in late 1940, there were 350 Jewish families (1,600 people) in Voronovo; AŻIH, 301/566, testimony of Yudel Konopka put the number at 1,500.
2. Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova."
3. GARF, 7021-86-38, p. 2 (263 people were shot); NARB, 861-1-7, p. 43; and Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova." AŻIH, 301/3953, testimony of Moyzer Plotnik, estimates the number killed at 150. Also see BA-L, B 162/14386 (LG-Ma 3 Ks 1/67, verdict of July 17, 1969, against Windisch), p. 26.
4. Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova." AŻIH, 301/566, estimates the number at 4,500. VHF, # 26514, Herman Snyder was transferred from Dziewieniszki. Also see Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:254–257. Two survivors—VHF, # 27223, Henrik Solodukhah, and # 6403, Iakov Gaukhman—indicate that there was an open ghetto in Dziewieniszki prior to their transfer to Woronów.
5. VHF, # 26514.
6. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:254–257.
7. Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova"; GARF, 7021-86-38 (this file contains the names of 1,291 victims, including 204 from Beniakonie and 108 from Konwaliszki); Sta. Mainz 3 Js 155/64, indictment of December 15, 1966, against Windisch and Werner; LG-Ma 3 Ks 1/67, verdict of July 17, 1969, against Windisch.

ZAOSTROWICZE

Pre-1939: Zaostrowicze, *village*, *Kleck powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Zaostrovech'e*, *Kletsk raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zaostrowitschi*, *Rayon Klezk*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zaastravechcha*, *Kletsk raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Zaostrowicze is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) southeast of Baranowicze. Very little information is available about the existence of the small Jewish community in and around Zaostrowicze before World War II.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office governed Zaostrowicze. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Zaostrowicze was included in Rayon Klezk, Gebiet Baranowitsche, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Zaostrowicze, including the appointment of a Judenrat, the marking of the Jews with distinguishing badges in the form of a Star of David, and the use of Jews for unpaid forced labor. Jews were

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forbidden to leave the village, and the small auxiliary police force of about seven men subjected them to systematic robbery and beatings. A ghetto was created in the village in the fall of 1941. The ghetto was liquidated in June 1942, when all of the Jews (more than 100 people) were escorted from Zaostrowicze to Siniawka and were murdered there together with the Jews of the Siniawka ghetto. German police forces shot them, and the corpses were buried in a mass grave near the road from Siniawka to Pińsk.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Zaostrowicze can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR-Z 171/67, vol. 2, pp. 231–233); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); NARB (845-1-7, p. 39); and ZGABO (616-1-70). Additional information can be found in the publication *Karatel' zhivet v Kliftone. O fashistskikh prispeshnikakh, ukryvaiushchikh v SShA* (Moscow, 1985), p. 84. The ghetto is also mentioned in Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks 2003), p. 117.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

ZAŚKIEWICZE

Pre-1939: Zaśkiewicze (Yiddish: Zaskovitz), village, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zaskevichi, Molodechno raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zaskiewitschi, Rayon Molodetschno, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zaskevichy, Maladechna raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zaśkiewicze is located on the Usza River about 82 kilometers (51 miles) northwest of Minsk and 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Oszmiana. In 1925, there were around 200 Jews living in the village.

On September 17, 1939, the Red Army entered the village, which was incorporated into the Belorussian SSR before the end of the year. German forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941, four days after their invasion of the USSR. In these days, only a few Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration: Zaśkiewicze became part of Rayon Molodetschno in Gebiet Wilejka. In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Zaśkiewicze, including the appointment of a Judenrat, the marking of the Jews with distinguishing yellow patches in the form of a Star of David, the use of Jews for unpaid forced labor, and a ban on their leaving the village limits. The local auxiliary police subjected the Jews to systematic robbery and beatings. According to some sources, possibly in October 1941, the village's Jews were moved into a ghetto, where they remained for more than six months.[1]

In the absence of any survivor accounts, it is impossible to reconstruct any details of life in the ghetto or to be sure of the fate of the Jews of Zaśkiewicze. The authors of *Pinkas ha-kehilot* indicate that in June 1942 SD men and local police surrounded the ghetto and removed all the Jews. According to one report, they shot the Jews with submachine guns and buried them in large pits in a nearby forest. It is possible, however, that some Jews capable of work were taken to the ghetto in Smorgonie and, in October 1942, were transferred along with other Jews from that ghetto to the Oszmiana ghetto, where subsequently they were murdered.[2]

Soviet sources date the Germans' liquidation of the ghetto in November 1942. These sources indicate that the Germans and their collaborators shot 71 people and that some Jews fled into the forest just before the Aktion. Zaśkiewicze was liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.[3]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Zaśkiewicze during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Zaskiewicze," 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), p. 1491; and "Zaskiewicze," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 350–351.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-9) and NARB.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-89-9, p. 116. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1491, indicate that a ghetto was established in Zaśkiewicze but give no date.
2. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot, Nowogrodek*, p. 8:351; see also Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1491. It may be that some Jews escaped from Zaśkiewicze to the nearby Smorgonie ghetto rather than being transferred.
3. GARF, 7021-89-9, p. 116. The same file also contains a list of the names of murdered Jews, mentioning 69 people (on pp. 21–22).

ZASLAVL'

Pre-1941: Zaslavl', town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Saslawl, Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zaslaul', Minsk raen and voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zaslavl' is located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of Minsk. In 1939, Jews comprised 9.04 percent of the town's total population, numbering 248 people, with another 112 more Jews living in the Zaslavl' raion.

German troops occupied Zaslavl' before the end of June 1941. In this first week of the invasion, some Jews managed to leave eastward with evacuation transports, while adult males were either drafted into the Red Army or volunteered. Around

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two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zaslavl' at the start of the occupation.

In the summer of 1941, the town was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). From September 1941, a civil administration took over. Zaslavl' was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land (Gebietskommissar—Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser, SS-und Polizei-Gebietsführer—Leutnant of the Gendarmerie Karl Kalla), which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[1] A post of Gendarmerie was set up in Zaslavl', and an auxiliary police unit composed of local volunteers was subordinated to it.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German commandant issued an order to the Rayon council to conduct a compulsory registration of the Jews. The Jews were forced to wear distinctive badges (an armband on their sleeves that read "Jude" or circles sewn onto the front and back of their outer clothing). The Jews were recruited into various kinds of forced labor (e.g., digging ditches, maintaining roads, or cleaning the quarters occupied by the German authorities). At the start of September 1941, all the Jews of Zaslavl' were relocated to a ghetto—a building formerly occupied by Soviet border guards. By the end of the month, the Germans had almost completely liquidated the ghetto. On September 26 and 27, 1941, all the Jewish males were killed, at least 20 people in total—12 of them burned in the ghetto building. On September 29, around 100 Jews, mostly women, children, and elderly people, were taken on horse carts out of the ghetto under the pretext of future resettlement to Minsk. They were all shot in the forest near the village of Sloboda. The mass shooting was most probably carried out by a unit of German Gendarmerie with the participation of Belorussian policemen. For a month following the liquidation of the ghetto, 35 Jewish women were kept in one of the houses on Bazarnaia Street. They were used for different kinds of forced labor until they were all shot on October 29, 1941.[2]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Zaslavl' can be found in the following archives: GAMINO (623-1-51); GARF (7021-87-6); and YVA (M-33/424).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-87-6, pp. 17 (both sides), 24.

ZDZIĘCIOŁ

Pre-1939: Zdzięcioł (Yiddish: Zhetel), town, Nowogródek powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Diatlovo, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Djatlowo, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dziatlava, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Portrait of the Benjaminowitz family, ca. 1930, in Zdzięcioł. The donor, Chana Benjaminowitz (now Dr. Ann Benjamin), was the family's sole survivor.
USHMM WS #28968, COURTESY OF DR. ANN BENJAMIN

Zdzięcioł is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) southwest of Minsk. Just before the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Jewish population stood at more than 4,500.

German forces occupied the town on June 30, 1941. On July 14, the local military commandant (Ortskommandant) ordered the Jews to wear a six-pointed yellow star on the front and the back of their clothing. On July 15, the Germans arrested 6 Jews and took them to Nowojelnia, where they killed them on the pretext that they had previously worked for the Soviet authorities. Among the victims were Etl Ovsievitz, her daughter Dina, Shimon Leveranchik, Avraham Guzovski, and Judl Bielski. On July 23, about 120 of the most respectable citizens and members of the intelligentsia were selected from among all the Jews assembled in the square. The selection was carried out according to a list compiled by SS men who had arrived in Zdzięcioł. Among those arrested were Alter Dvoretzky and the rabbi. The local Jews bribed the Germans and attained the release of Dvoretzky and the rabbi. All the others were allegedly taken for forced labor, but two days later

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it was discovered that they had been murdered in the forest near the military barracks in Nowogródek. According to Abram Kaplan—the only Jew presently living in the Zdzięcioł area—the remaining Jews then had to perform a variety of different jobs. Some worked as cleaners for the local administration, and many others worked for farmers in the surrounding villages. On October 1, 1941, all the Jews living in Zdzięcioł were registered.

At the end of August 1941, authority was transferred to the civil administration, At this time a Judenrat was formed, with Shmuel Kustin as the chairman and Alter Dvoretzky as his deputy. Soon afterwards, Dvoretzky replaced Kustin as chairman. Dvoretzky was 37 and had been educated as a lawyer in Berlin and Warsaw.[1]

One of the main tasks of the Judenrat was to ensure that all German orders were strictly implemented. On the second day of Sukkot, some Germans arrived in Zdzięcioł to requisition horses for the army. Many of the Jews decided to hide, but the Germans caught one, Jaakov Noa, and shot him. On November 28, 1941, the Jews of Zdzięcioł were made to line up and forced to surrender all their valuables to the Germans. Libe Gercowski, accused of having hidden two gold rings, was selected and shot in front of everyone. On that day the Judenrat was also obliged to provide four glaziers and 15 carpenters, who were sent to an unknown destination. On December 15, 1941, 400 men were sent to the labor camp in Dworzec to perform construction work at the airfield for the Organisation Todt (OT). On December 25, 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to surrender all their fur coats.

Alter Dvoretzky established links with the Jews living in the surrounding villages and with a group of former Red Army soldiers who were organizing a partisan force in the area. In the fall of 1941, before the ghetto was set up, Dvoretzky himself formed a Jewish underground, consisting of about 60 people. This organization was divided into 20 cells, each with 3 members. They obtained some weapons about a month before the ghetto was established. About 10 underground members were in the Jewish Police.[2]

On February 22, 1942, the authorities put up posters announcing that the Jews had to move into the ghetto, which was based around the synagogue and the Talmud Torah building.[3] According to Peretz Bousel, two Jewish families were exempted from the requirement to move into the ghetto: the families of Ben Zion Paskovsky and Betzalel Bousel, who in 1939 had owned a leather factory. Jews were also moved into the ghetto from other nearby Jewish communities, including Bielica.[4]

There was no detailed plan for the resettlement of the Jews into their new living quarters. Five or six families had to share each house, and many families were split up. Eight or more people lived in each room, with the furniture removed and replaced by improvised bunk beds. Some families, like the Kaplans, prepared secret hiding places in the ghetto, which helped them survive the massacre.

The ghetto was partly fenced by wood and barbed wire, and two local policemen guarded the gate. The Jews were not even permitted to talk to other citizens and could be shot if they attempted to obtain food from the outside. Nevertheless, peasants still brought food to the ghetto to exchange for gold, clothes, and other items. Special work permits were issued to those working outside the ghetto. The Jews were guarded when marching in and out of the ghetto in columns to perform forced labor.[5]

Upon moving into the ghetto, the underground headed by Dvoretzky had the following aims: to prepare for armed revolt if the liquidation of the ghetto was imminent; to collect money to buy weapons and bring them into the ghetto; and to try to persuade the local Christian population not to cooperate with the Germans.[6]

The group made contact with the local leader of the Soviet partisans, Nikolai Vakhonin. A number of Jews who had fled from Zdzięcioł, Żołudek, Bielica, Kozłowszczyzna, Dworzec, and Nowogródek were known to be hiding in the Lipichanski Forest. Pinya Green and Hershl Kaplinski were their leaders. On April 20, 1942, Dvoretzky and six members of the ghetto underground were forced to escape to the forest after their organization became known to the Germans. Unfortunately Dvoretzky was killed in an ambush by non-Jewish partisans shortly afterwards.[7]

After a while, a partisan detachment of more than 100 Jews was formed in the forest near Zdzięcioł, known as the "Zheteler detachment." Anyone who wanted to join the partisans first had to obtain a gun. The unit was divided into three platoons, headed by Hershl Kaplinski, Jonah Midvetsky, and Shalom Ogulnik. The battalion also included women, acting as nurses, cooks, secretaries, typists, and washerwomen. A few of them also took part in combat activities.

The unit's base was some 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Zdzięcioł in the Lipichanski Forest. Its members coordinated their activities with other Soviet partisans operating there, in particular with the Orlanski detachment (renamed "Bor'ba" [Struggle] on January 5, 1943, commanded by Nikolai Vakhonin) and the Lenin brigade. The partisans attacked the railroad tracks on the Lida to Minsk line and the Wołkowysk to Białystok line. Yisrael Bousel invented a fast-acting mine, which the partisans used to derail German trains. He was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of the Soviet Union."

On April 29, 1942, the Germans arrested the Judenrat, and at dawn on April 30, the ghetto inmates woke to shots inside the ghetto. The Germans announced through the Judenrat that all the Jews were to go to the old cemetery, situated inside the ghetto. At this time the Germans and their collaborators began driving the Jews out of their houses, beating, kicking, and shooting those who were reluctant to obey. The Gebietskommissar conducted a selection, and more than 1,000 Jews, composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly, were escorted into the Kurpyash Forest south of the town, where pits had been prepared. There, the Germans shot them in groups of 20. The massacre was conducted by German and local Polish police forces.

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The second massacre started on August 6, 1942, and lasted for three days, as many Jews hid in prepared bunkers. During the liquidation of the ghetto, 2,000 to 3,000 Jews were shot and buried in three mass graves in the Jewish cemetery, with roughly 1,000 victims in each grave. Slightly more than 200 Jewish craftsmen were transferred to the ghetto in Nowogródek.[8] This was the end of the ghetto and of the Jewish community of Zdzięcioł. Several hundred Jews, who had hidden, fled after the massacre; some formed a family camp in the Nakryshki Forest, where they survived until liberation.

Word of the "Zhetel partisan detachment" spread among Jews in the labor camps of Dworzec and Nowogródek, and a number of Jews tried to join them. Many were caught on the way to the forest. The Zheteler detachment also took revenge on local collaborators. For example, in the village of Molery on September 10, 1942, after eliminating two collaborators, the Jewish partisans informed the village elder of the reasons for this reprisal.

SOURCES The yizkor book of Baruch Kaplinski, ed., *Pinkes Zshetl* (Tel Aviv: Zetel Association in Israel, 1957), contains much information on the town but refers only briefly to the Holocaust period. A recent Israeli publication by Haya Lipski, Rivkah Lipski-Kaufman, and Yitshak Ganoz, eds., *'Ayaratenu Z'etel: Shishim shanah le-hurban kehilat Z'etel 1942–2002* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Z'etel be-Yisrael, 2002), deals with the fate of the town's Jews. In *Pamiats'. Diatlovo raion* (Minsk, 1997), there is a list of the Jews murdered in 1942. An article on the Holocaust in Diatlovo raion was published in *Moj Rodny Kut*, no. 2 (July 2002). Regarding the underground and the partisans, there is a memoir by Shalom Gerling, *Korot Lochem Yehudi* (Lohamei Hagetaot, 1968). Additional information can be found in Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); and Israel Gutman, ed., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Berlin: Argon, 1993), 1:354–355.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Zdzięcioł can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/3452-59); NARB (845-1-186, pp. 37–38); USHMM (RG-50.030*0332); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/457).

Tamara Vershitskaya

NOTES

1. Gerling, *Korot Lochem Yehudi*, p. 47.
2. Ibid.
3. See oral history of Sonia Heidocosky Zissman, USHMM, RG-50.030*0332, p. 9 of transcript. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, however, states that the ghetto was set up in 1941 and held up to 4,500 people; see NARB, 845-1-186, pp. 37–38.
4. L. Losh, ed., *Book of Belitzah (Bielica)* (Tel Aviv: Belitzah Landmannschaft Organizations in Israel and the U.S., 1965), p. 347.
5. NARB, 845-1-186, pp. 37–38.
6. Kaplinski, *Pinkes Zshetl*, pp. 369–370.
7. Ibid., pp. 47, 60–63.
8. See USHMM, RG-50.030*0332; BA-L, B 162/3453 (202 AR-Z 94e/59), pp. 329–333; and YVA, M-1/E/457 (Shmariahu Furmanski). The ChGK dates the second massacre in July 1942 and estimates the total of Jewish victims at 3,500. The names of 1,601 victims have been established; see NARB, 845-1-186, pp. 37–38.

ŻOŁUDEK

Pre-1939: Żołudek, town, Szczuczyn powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zheludok, Shchuchyn raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zoludek, Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zhaludok, Shchuchyn raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Żołudek is located 76 kilometers (48 miles) east-southeast of Grodno. Jews have lived in Żołudek since the end of the sixteenth century. They were mostly traders and craftsmen. In 1921, the Jewish population of the town was 1,053. In 1940, there were 2,436 inhabitants in the town, of whom some 70 percent (about 1,700) were Jewish. The Jewish population of Żołudek increased sharply in late 1939 and at the beginning of 1940, as many refugees from western and central Poland found refuge in the Soviet-occupied zone.[1]

Żołudek was occupied by the German army on June 27, 1941. As the Soviet forces withdrew, local non-Jews plundered the town. During the fighting, many Jewish houses in the center of town were burned down, and the Jewish families had to move in with friends and relatives in very overcrowded conditions. More than half of the town was destroyed in the fire. The murder by the Germans of six Jews, denounced by the local inhabitant Pastuszko as Communists, was the first Aktion against the Jews of Żołudek.[2]

At the beginning of July, a local administration and a local police force were established in the town. Local inhabitants of Polish and Belorussian nationality served in these organizations. Kulinski became the mayor of Żołudek, and Pastuszko was named as commandant of the police. At this time no German officials were permanently based in the town, which was under temporary military administration. The first order issued by the new authorities was that all Jews had to wear a white armband with a yellow Star of David on it.[3]

On July 10, 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat) that would be responsible for ensuring the implementation of all their instructions. According to the account of Moshe Birkh, no one wanted to be a member of the Judenrat. Lists of nominations were drawn up, however. The members of the Judenrat included Shlomo Nachumowski, Moshe Grejzewski, and Avraham Meir. Mendl Galay was named chairman of the Judenrat.[4]

Prior to the establishment of the ghetto in Żołudek, the Germans organized several Aktions against the Jewish population. As Nochman Shifmanovicz recalled, about 100 Jews were performing forced labor on the estate of the Czetwertynski family, where a German battalion was also based. It was a hot summer day, and many of the workers took off their

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coats, on which the yellow patches were sewn. The Germans approached the workers and rounded up 22 who were found without their patches. They were given spades and taken outside the estate. The Germans then ordered them to dig their own mass grave and shot them. The remaining workers were forced to fill in the grave.[5]

On several occasions, the Germans and local police extorted valuables from the Jews. On August 10, 1941, the German military authorities ordered the collection of a large sum of money. As the Judenrat faced considerable difficulties in collecting the money, they levied a specific sum on each person, calculated according to his station and responsibilities, and went from house to house, collecting the fine.[6]

From the end of August 1941, control over the area was gradually handed over to the German civil administration. Żołudek became a Rayon center within Gebiet Lida under Gebietskommissar Hanweg. The local police subsequently came under the control of the German Gendarmerie (Order Police), commanded by SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Leutnant Albert Wystyrk in Lida.

In another instance, the chief of police ordered the Jews who were performing forced labor to bring him their gold objects. He threatened to shoot them if they refused. When the workers returned to the town, they told the Judenrat what had happened. Galay immediately went from house to house, gathering gold watches, rings, and other valuables, which he gave to the Germans. The imposition of forced labor often was accompanied by beatings and the humiliation of the Jews.

The Jews still celebrated the religious holidays, but under conditions of persecution. For example, on Rosh Hashanah prayers were held secretly in private houses. People stood guard outside in shifts to warn those praying inside, in case of any surprise Aktions. The same occurred also on Yom Kippur (October 1).[7]

The ghetto was officially established on November 1, 1941. It was located on Orla Street, as at least part of the street had survived the fire intact. On November 2, 1941, the Jews from the nearby village of Orla (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] south of Żołudek) were moved into the ghetto. There was no artificial wall and therefore also no protection inside the ghetto. Conditions in the ghetto were very severe because of considerable overcrowding. According to the testimony of Pesja Birkh (née Levit), 8 to 10 families lived in one house. The synagogue had already been converted into a residence.

The survivors of the ghetto recall that the Jews in the ghetto tried to help one another as much as they could. The Judenrat and the community worked together under these difficult circumstances. Everyone tried to act in the best interests of the whole community. Birkh, together with her friend Dvorelle, who worked in a Polish restaurant, devised a scheme to help feed the ghetto. Sometimes the police sent Birkh with her friend to the mill to bring back flour for the restaurant. On the way, when they passed the ghetto, they would drop a sack of flour from the wagon and inform people living nearby, so that they could take it into the ghetto.[8]

During the autumn and winter of 1941–42, a German special unit carried out several Aktions against the Jews in Żołudek. This Kommando came in a specific sort of truck, which the local Jews named *di boid* (covered wagon). They knew that when "di boid" arrived, a killing Aktion targeting the Jews of Żołudek was about to take place. According to Birkh, in the autumn of 1941, 32 Jews from Orla and 28 from Żołudek were killed.[9]

After 15 residents of the ghetto were murdered, a guard force was organized within the ghetto. Every night, a few men would go outside to keep watch, according to a fixed rotation. The purpose of the guard was to alert residents of the ghetto to an approaching calamity. Many had already begun to arrange hiding places, in preparation for the liquidation of the ghetto. The ghetto was not large, and therefore the guard consisted of only three men each night.[10]

According to Birkh's testimony, the local miller Kofko, a non-Jew, tried to convince the local peasants to help the Jews and not cooperate with the Germans. He could not always speak openly, but when he had the opportunity, he told them: "It is your duty to show kindness to the Jews. . . . As long as the Jews survive, it's certain that you will survive. But you should know that after they liquidate the Jews the Germans will then turn their instruments of death against you."[11]

On May 8, 1942, German and Lithuanian soldiers, together with local policemen, surrounded the ghetto. Nobody was permitted to leave the houses. The next morning, the Jews were assembled in the market square. The German officials Leopold Windisch (born 1913), deputy Gebietskommissar in Lida, and Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder of the Security Police in Baranowicze were in charge of the ghetto liquidation in Żołudek. They conducted a selection in the market square: 80 Jewish craftsmen were sent to the synagogue inside the ghetto, and the rest were taken and shot near the forest in large pits that had been prepared on the instructions of the mayor. The available sources disagree on the number of victims, but between 1,000 and 2,000 Jews of Żołudek and Orla were killed on May 9, 1942.[12] The craftsmen who remained alive were transferred to the ghetto in Szczuczyn. From there, some of them were subsequently transported to the Sobibór death camp. One week before the liquidation of the ghetto in Żołudek, 140 young Jews were sent to perform forced labor at the railway station of Skribovo (about 9 kilometers [5.6 miles] to the north). Later these Jews were transferred to the Lida ghetto.[13]

Some of the Jews managed to hide inside the ghetto. They saw how local inhabitants came to loot any remaining property. Local policemen also searched for Jews and killed many of them. For example, as Birkh recalled, there were five Jews who hid in a bakery. The local police found them and killed them in an especially cruel manner. She was rescued with the help of the local policeman Janish. Shifmanovicz hid in an oven and later managed to escape to the forests, where he joined a partisan unit.

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After the war, a German court in Mainz investigated Leopold Windisch and sentenced him to life imprisonment. Grünzfelder was killed in a partisan ambush in June 1942.[14]

SOURCES The yizkor book for the town, edited by Aharon Meirovits, *Sefer Z'eludok ve-Orlovah: Gal'ed le-Zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad Irgun yots'e Zeludok be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1967), includes several firsthand accounts of the ghetto written by survivors. There is also a local Belarusian "Memorial Book" for the region, *Pamiac. Shtutshin rajon* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Encyklapedya, 2001), which includes information on the ghetto.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for Żołudek can be found in NARB (845-1-8). Further relevant documentation can be found in the German investigative files from the trial of Leopold Windisch (LG-Mai, 3 Ks 1/67).

Siarhej Pivavarchyk and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. *Pamiac*, p. 530.
2. Ibid., pp. 206, 530.
3. Meirovits, *Sefer Z'eludok ve-Orlovah*, pp. 235–236.
4. Ibid., 205–261.
5. *Pamiac*, p. 206.
6. Meirovits, *Sefer Z'eludok ve-Orlovah*, pp. 205–261.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.; *Pamiac*, p. 206.
9. *Pamiac*, p. 206.
10. Meirovits, *Sefer Z'eludok ve-Orlovah*, pp. 205–261.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.; NARB, 845-1-8, p. 31.
13. *Pamiac*, p. 207.
14. See LG-Mai, 3 Ks 1/67.

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SECTION VI

REICH COMMISSARIAT UKRAINE (REICHSKOMMISSARIAT UKRAINE)

In July 1941, less than a month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Adolf Hitler ordered the establishment of a civil administration to administer much of the occupied western regions of the Soviet Union. These territories, subordinated to Alfred Rosenberg as head of the Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, RMO), were divided between the two Reichskommissariate, Ostland and Ukraine.

Reichskommissariat Ukraine, ruled by Reichskommissar Erich Koch, was set up in stages between August 1941 and September 1942 as additional territories were handed over from military to civil administration. The territory of Reichskommissariat Ukraine consisted of five Generalkommissariate—Wolhynien und Podolien, Shitomir, Kiew, Nikolajew, Dnjepropetrowsk—and the sixth, partial Kommissariat Taurida, in which apparently no ghettos were established.

Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien consisted mainly of the former Polish województwa poleskie and wołyńskie, the pre-1939 Soviet Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', and small parts of the Vinnitsa and Ternopol' oblasts. Generalkommissariat Shitomir was carved out of the pre-war Soviet Vinnitsa, Zhitomir, Poles'e, and Gomel' oblasts. Generalkommissariat Kiew consisted of the pre-war Soviet Kiev (now Kyiv) and Poltava oblasts. The area of Generalkommissariat Kiew east of the Dnieper River remained under German military jurisdiction until September 1942 but it is also dealt with in this section. Generalkommissariat Nikolajew was composed of the pre-1941 Nikolayev, Kherson, and Kirovograd oblasts. And Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk was made up of the pre-1941 Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozh'e oblasts. These last two Generalkommissariate have been combined for convenience in this volume, as they both contained relatively few ghettos and were subjected to similar German occupation policies.

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VOLHYNIA AND PODOLIA REGION

Jews are forced to march on the streets of Kamenets-Podolskii to a mass murder site outside the city, August 27, 1941. Gyula Spitz, a member of the Hungarian (Jewish) labor service, clandestinely took this photograph.
USHMM WS #28215, COURTESY OF IVAN SVED

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VOLHYNIA AND PODOLIA REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT WOLHYNIEN UND PODOLIEN)

Pre-1941: parts of Vinnitsa, Rovno, Volyn', Kamenets-Podolskii, Ternopol', Brest, and Pinsk oblasts, Ukrainian and Belorussian SSRs; 1941–1944: initially Rear Area, Army Group South, then from September 1941, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: parts of western Ukraine and southwestern Belarus

Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien (GkWP) was a German administrative unit within Reichskommissariat Ukraine, stretching from Brześć and Łuniniec in the north to Kamenets-Podolskii and Iaryshev in the south. It consisted mainly of the former Polish województwa poleskie and wołyńskie, together with the pre-1939 Soviet Kamenets-Podolskii oblast' and small parts of the Vinnitsa and Ternopol' oblasts.

In 1939, the Kamenets-Podolskii oblast' contained more than 120,000 Jews, and at that time the Polish województwa poleskie and wołyńskie probably held around 350,000 Jews. As the possibilities for flight and evacuation from these western areas of the Soviet Union in late June 1941 were limited, it is likely that more than 400,000 Jews came under German occupation in the territory of what was to become GkWP. This region included a number of cities with Jewish populations of more than 10,000, including Równe, Brześć, Pińsk, Łuck, Dubno, Włodzimierz Wołyński, Proskurov, and Kamenets-Podolskii.

GkWP contained more than 120 separate Rayons in which more than 130 ghettos were established. Most of the ghettos were located in the Rayon centers and became concentration points for the Jewish population of the respective Rayon. The period of ghettoization in GkWP lasted from the summer of 1941 until the summer of 1942. A few ghettos, including those in Kupel', Balin, and Domaczów, were established in the first 10 weeks of the occupation when the region was still under German military administration. On September 1, 1941, a German civil administration took over the newly formed GkWP, with Generalkommissar Schoene, who soon moved to the region's capital in Równe, in charge. The civil administration, in the form of the 26 Gebietskommissars, was primarily responsible for the establishment of ghettos over the ensuing 12 months. The ghetto liquidation Aktions, conducted mainly in the summer and fall of 1942, were organized by units of the Security Police (Sipo) subordinated to the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (KdS) in Równe, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz. The last ghetto to be liquidated, in Włodzimierz Wołyński, existed until December 1943.

Violence against the Jews started in the first days of the German invasion. In Volhynia (województwo wołyńskie), Shmuel Spector has identified more than 20 places where the local Ukrainian population carried out pogroms against the Jews. Although the motive was often the acquisition of property, many incidents involved acts of murder. For example, in Tuczyn, about 70 Jews were killed and many homes looted.[1] In Krzemieniec, in response to the Soviet murder of Ukrainian prisoners, Einsatzgruppe C reported that local Ukrainians "killed 130 Jews with clubs in revenge."[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, units of the Einsatzgruppen, the Order Police, and the Waffen-SS conducted a number of mass shootings directed mainly against the male Jewish population of the region. It is estimated that almost 100,000 Jews, or about a quarter of the total Jewish population, were murdered in 1941.

At the end of July 1941, Reichsführer-SS (RFSS) Heinrich Himmler ordered SS-Cavalry units to cleanse the Pripiat Marshes of criminal elements, including Jews. Clarifying instructions sent by telegram on August 1 stated: "[A]ll male Jews are to be shot. Jewish women to be driven into the swamps." A few days later, one unit commander, Franz Magill, reported that "driving the women and children into the swamps was not successful, as the swamps were not deep enough for them to sink [and be drowned]."[3] Nevertheless, men of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment shot more than 5,000 mostly male Jews from Pińsk in early August. In Dawidgródek, Himmler's instructions were interpreted literally; all the male Jews were shot with the assistance of local non-Jews, but the women and children were driven out of town. After three weeks wandering in the forests, most women and children returned and moved into a ghetto with the few specialist workers who had been spared.[4]

Under military administration in July and August 1941, local police forces were recruited and subordinated initially to the Ortskommandanturen (OKs). The Jewish population was registered, required to wear distinctive armbands, and subjected to forced labor. Jewish Councils (Judenräte) were established and made personally responsible for the implementation of German regulations and demands.[5] Apart from organizing forced labor details, the Jewish Councils also had to surrender all valuable objects and pay "contributions" demanded by the German authorities. In August 1941, the military administration in the area around Równe collected more than 2,500 kilograms (over 5,500 pounds) of mostly silver items from the local Jewish communities.[6]

A series of larger massacres conducted in the late summer and fall of 1941 were more closely linked to ghettoization. Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, organized the slaughter of more than 23,000 Jews at the end of August 1941 in Kamenets-Podolskii, including about 11,000 Hungarian Jews, shortly after the establishment of a ghetto in the city center.

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Selected craftsmen were then put into a smaller remnant ghetto. In Min'kovtsy, more than 2,000 Jews, including those from surrounding villages, were herded into a ghetto in August, only to be shot by Police Battalion 320 at the end of the month. A local witness, interviewed by Father Patrick Desbois, noted that the 70 or so Jews who survived in hiding were then placed in a single building, marked with a yellow Star of David on the front door.[7] On November 6 and 7, 1941, in Równe, the capital of GkWP, the HSSPF, Sipo, and Order Police shot about 15,000 Jews.[8] The victims were mostly those unable to work. The remaining 5,200 Jews were resettled into a ghetto on the edge of the city in December.

Reichskommissar Erich Koch had issued an order on September 5, 1941, to the Generalkommissar and the Gebietskommissars in GkWP that in towns with a notable percentage of Jews, ghettos were to be established that were strictly isolated (*streng abgeschlossen*) and in which no "Aryans" were permitted to reside. Jewish Councils were established to assist in the administration of the ghettos. They were to guarantee quiet (*Ruhe*), order, and security in the ghetto and to provide each day the required Jewish workforce. For every undesired event occurring among the Jews, the Judenrat was to be punished. To support the work of the Judenrat, a Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) could be established. In places with fewer than 200 Jews, no ghettos were to be established. A subsequent order was to be issued on the disposition of these few Jews.[9]

Following this order, a wave of ghettoization started in October to December 1941, with ghettos established in Berezne, Deraźne, Kołki, Horochów, and Brześć, among other places. Some of these ghettos were enclosed by a fence, and others remained open. In Bar, the Rayonchef put up posters in mid-December informing the Jews they had only five days to move into one of three separate ghetto areas. One of these ghettos was reserved for Jewish craftsmen.[10] Jews from surrounding villages often were brought into the ghettos at this time, although in some places this concentration did not occur until later. Such transfers were especially devastating for the village Jews, as they had to leave behind much of their property.

At the main gate of the Krzemieniec ghetto, Jewish children polish the boots of Jewish policemen, as German policemen look on, 1942. The ghetto fence is in the background.
USHMM WS #09525, COURTESY OF IPN

Under the supervision of a German policeman, Jews wearing circular badges are gathered with their possessions on an unpaved street during a deportation from the Krzemieniec ghetto, ca. 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #06392, COURTESY OF JOHN R. DENNIS

The process of ghettoization is exemplified by the situation in Łokacze. In early November 1941, the Jews of the town were forced to move into a ghetto concentrated around one of the synagogues. As a result, about half of the Jewish houses were confiscated. Another 800 Jews from smaller nearby towns and villages were also forced into the ghetto, in addition to the 1,400 Jews already residing in Łokacze. Therefore, at least two families had to share each house, and some people had to live in stables. Furniture was improvised from scavenged materials. The ghetto initially remained open (unfenced), but in early January the Judenrat was instructed to build a fence around the ghetto, which was completed in February. It was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and fortified by barbed wire. The enclosure of the ghetto immediately rendered trade with the local peasants much more difficult, and punishments for leaving the ghetto also became more severe. The Ukrainian police now began to shoot Jews on sight caught outside the ghetto. After 1 Jew was shot in mid-March 1942, black market prices in the ghetto shot up by 50 percent.[11]

The Jewish population was to receive only a bare minimum of food supplies; as a result, those not working were likely to starve to death within a few months. Despite the avowed aim of isolating the Jews, a total blockade was impossible to enforce. Many Jews left the ghetto every day for work, and Jewish craftsmen were often the only source of production tools and consumer goods. Death rates from starvation and disease in the smaller ghettos varied considerably, depending mainly on access to extra food supplies. Yet as Christopher Browning has noted, in the eastern ghettos such as that in Brześć, "however scant the food supply and terrible the hunger, mass starvation as in Warsaw and Łódź did not set in."[12]

The German authorities did not establish a ghetto in Pińsk until relatively late, that is, on May 1, 1942. On April 30, the

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Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto within 24 hours. Few belongings were allowed, although people still brought more than was officially permitted. Non-Jewish neighbors took advantage of this sudden evacuation to steal and loot. The assigned area was the poorest and most crowded part of town. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence more than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) in length and had three gates. The ghetto contained 240 wooden one-story houses on 23 streets, with only two water pumps. The allocation of living space per person was about 1.2 square meters (13 square feet), and each room was occupied by at least 10 people.[13] Health conditions deteriorated drastically, and cases of dysentery, typhus, and starvation-related illnesses soon emerged.[14]

There was starvation in the Horochów ghetto, as it was extremely difficult to obtain extra food. People were shot if they tried to leave the ghetto. Skilled workers received 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, while "useless" Jews received only 150 grams (5.3 ounces). Since food was so scarce, 20 youngsters built a tunnel under the fence as a way of getting out of the ghetto. They would take off their yellow stars and forage for food for their families. They mainly tried to barter items with the local population, such as clothing or jewelry, for food. The smells in the ghetto were horrible, and hygiene was almost nonexistent, with no soap, no toothbrushes, and no toothpaste.[15]

In some ghettos, Jewish craftsmen such as blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers were allowed to operate outside the ghetto area. In a number of ghettos, including those in Kobryń and Kowel, two ghettos were established, one for Jewish craftsmen and their families and another for the rest of the Jews. Some smaller Jewish communities were not ghettoized, but most were moved to the nearest ghetto by the summer of 1942. A few ghettos were literally only formed just prior to the liquidation Aktion, such as that in Powórsk. At least 15 ghettos remained open to the end, and in a few cases, fences were erected just prior to the liquidation, as the ghettos were sealed a few days in advance. At this time Jews were also sent back from labor assignments in the countryside, although these Jews sometimes had the opportunity to escape if they were tipped off in time.

In many ghettos of GkWP, there was a concerted attempt to exploit Jewish labor. In winter, Jews from the ghettos were deployed to clear snow from roads, and in the spring and summer, many were employed in agriculture. There were also deployments of younger able-bodied Jews to forced labor camps, and in some ghettos, such as Brześć, the establishment of workshops to exploit available Jewish labor. Unfortunately, little evidence has survived concerning payment of Jews for forced labor, and often payment came only in the form of extra rations. One source records that in the Kostopol ghetto inmates who worked received 5.60 rubles per day, of which 20 percent was deducted for a "Jewish tax" and another 25 percent as "income tax."[16]

During the wave of ghetto liquidations from May until November 1942, most Jews were shot in pits dug only a short distance from the ghetto. The Jews usually were marched there on foot, with the elderly and sick being taken on carts. Only occasionally was motorized transport employed.[17] Persons who attempted to hide within the ghetto during the roundups were shot on the spot, often by members of the local police. The civil administration organized the ghetto liquidations by ordering pits to be dug in advance, providing transport if required, and disposing of Jewish property after the Aktions. Some members of Gebietskommissariat staff were present during the shootings.[18] As Father Patrick Desbois has shown, many local inhabitants were requisitioned to dig the pits, press down the bodies, collect Jewish clothing, or clean up the execution site afterwards.[19]

The Aktions were coordinated by the Security Police, using manpower of the Gendarmerie and the local police (Schutzmannschaft) to round up and escort the Jews. In mid-August 1942, the German Security Police reported, for example, the shooting of 6,402 Jews in Krzemieniec, 3,399 Jews in Kamień Koszyrski, 1,792 Jews in Szumsk, and the killing of 420 Jews in Mikaszewicze. Internal correspondence within the German administration indicates that, against the wishes of the Generalkommissar, some larger ghettos were liquidated before those in the surrounding villages. The result was that the village Jews were warned, and some attempted to escape when these smaller ghettos were liquidated, as happened in Turzysk, where the Aktion took place just a few days after the liquidation of the Kowel ghetto. The ghetto liquidations were discussed at the meeting of Gebietskommissars held in Łuck on August 29–31, 1942. Here it was explained that the planned 100 percent clearance was on the orders of Reichskommissar Erich Koch. A "stay of execution" for two months was permitted only for small groups of vital workers, not to exceed 500 men. These small remnants were to disappear within this period. In Podolia, more than 2,000 able-bodied Jews were selected out from the executions in August and were sent to work in the camps along Transit Highway 4 (Durchgangsstrasse, or DG IV), which were liquidated in turn during 1943.[20]

Shortly before he committed suicide when under investigation for his crimes in the early 1960s, SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp, who was in charge of the outpost (Aussendienststelle) of the Security Police in Pińsk, provided a detailed account of the ghetto liquidations he organized in the fall of 1942. Over a three-month period from August to November, Rasp conducted Aktions against the ghettos in Janów, Łachwa, Stolin, Dawidgródek, Wysock, Łuniniec, and Pińsk, as well as other smaller rural ghettos, such as that in Mokrowo, during which more than 20,000 Jews were murdered. A combined force of Security Police, Gendarmerie, and local police was employed for most Aktions, with members of the Security Police generally conducting the shooting at the pits. According to Rasp, the orders for the ghetto liquidations came from Berlin and were passed on to him by his superiors, KdS Pütz and Commander of the Security Police and SD (BdS) Dr. Max Thomas.[21]

In order to facilitate the killing process, the Germans developed at least five regional killing centers in GkWP, where the Jews were brought from several different ghettos to be killed at one site. The best known of these is probably Bronna Góra, where Jews from Antopol, Brześć, Kobryń, and other ghettos

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Jews are assembled for deportation in Brześć, ca. October 1942.
USHMM WS #74322, COURTESY OF ŻIH

were murdered between July and October 1942. Other concentration points included Sarny, Manivtsy (Gebiet Antoniny), Starokonstantinov, and Iarmolintsy, where Jews from several ghettos were concentrated prior to being killed. This procedure entailed some risks for the Germans, as the increased layer of concentration could result in some delay, presenting opportunities for resistance. There was a mass breakout from the improvised camp in Sarny and also some brutal resistance among the Jews held in a former barracks at Iarmolintsy.

The Jews of the ghetto in Serniki had some warning of an impending Aktion in the fall of 1942, as most of the other ghettos nearby had by then already been liquidated. Among the warning signs was the fact that Jews were no longer sent to work outside the ghetto and that the owners of items given to Jewish craftsmen for repair came to collect them, regardless of whether the work had been finished. By early September there were also rumors that pits were being prepared nearby. Then local policemen, reinforced by the Gendarmerie, surrounded the ghetto at night. Assisted by the warnings and the close proximity of dense forests, 272 Jews managed to escape from the Serniki ghetto on the eve of the liquidation Aktion.[22]

In GkWP, some Jews escaped from the ghettos and joined the Soviet partisans, while others hid in the countryside, lived on the Aryan side, or were hidden by non-Jews. Some Jews from Podolia escaped to the Romanian-occupied zone (Transnistria), where survival chances were much greater by the end of 1942. The attacks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in 1943, directed mainly at the ethnic cleansing of Poles from Volhynia, also made it harder for Jews to survive in hiding, and several hundred were killed by members of the UPA. Detailed figures for the numbers of survivors in GkWP are not available, but most estimates are around 5 percent or less.

SOURCES Secondary works dealing specifically with the fate of the Jews and German anti-Jewish policies in GkWP include the following: I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i soprotivlenie ukrainskogo evreistva (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 51–87; Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990); Martin Dean, "Lebensbedingungen, Zwangsarbeit und Überlebenskampf in den kleinen Ghettos: Fallstudien aus den Generalkommissariaten Weissruthenien und Wolhynien-Podolien," in Christoph Dieckmann and Babette Quinkert, eds., *Im Ghetto 1939–1945: Neue Forschunegn zu Alltag und Umfeld. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 25 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009), pp. 54–73; and Stephen Pallavicini, "The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie" (Ph.D. diss., Sydney University, 2003).

Reference works useful in helping to identify ghetto sites include: 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); Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Father Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, eds., *V ogne katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izdatel'stvo Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot, 1998); Samuil Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit: O katastrofe i geroizme evreev v gorodakh i mestechkakh Ukrainy* (New York: n.p., 1995); A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

The video and oral testimonies of Jewish survivors and other witnesses taken by the USC Shoah Foundation Institute (VHF), Father Patrick Desbois (YIU), and others since 1990 have added considerably to our knowledge of ghettoization in this region. The documentation of several previously unregistered ghettos has been possible only with the assistance of these recently available materials. Relevant documentation

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on ghettoization in GkWP can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DARO; DATO; DAVINO; DAVO; GABO; GARF; IPN; NARA; NARB; PAAKag; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; YIU; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/397; GARF, 7021-71-68, p. 4.
2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR no. 28, July 20, 1941. See also GARF, 7021-75-6, pp. 13 reverse, 20, and 49. The killings were probably instigated by the members of the Einsatzgruppe.
3. BA-MA, RS 3-8/36 Himmler Order to SS-Kav. Rgt. 2, August 1, 1941; VHAP, KdO. Stab RFSS, Report of Magill, SS-Kav. Rgt. 2, on the Pripiat Aktion from July 27 to August 11, 1941.
4. *Memorial Book of David-Horodok* (Oak Park, MI: B. Chase, 1981), pp. 62–63, 91–93, 109.
5. GABO, 2135-2-127, p. 3.
6. BA-BL, R 2104/21 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle), p. 256.
7. YIU, Témoin no. 864.
8. BA-BL, R 58/218, EM no. 143.
9. DAZO, 1151-1-22, pp. 1–5, Reichskommissar to Generalkommissar and Gebietskommissars, September 5, 1941.
10. DAVINO, 1358-1c-1.
11. Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), pp. 38–72.
12. Christopher R. Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 131.
13. Werner Müller, ed., *Aus dem Feuer gerissen: Die Geschichte des Pjotr Ruwinowitsch Rabzewitsch aus Pinsk* (Cologne: Dietrich, 2001); Nahum Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto," *Yalkut Moreshet*, no. 64 (November 1997).
14. Tikva Fatal Knaani, "The Jews of Pinsk, 1939–1943, through the Prism of New Documentation," *Yad Vashem Studies* 29 (2001): 149–182, here pp. 172–173.
15. Personal interview with Charlene Schiff, June 19, 2003.
16. AŻIH, 301/1268.
17. DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, report to Generalkommissar on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942.
18. GABO, 195-1-300, p. 11; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59 (B 162/4952-60), statements of Wilhelm Rasp, 1961–1962.
19. Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets*, p. 97.
20. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, sygn. 77, pp. 2–3, 7–9.
21. BA-L, B 162/4952-60, statements of Wilhelm Rasp.
22. Meylekh Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partisan* (Buenos Aires, 1958), pp. 9–19.

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ALEKSANDRIA

Pre-1939: Aleksandria, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Aleksandriia, Rovno raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Alexandria, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Oleksandriia, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Aleksandria is located about 13 kilometers (8 miles) northeast of Równe. According to the census of 1921, 1,293 Jews lived in Aleksandria; assuming a rate of natural increase of 0.9 percent per year, more than 1,500 Jews would have been living there in mid-1941. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, leaving more than 1,100 Jews behind in Aleksandria at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Aleksandria on June 29, 1941. In July and August 1941, the village was administered by a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) and after September 1941 by the German civil administration. Aleksandria was included within Gebiet Rowno, and Regierungsrat Beer was appointed as the Gebietskommissar.[1] The village had a German Gendarmerie post, which also supervised a squad of local Ukrainian police. The anti-Jewish Aktions in Aleksandria were carried out by a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe with the assistance of the local German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

On July 1–4, 1941, Ukrainian nationalists carried out anti-Jewish pogroms, including the burning of synagogues and the plundering of Jewish homes. They also murdered several Jews. On July 31, 1941, pro-Soviet activists were seized and killed along with 85 Jews; the massacre was carried out by a squad of the Security Police and SD based in Równe (detached from the commander of the Security Police [KdS] in Lublin) with the assistance of the Ukrainian local police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a number of discriminatory measures against the Jews in Aleksandria: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) with nine members was appointed; Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks (initially the Star of David, then later a yellow circle); they were assigned to perform hard labor, sometimes without pay; and they were forbidden to leave the confines of the village. Jews were also subjected to regular beatings and robbery by the Ukrainian police.

In late July or August 1942, the Germans ordered all the local Jews (about 1,080 people) to be concentrated in a ghetto, which was established on a side street and surrounded by a fence and barbed wire along the banks of the Horyn River.[2] Conditions in the ghetto were appalling. Children and the elderly died of hunger. Anyone caught bringing food into the ghetto was immediately shot. Every day the Germans drove groups of Jews out into the countryside to work. Any Jews caught not wearing their yellow patch might be shot on the spot, or if captured, they faced a fine of 50 Reichsmark (RM).[3]

On Yom Kippur (September 21, 1942), the ghetto was in mourning because the men had been taken out to work and did not return. On that day a Security Police unit, together with members of the Ukrainian police, arrived in town to dig pits in preparation for an Aktion. The Ukrainian and German police surrounded the ghetto, and no one was allowed out.

Over the following days, the Security Police detachment from Równe, assisted by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie, shot 903 Jews from the Aleksandria ghetto in a nearby forest.[4] On the eve of the liquidation of the ghetto, Rywa Sparberg was among about 100 Jews who managed to flee, but 85 of them were caught later by the Ukrainian and German police and murdered in a mass shooting on October 28, 1942.

SOURCES The yizkor book contains much information about the Jewish community of Aleksandria: *Natan Livneh* Shemu'el Yisre'eli, Pinkas ha-kehilah Aleksandriya (Tel Aviv, 1972). There is also a brief article on the history of the town in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 43–45.

Documents regarding the destruction of Aleksandria's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/451); DARO (R534-1-4); GARF (7021-71-41); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Berlin Document Center, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-71-41, pp. 1 and verso, gives the date of mid-August; AŻIH, 301/451, testimony of Rywa and Cypa Sparberg, gives the date of July 22, 1942; see also DARO, R534-1-4, pp. 20, 31, which gives the date of September 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/451.
4. GARF, 7021-71-41, pp. 91–92.

ANNOPOL'

Pre-1941: Annopol', village, Slavuta raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Annopol, Rayon Slawuta, Gebiet Schepetowka, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Hannopil', Slavuta raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Annopol' is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-southeast of Równe. According to the 1926 census, there were 2,832 residents of Annopol', of whom 1,278 were Jews (45 percent). In the 1920s and 1930s, the number of Jews in the village decreased significantly, due to the effects of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population fled to the east, and others joined the Red Army. The rapid advance of the German troops forced some of those trying to flee to return to the village. About 800 Jews remained in Annopol' at the start of the German occupation.

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Units of the German army occupied Annopol' on July 7, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. The Germans appointed a village elder and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Annopol' was incorporated into Gebiet Schepetowka, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. German Gendarmes were not stationed permanently in Annopol'. Instead, the Ukrainian policemen based there were subordinated to the head of the Ukrainian police in Slavuta.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces introduced a series of antisemitic measures in Ukraine. All Jews had to wear yellow patches sewn onto the back and front of their clothes to distinguish them from the non-Jewish population.[1] They were forced to perform heavy labor with little or no pay and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village.

In the summer and fall of 1941, there were at least two anti-Jewish Aktions in the village. In the first, local police beat Jews and arrested about 20 young Jewish men. Some of them managed to escape, but those that remained were shot on the outskirts of the village, on the road to the nearby village of Ponora. In a second Aktion, in late summer or the fall of 1941, members of the local Ukrainian police, probably in cooperation with men of the German 45th Reserve Police Battalion, shot more than 100 Jews in the quarry of a brick-making factory.[2] Jewish survivor Semen Velinger recalled: "The police from the villages and our Annopol' police . . . caught all the [Jewish] men of various ages including our rabbi. There was a primitive brick factory and there were quarries there, and they took them to those quarries and shot them there—200 people." He noted that after this Aktion the entire village fell silent, as the Ukrainians also had been shaken by the brutality of the events.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the German authorities established an open ghetto in the village located on one street where Jews already lived.[4] Dozens of Jews from nearby villages, including Dovzhki, Klepachi, Velikii Sknit, and Golovli, were resettled there along with the Jews of Annopol', which resulted in considerable overcrowding.[5] The Jews in the ghetto were forced to clear snow from the streets, work on road construction, and clean up the grounds of an alcohol distillery.

On March 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. Velinger recalls: "One fine day, they forced us out of our homes; they didn't let us take anything, but ordered everyone to go to the market square. There were a few carts waiting, they put the children in the carts and off we went to Slavuta."[6] The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police escorted the Jews on the way. On arrival, the elderly and handicapped were singled out and shot immediately. The remaining Jews were put into the Slavuta ghetto. Then on June 25, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators shot them together with other Jews from the region.[7] A detachment of the Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov organized the mass shooting. The Ukrainian police selected the killing site and guarded the victims on the way to their deaths.

Several Jewish craftsmen remained in Annopol' after the transfer of the Jews to Slavuta. Of these, 3 men and 1 woman ran away on August 10, 1942. In retaliation, the German Gendarmerie shot 10 Jews two days later; together with them, 4 Jewish women were shot for having infectious diseases and another 4 for alleged "laziness."[8]

SOURCES The testimony of Semen Velinger can be found in: VHF (# 44509). A published version of this testimony and also that of Sofia Malinskaia can be found in D. Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana* (Slavuta-Netishyn-Iziaslav, 1996).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 44509, testimony of Semen Velinger.
2. Testimony of Sofia Malinskaia (September 1994) published in Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana*, p. 48. This source dates the second Aktion in August 1941.
3. VHF, # 44509. This source dates the second Aktion in October 1941 and states that no Germans participated. It also indicates that there was another Aktion in December 1941 in which a beautiful young woman was buried alive on the orders of the commandant in Annopol'. See also Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana*, p. 38, for another version of Velinger's testimony.
4. VHF, # 44509; this source dates the establishment of the ghetto in September or October 1941. Another source dates it in November.
5. Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana*, p. 49.
6. VHF, # 44509.
7. Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana*, p. 50.
8. IPN, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 3, report of Gend.-Gebietsführer Schepetowka, August 13, 1942.

ANTOPOL

Pre-1939: Antopol, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Antopol', Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Antopol, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Antopal', Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Antopol is located 70 kilometers (43.5 miles) to the east of Brześć. On the eve of World War II, Antopol had about 4,000 inhabitants, of whom as many as 3,000 were Jews.[1]

In accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the town of Antopol was annexed by the Soviet Union in September 1939. German military forces occupied Antopol on June 24, 1941, only two days after their invasion of the Soviet Union, giving local Jews almost no chance to flee. A few weeks after their arrival in Antopol, the Germans appointed an ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*), a former postman named Chrominski, as head of the Rayon. They instructed him to organize a

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local police force. According to survivor accounts, he had not been hostile towards the Jews before the war, but now he became an enthusiastic antisemite, and his police unit mostly followed suit.

The local police and the Germans heaped other abuses on the Jews. Every Jew was required to wear a Star of David armband. The local police would indiscriminately whip Jews, especially when SS men were present. The Germans made Jews wash their cars, and they or the police would beat them mercilessly while they did so. The Germans also assembled the Christian population in the Orthodox Church in the center of town and instructed them to avoid social and business contact with Jews. Posters bearing antisemitic slogans were hung in the marketplace.[2]

A Judenrat was formed, with Rozenberg at its head. The other members were Binyomin Volf, Zalmen Altvarg, Rubinshteyn, and Rabbi Volkin. The latter allowed the Judenrat to meet in his house but otherwise declined to participate in its activities. The others were chosen because they were wealthy or important members of the community. A small Jewish police force, with Borukh Hersh Rabinovitsh at its head, was also formed; its main task was to ensure the Jews obeyed German orders. A series of these followed: Jews had to wear yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes instead of the Star of David armbands; Jews were forbidden to hold public meetings and do business with Aryans; the Judenrat had to collect a large sum of money and goods from the Jews and hand it over to the Germans.[3]

From the very beginning of the occupation, the Germans tried to reduce contact between Jews and non-Jews. Later, the Jews living on one side of Pińsk and Kobryń Streets (Antopol's two main thoroughfares) were forced to leave their homes and relocate to the other side of the streets, creating an open ghetto of sorts. They were also forbidden to walk on the sidewalks. The open ghetto was probably set up in August 1941.[4]

At the end of August 1941, German police surrounded the open ghetto. They ordered the Judenrat to collect and hand over gold, silver, jewels, furs, leather goods, Polish or Soviet currency, and various food items. Simultaneously, all able-bodied men were ordered to assemble in the marketplace to be taken to work. Many Jews tried to hide. The German forces then arrested more than 200 men in the marketplace and held them in the "Polish Synagogue." They were then taken outside the town to pits dug by local peasants and shot.[5] According to a report by the 8th Company, 3rd Battalion, Polizei-Regiment Mitte (Order Police), this unit shot 257 Jews and 8 Communists on August 28, 1941, in Antopol after gathering the men together and searching for those who were hiding.[6] The Jews were told that these men had been sent to a forced labor camp and that their relatives could send them packages of food weighing up to 5 kilograms (11 pounds). Presumably the Germans or the local police confiscated the food.

From the summer of 1941 through the spring of 1942, groups of Jews arrived in Antopol from various towns and villages in the surrounding area, including Szereszów, Żabinka, Horodec, and the Białowieża Forest. Of some 1,000 Jews who arrived from Szereszów in the late summer of 1941, about 500 were permitted to remain in Antopol rather than continue their painful odyssey, following appeals by the Judenrat.[7]

In early April 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Kobryń ordered the establishment of an enclosed ghetto in Antopol on Zaniewska and Gruszowa Streets. Gentiles had to move out of this area, and the Jews were given only 20 minutes to move in, so that they had to leave most of their possessions behind. About 2,500 Jews moved into the ghetto, including about 100 Jews from Horodec. They were packed into small houses like herring in a barrel.[8] In June 1942, the Judenrat was ordered to produce lists of Jewish skilled workers and able-bodied men. On this basis the ghetto was divided into two parts: Ghetto A for "useful Jews" and Ghetto B for "non-useful Jews." Residents of Ghetto A received special papers.[9]

Cultural life in the ghetto all but ceased. The old wooden synagogue had been converted into a grain silo by the Soviets and remained one under the Germans. The brick synagogue, which had been completed in 1888, continued to function, but only a few people still came there to pray. Antopol's two Jewish doctors continued to provide medical services for the residents of the ghetto; they frequently were called out of the ghetto to tend to ill non-Jews in the town and in the surrounding villages. The other able-bodied men and women were taken out of the ghetto every morning under the supervision of the Ukrainian police as well as Jewish Police. Most men worked as manual laborers, building and fixing roads or helping the peasants with agricultural tasks. Women worked cleaning and keeping house for the Germans.[10]

In July 1942, Ghetto B was liquidated. It was surrounded by local police and members of the SS, and its residents (about 1,000 people) were taken to the train station, where they were put on trains carrying Jews from other towns—Janów, Drohiczyn, and others—and sent to Bronna Góra, where they were shot. Immediately after the liquidation Aktion, Ghetto A was more tightly enclosed, with a guard of local police stationed at the gate.[11]

In August 1942, the ghetto once again was surrounded by armed men. By this time, many of the ghetto's Jews had constructed hiding places in concealed basements, behind double walls, and in other spaces. Thus the Germans had to conduct an active search for Jews inside the ghetto. They found several hundred and shot them outside the town. About 300 Jews remained in the ghetto.[12]

On October 15, in the evening, the mayor summoned the Judenrat and Jewish Police. They were immediately arrested and executed. The next day, in the early hours of the morning, the ghetto was surrounded once more. Because of the need to search for Jews in hiding, the Aktion lasted for four days. A handful of Jews managed to escape, but the Germans and their collaborators murdered the vast majority at the Pervomaiskoe cemetery east of the town. People were stripped naked, ordered to lie facedown in a pit, and shot with automatic weapons.[13] Among the units participating in the ghetto liquidation was the 3rd Squadron of Polizei-Reiterabteilung I, a mounted police detachment. One member of this unit was

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killed by a stray bullet fired at a Jewish woman who was attempting to flee while the ghetto was being searched.[14]

SOURCES The Antopol yizkor book, *Anṭopol: Anṭipolye sefer-yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Anṭopol be-Yisrael uve-Ameriḳah, 1972), edited by Benzion H. Ayalon, contains several accounts in Hebrew and Yiddish dealing with the war years. Most of the pertinent historical information can be found in those written by Gitl and Pinhas Tshernyak. *Antopol: Mi-toldoteha shel kehila ahat be-Polesyah* (Tel Aviv, 1967), edited by Yosef ben Israel Levine, is a general history of the town's Jewish community, focusing on religious life. However, it contains almost no information about the war years. A brief article on the history of the Jewish community can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 219–221.

There is also relevant documentation, including witness testimonies, in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2212); BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 369/63); GABO (514-1-255); GARF (7021-83-8); USHMM (RG-48.004M); and YVA (O-4/21, O-22/46).

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2212, testimony of Benjamin Wolf.
2. G. Tshernyak, p. 340; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 561–562—both in Levine, *Antopol*.
3. G. Tshernyak, p. 340; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," p. 562.
4. G. Tshernyak, pp. 340–341; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," p. 563.
5. G. Tshernyak, p. 346; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 562–563. The yizkor book dates this incident in October 1941, whereas AŻIH, 301/2212, dates it at the end of July. However, the descriptions suggest that it was almost certainly the same incident described in the German police report mentioned below, which took place at the end of August 1941.
6. USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 2, fr. 201217, report of 8./III./Pol. Rgt. Mitte, August 30, 1941.
7. G. Thsernyak, p. 341; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," p. 564; AŻIH, 301/2212; on the expulsion of the Jews from Szereszów and their subsequent fate, see Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004), pp. 228–258.
8. AŻIH, 301/2212. GARF, 7021-83-8, p. 1a, also dates the establishment of the ghetto in the spring of 1942, giving the number of 2,500 ghetto inmates. G. Tshernyak's account, however, states that the ghetto was enclosed earlier, probably in late 1941 ("Antopoler Geto," p. 341).
9. AŻIH, 301/2212, GARF, 7021-83-8, p. 1a; G. Tshernyak, p. 341; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 563–564.
10. G. Tshernyak, pp. 342–343; P. Tshernyak, "Pe'ulato shel rofe mahteret me-Antopol," in Ayalon, *Anṭopol: Anṭipolye sefer-yizkor*, p. 366.
11. G. Tshernyak, pp. 347–348; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 564–565; Sta. Bielefeld 5 Js 703/70, Vermerk, October 26, 1973.
12. G. Tshernyak, pp. 348–349; Shoshanah Kats, "Haye ha-eymim sheli be-gito Antopol ve-hatsalti," in B. Ayalon, *Anṭopol: Anṭipolye sefer-yizkor*, p. 360; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," p. 565.
13. G. Tshernyak, p. 350; P. Tshernyak, "Di yorn," p. 552; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 566–567; GARF, 7021-83-8, p. 1a, dates the ghetto liquidation on November 15, 1942.
14. BA-L, B 162/204 AR-Z 369/63 (investigation of Hahn), vol. 1, pp. 213–216.

BALIN

Pre-1941: Balin, village, Smotrich raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Dunaivtsi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Balin is located 325 kilometers (202 miles) west-southwest of Kiev and about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) north-northeast of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1897 census, Balin had a Jewish population of 357 (22 percent of the total).

German armed forces occupied the village on July 10, 1941, almost three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country, and some men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village, and it appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Balin became part of Rayon and Gebiet Dunajewzy, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

According to the testimony of Ilya Kelmanovich, some form of ghetto (probably an open ghetto) had been established in Balin by August 1941. The Jews had to wear yellow badges, and they were not allowed to leave the village. If they were found outside the village without permission, they were shot. The Ukrainian police forced Jews to perform hard labor every day. Most people had to work in the large factory in Balin. The police also robbed the Jews; if Jews did not hand over all their gold and other valuables, they were beaten. In early 1942, the police started rounding up Jews and taking them away for work somewhere near Dunaevtsy.[1]

The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life mentions the murder of about 150 Jews from Balin in the fall of 1941, but most sources date the destruction of the Jewish population in 1942. According to Ilya Kelmanovich, the mass murders started in the spring of 1942. A pit was dug not far from Balin. The police would collect Jewish men in the mornings and tell them they were going to work, but instead they would be taken to the pit and shot. In the spring or summer of 1942, some Jews were rounded up and taken to a camp at Kamenets-Podolskii. Kelmanovich decided to go into hiding but was initially turned away by a Ukrainian acquaintance of his father from before the war, as the man was scared of the punishment he might face for assisting a Jew.

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Therefore, Kelmanovich left Balin and found refuge, for a time at least, with a Ukrainian woman in another village.[2]

On September 5, 1942, German and Ukrainian police liquidated the ghetto in Balin: the Jews who were not able to work were shot in a clay pit (probably the one described by Kelmanovich), and the craftsmen were herded to the ghetto of Kamenets-Podolskii, where they too were subsequently murdered. It is estimated that about 150 to 250 Jews were murdered in Balin altogether.[3]

SOURCES Information about Balin's Jewish population can be found in these publications: Avraham Rozen, H. 'Sarig, and Y. Bernshtain, eds., *Kaminits-Podolsk u-sevivatah: Sefer-zikaron li-kehilot Yisrael ba-'arim Kaminits-Podolsk*, *Balin*, *Dunivits*, *Zamihov*, *Zvanits*, *Minkovits*, *Smotrits'*, *Frampol*, *Kupin*, *Kiteygorod she-hushmedu bi-yeme ha-Sho'ah 'al-yede ha-Natsim bi-shenat 701* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kamenets-Podolsk u-sevivatah be-Yisrael, 1965); *Kaminits-Podolsk and Its Environs* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu Foundation, 1999); "Balin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, 2000), 4:76–77; and 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), p. 82.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Balin can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-815); VHF (# 15814); and YVA (M-52/179).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 15814, testimony of Ilya Kelmanovich.
2. Ibid.
3. Testimony of Ida Kats, in *Vestnik. Vypusk 2. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernowitz, 1992), p. 50. According to ChGK documents (GARF, 7021-64-815, p. 89), 211 people were killed in Balin. According to Report 87 of the Board of the Khmel'nitskii Office of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, dated February 2, 1989 (archives of the author—PAAKru), 150 Jews were shot in a clay pit 0.6 kilometers (656 yards) north of the village. According to Report No. 02/134 ("Vedomost' o zakhoroneniiakh sovetskikh grazhdan evreiskoi natsional'nosti v period vremennoi okkupatsii fashistami Khmel'nitskoi oblasti") of the Khmel'nitskii Oblast' Nongovernmental Organization for Conservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, dated October 11, 1990 (PAAKru), 264 Jews were killed in Balin during the occupation.

BAR

Pre-1941: Bar, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Bar is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) southeast of Khmel'nitskii. In 1939, there were 3,869 Jews living in Bar (41 percent of the population).

After the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jewish men were drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army. A small number of Jews also managed to evacuate to the east. As a result, there were fewer than 3,000 Jews in Bar at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Bar on July 16, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was run by the office of the local military commandant (Ortskommandantur II/757), which established a Rayon administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants. In September 1941, authority was handed over to a German civil administration. Bar became the administrative center of the Gebiet, which also included the neighboring Rayons (subdistricts) of Iaryshev, Novaia Ushitsa, and Murowanny Kurilowzy.[1]

The Gebietskommissar was Franz Schwarz, and his deputy was Hans Eberle.[2] The German Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer based in Bar was initially Leutnant Richard Schulz, who in May 1942 became the deputy of the SS- und Polizei Gebietsführer, Gendarmerie Hauptmann Willi Petrich.[3] Several Gendarmerie posts throughout the Gebiet were subordinated to him, including the one in Bar. In turn, the post in Bar had a Ukrainian police force under its control. The chief of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, Grigorii Vasil'evich Andrusiv, was appointed in July 1941. Before the war, he had been head guard at a sugar refinery. His deputy was Aleksei Keba.[4] Andrusiv had seven policemen under his command at the end of July 1941.[5] The head of the Rayon administration (Rayonchef) was a former middle school teacher, Vladimir Kol'vepryk.[6]

The Aktions against the Jews in Gebiet Bar were organized in 1942 by a detachment of Security Police (Sipo/SD) based at the outpost in Kamenets-Podolskii. The detachment was established in May 1942 and headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen also played an active role in the anti-Jewish operations.

Almost immediately upon occupying the town, the Germans began a program of abuse, plunder, forced labor, and murder.

On December 15, 1941, the head of the Rayon administration, Kol'vepryk, decreed the creation of ghettos in Bar and Ialtushkov, starting on December 20, 1941. In Bar, three ghettos were set up: one on former Sholom Aleichem Street, near the synagogue; one in the area of March 8th Street, Komsomol' Street, and Kooperativ Street; and the third near the stadium. The latter was reserved for craftsmen, who were issued special certificates by the Jewish Council. Some non-Jews were displaced in order to create the ghettos, and the German authorities were concerned about preventing the Jews from destroying furniture that they had to leave behind and then preventing the local Ukrainians from stealing it.[7] When Jews were resettled into the ghetto, they were not allowed to take property with them, although some left items for safekeeping with non-Jews outside the ghetto. In the Bar ghetto, survivor Evgeniia Lerner recalled that "our life was

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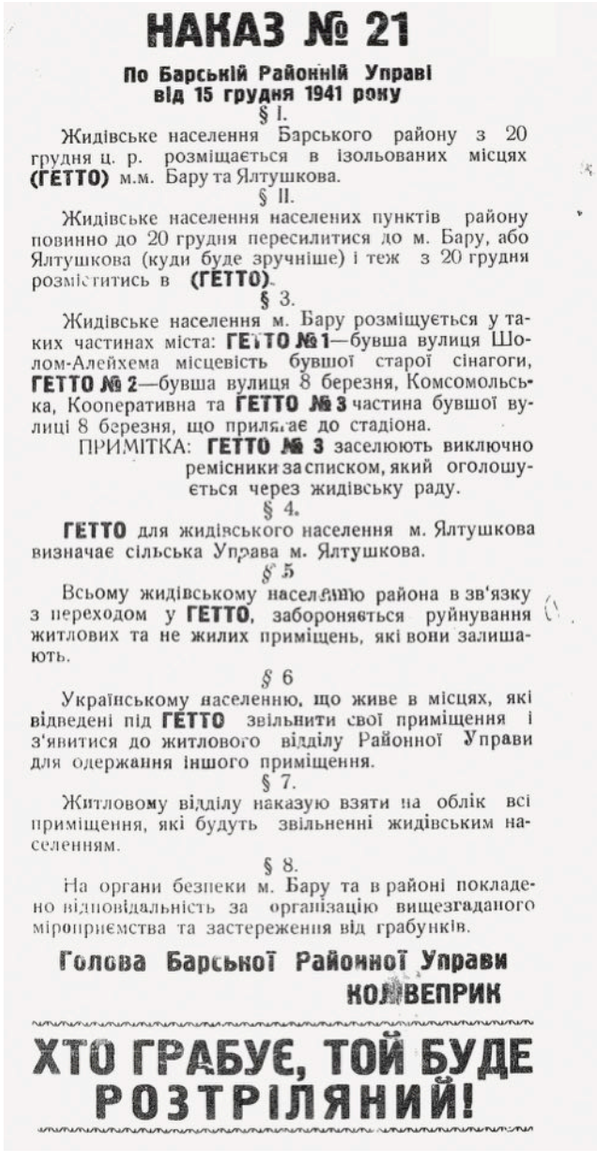

НАКАЗ № 21

По Барській Районній Управі
від 15 грудня 1941 року

§ I.

Жидівське населення Барського району з 20 грудня ц. р. розміщається в ізольованих місцях **(ГЕТТО)** м.м. Бару та Ялтушкова.

§ II.

Жидівське населення населених пунктів району повинно до 20 грудня пересилитися до м. Бару, або Ялтушкова (куди буде зручніше) і теж з 20 грудня розмістити в **(ГЕТТО)**.

§ 3.

Жидівське населення м. Бару розміщується у таких частинах міста: **ГЕТТО № 1**—бувша вулиця Шолом-Алейхема місцевість бувшої старої сінагоги, **ГЕТТО № 2**—бувша вулиця 8 березня, Комсомольська, Кооперативна та **ГЕТТО № 3** частина бувшої вулиці 8 березня, що прилягає до стадіона.

ПРИМІТКА: **ГЕТТО № 3** заселюють виключно ремісники за списком, який оголошується через жидівську раду.

§ 4.

ГЕТТО для жидівського населення м. Ялтушкова визначає сільська Управа м. Ялтушкова.

§ 5

Всьому жидівському населенню района в зв'язку з переходом у **ГЕТТО**, забороняється руйнування житлових та не жилих приміщень, які вони залишають.

§ 6

Українському населенню, що живе в місцях, які відведені під **ГЕТТО** звільнити свої приміщення і з'явитися до житлового відділу Районної Управи для одержання іншого приміщення.

§ 7.

Житловому відділу наказую взяти на облік всі приміщення, які будуть звільненні жидівським населенням.

§ 8.

На органи безпеки м. Бару та в районі покладено відповідальність за організацію вищезгаданого мероприємства та застереження від грабунків.

Голова Барської Районної Управи
КОЛЬВЕПРИК

ХТО ГРАБУЄ, ТОЙ БУДЕ РОЗТРІЛЯНИЙ!

Ukrainian announcement of ghettos established in Bar Rayon. The document reads:

"Order 21

Ratified by the Bar Rayon Administration on December 15, 1941

§I

Starting December 20, 1941, all Jewish population that resides in the Bar Rayon must relocate to isolated places (GHETTO) in Bar and Yaltushkov.

§II

Jewish population must relocate to Bar or Yaltushkov (whichever is more convenient) and also after December 20 be relocated into the GHETTO

§3

Jewish population has to be placed in the following parts of the city: **Ghetto #1**—former Sholom-Aleichem Str., area near the old synagogue; **Ghetto #2—**former 8th of March Str., Komsomolskaya Str., Cooperatyvna Str.; **Ghetto #3**—a part of former 8th of March Str., which is located near the stadium. P.S. **Ghetto #3** should consist of craftsmen who are determined by the Jewish Council.

§4

Ghetto for Jewish population of Yaltushkov city is to be determined by local government of Yaltushkov city.

§5

It is prohibited for Jews to destroy any property when they are forced to leave their homes.

§6

The Ukrainian population that resides in the areas which are designated for the ghettos must renounce their current places of residence and apply for new residences with the local administration.

§7

It is obligatory that all the abandoned Jewish residences be registered by the local administration.

§8

It is the lawful responsibility of Bar's security forces to ensure that the abovementioned regulations are carried out and that any serious thefts are avoided.

Head of Bar Rayon Administration
Kol'vepryk

Those who steal will be put to death!"

USHMMA/RG-31-011M, REEL 3, 1358-LC-1

awful because we could not leave the ghetto in order to find some food." However, a few Jews, especially children, managed to sneak out under the wire, and some local people also brought food to the fence. From each house in the ghetto, at least one person was assigned to work each day. The work columns were escorted by local Ukrainian police (Schutzmänner) and Germans with dogs. The Jewish workers were frequently beaten and sometimes shot for no reason by the guards. During the winter of 1941–1942, many Jews from the ghetto were killed; the Germans arrested some Jews as hostages and held them in the jail. Among them was Evgeniia Lerner's father; she managed to visit him once but never saw him again after that.[8]

On August 19, 1942, the first mass killing Aktion was carried out. Early in the morning, forces of the Security Police, the Gendarmerie, local policemen, and according to one account, also members of the Wehrmacht surrounded the main ghetto. Then they drove the Jews out of their houses and collected them at the town's sports stadium. The Germans had informed the Jews that they would be transferred to a work camp, and everybody took their most important belongings along. On the sports field, the Gebietskommissar then conducted a selection, separating the younger people (those able to work) from the elderly and children and also demanding any property and ordering some persons to be shot on the spot. The group of selected workers was temporarily held in an unfinished barracks.[9] Sara Benjamini, who was 12 years old, was pushed over to the group of able workers by her grandmother during the selection, as she recognized that the others would most probably be killed. The German forces then escorted the group of nonworkers to the site of the Frunze kolkhoz, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of the town, where they shot them.[10] In total, the Sipo/SD detachment from Kamenets-Podolskii, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot 1,742 people.[11]

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After killing most of Bar's Jews, the same Sipo/SD commando carried out shootings in the other population centers of Gebiet Bar between August 19 and August 21. In Ialtushkov, several hundred Jews from the ghetto there were shot on the afternoon of August 19.[12] In Novaia Ushitsa, 707 Jews were shot; in Kalius, 240; in Murovannye Kurilovtsy, 1,170; and in Iaryshev, 212 Jews.[13]

In Bar, the remaining younger people were then put into the craftsmen's ghetto, where they also performed forced labor. During this period the craftsmen's ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire. On the night of October 14–15, 1942, German forces directed by men of the Sipo/SD from Kamenets-Podolskii surrounded the ghetto. The following morning they drove the Jews out of their houses, beating them as they went. A few Jews, including Sara Benjamini, hid in bunkers they had prepared and managed to avoid the roundup.[14] During this operation, the Sipo/SD shot all the Jews they could find in the ghetto, perhaps more than 1,000 people. A second wave of killings followed in the other population centers of the Bar district, including more than 1,000 Jews in the Ialtushkov ghetto, which was liquidated on October 15, 1942.[15]

In total, around 9,000 Jews were shot in Gebiet Bar during 1942. Several hundred Jews from the county were sent to work in a labor camp in Letichev in August 1942. The inmates there were used for road construction work on the transit highway project (Durchgangsstrasse IV), a major supply line for the German army. A small number of Jews, in part with help from locals, managed to escape being shot and were able to survive the occupation in hiding until liberation in March 1944. Some of them escaped into the Romanian-occupied zone, which by this time had become somewhat safer for Jews.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Jews of Bar can be found in: B.N. London, *Ushedshie v vechnost': Zametki o evreiskoi obshchine goroda Bar* (Israel, 1997); and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:81–82. One survivor account of the Bar ghetto can be found in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 29–36.

Documents and testimonies concerning the destruction of the Jews of Bar can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67); DAVINO (1358-1-1); GARF (7021-54-1273); IPN; USHMM (RG-31.018.M, reel 11; and RG-50.226*0017); VHF; and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. According to the census of 1939, these four raions were home to 10,671 Jews: Bar raion, 5,405 Jews; Murovannye-Kurilovitsy raion, 2,079 Jews; Novaia Ushitsa raion, 2,606 Jews; and Iaryshev raion, 581 Jews. Allowing for conscription of some Jewish men and limited evacuations, 9,000 to 9,500 Jews probably remained in these raions when the Germans first occupied the area.

2. See USHMM, RG-31.002M (selected records from TsDAVO), reel 3, 3206-2-19, p. 29. This document notes that Schwarz was only temporarily appointed to the post of Gebietskommissar, but his name is also recorded in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports; see BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 60, 63.

3. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 67–85, 159–166.

4. Andrusiv was sentenced to death at his trial in Bar in 1966. A copy of his trial record is located at USHMM, RG-31.018.M, reel 11, KGB Archives for the Vinnitsa Oblast', D-28506. Keba lived in São Paulo, Brazil, after the war.

5. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 5, Oberfeldkommandantur Winniza (Abt. VII) an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 1, 1941.

6. USHMM, RG-50.226*0017, interview with Evgeniia Lerner; and USHMM, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 3, 1358-1c-1, Order No. 21, signed by Kol'vepryk.

7. DAVINO, 1358-1c-1.

8. USHMM, RG-50.226*0017, interview with Evgeniia Lerner; Elisaveta Brusch (Moschel) (b. 1925), "One hundred and six members of our family perished in the ghetto, and thirty-eight at the front," in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 29–36.

9. DAVINO, R6002-1-1, witness testimony of Evgeniia Solomonovna Lavrovaia (née Lerner) given in May 1993; Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 30–31.

10. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 50–53, statement of Sara Benjamini, June 26, 1968.

11. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10, report of Gendarmerie Gebietsführer, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Petrich, August 27, 1942, regarding Jewish Aktions.

12. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 67–85, statement of Richard Schulz, February 1948, gives the figure of 213 victims. Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 38, date the shooting on August 20. The ChGK report gives the number of victims as 450; see GARF, 7021-54-1273, pp. 14, 64.

13. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10, Petrich Report, August 27, 1942.

14. GARF, 7021-54-1273, p. 14; BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 50–53, statement of Sara Benjamini on June 26, 1968.

15. GARF, 7021-54-1273, p. 64.

BAZALIIA

Pre-1941: Bazaliia, town, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Basalija, Rayon center, Gebiet Antoniny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Bazaliia, Teofopil' raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Bazaliia is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Khmel'nitskii. According to the 1939 census, there were 410 Jewish residents in the town (12 percent of the total population). In the villages surrounding Bazaliia, there were another 163 Jews. After Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews from Bazaliia managed

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to escape or were drafted into the Red Army. When the German troops arrived, about 300 Jews were still in the town.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Bazaliia on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The military authorities established a local administration and organized a Ukrainian auxiliary police force.

In September 1941, a German civil administration took control of the town. Bazaliia became a Rayon center in Gebiet Antoniny. Regierungsassessor Harald Schorer was appointed as Gebietskommissar in Antoniny. His permanent representative was Gerhard Friedrich, and the head of the Gendarmerie was Karl Otto Paul.[1] There was no Gendarmerie post in Bazaliia, but a unit of local Ukrainian police was located in the town, subordinated to the commander of the Ukrainian police in Antoniny. The Security Police and SD outpost in Starokonstantinov organized most of the major Aktions against the Jews in Gebiet Antoniny, which included the town of Bazaliia. SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf was in charge of the Starokonstantinov outpost.[2]

In the summer and autumn of 1941, the German occupation forces imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures: Jews were ordered to wear special markings, initially the Star of David and later a yellow circle; the Jews were forced to conduct physically demanding labor and were forbidden to leave the town; and the Jewish population was subjected to forced contributions. In addition, Ukrainian auxiliary policemen robbed and maltreated the Jews.

In late 1941 or at the beginning of 1942, a ghetto was established in Bazaliia; it existed for only half a year.[3] According to one local resident, the order to establish ghettos in Bazaliia, Krasilov, and Kul'chiny was issued by Gebietskommissar Schorer and posted in public places. The Jews of the Gebiet were ordered to move to one of these areas, where they would be confined to a specific quarter (ghetto). Conditions in the ghettos were very bad, owing to the overcrowding and the isolation of the Jews from the rest of the population.[4]

In the spring of 1942, some Jews were probably transferred from Bazaliia to a labor camp in Orlintsy, close to Antoniny. The Bazaliia ghetto was liquidated in July 1942. Members of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police escorted the Jews to the village of Manivtsy, where they were held in a large horse stable on an estate at the edge of town for several days, as were many of the Jews of Gebiet Antoniny.[5] Then one morning, three or four trucks arrived, and the Germans ordered the Jews to take off their outer clothes. They were then loaded onto the trucks in groups. The trucks carried them to a forest not far from Manivtsy, and German Security Police shot them into a pit roughly 20 meters long by 4 meters wide (66 by 13 feet). German Security Police from Starokonstantinov organized the shooting. The task of the Ukrainian auxiliary police was to guard the site of the killings and to prevent victims from escaping.[6] About 200 Jewish craftsmen were shot on the grounds of the estate in Manivtsy in September 1942.[7] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report investigating the crimes committed by the German occupiers and their collaborators, 259 inhabitants of Bazaliia were shot.[8] Almost all of them were Jews.

SOURCES Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Bazaliia can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67); DAKhO (863-2-44, pp. 114–126); GARF (7021-64-793 and 794); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, concluding report of March 18, 1971, and instruction of June 18, 1974. Schorer was killed in 1943, and Paul died in 1969.
2. Graf died in 1953.
3. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95.
4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, pp. 368–374, statement of Petr Tomchuk, December 18, 1972. Tomchuk dates the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1942. However, other sources indicate it was almost certainly earlier than this; see, for example, DAKhO, 863-2-44, pp. 114–126.
5. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Denis Paska (resident of Manivtzy), March 14, 1973.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, concluding report of March 18, 1971, and instruction of June 18, 1974.
7. Ibid., ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Denis Paska (resident of Manivtzy), March 14, 1973.
8. GARF, 7021-64-794, p. 1.

BERESTECZKO

Pre-1939: Beresteczko, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Berestechko, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Berestetschko, Rayon center, Gebiet Gorochow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Berestechko, Horokhiv raion, Volyn' oblast, Ukraine

Beresteczko is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) west-southwest of Równe. In 1921, there were 1,975 Jews living in the town. According to the 1931 census, 2,210 Jews resided in the town, and in 1937 there were 2,625 (or 35 percent of the total population). In the mid-1930s, three quarters of all trade in Beresteczko was in Jewish hands. Most of the local craftsmen were Jews. The town's chief rabbi from 1937 until the war's outbreak was Aron Zabarsky, who was killed in 1941.

Following the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939, Polish authority in the area disintegrated. To protect itself from Ukrainian attacks, the Jewish community formed its own self-defense unit, which operated until the arrival of Soviet forces later in the month. The Soviet authorities soon closed down most private businesses and Jewish communal organizations. Local craftsmen were compelled to operate within newly established cooperatives. The Soviets also arrested and deported people suspected of disloyalty to the new regime;

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some Zionist youth leaders sought refuge in Łuck to avoid arrest.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Beresteczko on June 23, 1941. In July and August, the town was administered by a military administration; on September 1, 1941, a civil administration took over responsibility for the region. Beresteczko was a Rayon center in Gebiet Gorochow, where SA-Colonel Ernst Härter was appointed as Gebietskommissar.[1] In the fall of 1941, a Gendarmerie post of several German Gendarmes was established in Beresteczko. A detachment of local Ukrainian police (consisting of a few dozen men) was subordinated to this post.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Beresteczko. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings bearing the Star of David on their outer garments. They were compelled to perform forced labor. They were not allowed to leave town. The Jewish community was subjected to forced contributions from the German authorities and individual acts of robbery and beatings by the local police.

On August 8, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Beresteczko. A unit of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD arrived in the town (most probably, part of Einsatzkommando zbV based in Łuck, under the command of Schöngarth), and with the help of the local Ukrainian police, they collected some 300 male Jews aged between 14 and 60 on the pretext of sending them to perform a work task. The men were then forced to dig a grave, and the German forces shot them.[2]

In the fall of 1941, probably in October, a ghetto was established in Beresteczko. Jews from several surrounding villages also were brought there. The ghetto was based around a single street and was enclosed by a fence 2.5 meters (8.2 feet) high. It had only one exit (a gate). The local Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto and shot at anybody attempting to escape. Overcrowding in the ghetto was extreme, with a number of families living together in each house.[3]

In Beresteczko there was a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of six people and also a Jewish police force. The Jewish Council had to collect the forced contributions demanded by the German authorities, which amounted to "hundreds of thousands of rubles." The official rations consisted of only about 140 grams (5 ounces) of bread per day, which was probably reduced to only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) after the establishment of the ghetto. Many people died of hunger in the ghetto.[4]

Local Jewish artisans were housed in separate quarters outside the ghetto, which were not enclosed. These craftsmen were organized into workshops according to profession. Only the artisans, those performing forced labor in the surrounding area, and the men in charge of burying the dead were permitted to leave the ghetto. When they left the ghetto, people used this opportunity to smuggle in some food for the entire Jewish population. Several hundred Jews were employed in forced labor tasks elsewhere in the Gebiet, including cutting down trees and road construction. In June 1942, a group of workers from Beresteczko were temporarily confined within the Łokacze ghetto. While in Łokacze they bought up available produce, noting that conditions in the Beresteczko ghetto were much worse.[5]

The ghetto existed for about a year. In early September 1942, about 200 German and local policemen surrounded the ghetto and also the quarter in which the craftsmen resided. For three days, the Jews were not permitted to leave their houses. During this time, the German authorities instructed local non-Jews to dig two large graves 18 meters by 8 meters by 3 meters (about 59 by 26 by 10 feet), about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town.

The roughly 2,000 ghetto inhabitants were escorted out of the town. The adults were forced to undress before the German forces shot them. Small children were thrown into the graves alive.[6] The Aktion was carried out by a Sipo and SD unit from Łuck, together with the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police based in Beresteczko. The property of the Jews was collected. The Germans secured the more valuable items, and the clothing was sold to the local population.

Some Jews managed to survive by hiding in bunkers within the ghetto, including a group of 17 people who remained in hiding for 11 days without food. They then sought refuge in the forests or with local acquaintances. Michael Diment encountered 2 survivors from Beresteczko in the forests at the end of September 1942. They reported that a group of more than 50 people had survived the ghetto's liquidation, but many were killed or captured after being attacked by the local police. In the confrontation, one local policeman was killed.[7] Very few of Beresteczko's Jews managed to survive in hiding or with the Soviet partisans until the Red Army liberated the town on April 24, 1944.

SOURCES Several personal accounts of the Beresteczko ghetto can be found in the yizkor book edited by Mendel Singer, *Hayetah Ayarah: Sefer Zikaron li-kehilot Berestets'kah, Beremelyah Veha-sevivah* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Berestets'kah be-Yisrael, 1961). Short articles on the Jewish community of Beresteczko can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 51–54; and in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:126.

Documents on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Beresteczko can be found in the following archives: DAVO (R-66-4-15, p. 10); GARF (7021-55-1); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Leah Lerner, "Der Laydnsveg fun die Brestetshker Yidn," in Singer, *Hayetah Ayarah*, pp. 42–47.

3. Accounts vary as to the date of the establishment of the ghetto. Lerner, "Der Laydnsveg," dates the formation of the ghetto in August; Melekh Goldenberg, "Der Khurbn

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Bretitshke," in Singer, *Hayetah Ayarah*, pp. 25–33, dates it some three or four months after the start of the occupation. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 366, dates it as October 5–14, 1941. The discrepancies might reflect several stages in the process of ghettoization.

4. Goldenberg, "Der Khurbn Bretitshke"; and Lerner, "Der Laydnsveg."

5. Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), pp. 93–94.

6. Spector, *The Holocaust*, p. 366, dates the ghetto liquidation as September 7–9, 1942. Certificate No. 136, October 15, 1990, Volhynia Oblast branch of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Monuments to History and Culture, gives the figure of 3,000 victims, as does the ChGK report; see DAVO, R-66-4-15, p. 1. However, several hundred Jews were murdered or died of hunger prior to the final liquidation, while a few others escaped. Lerner, "Der Laydnsveg," gives the figure of 2,000 victims, which is probably more reliable.

7. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, p. 158.

BEREZA KARTUSKA

Pre-1939: Bereza Kartuska (Yiddish: Kartuz-Breze), town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Bereza, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresa-Kartuskaja, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Biaroza, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bereza is located about 102 kilometers (63 miles) northeast of Brest. In 1921, the Jewish community of Bereza numbered 2,163 (61.3 percent), and 2,743 in 1928. After the outbreak of World War II, Bereza was occupied by the Red Army in September 1939 and subsequently incorporated into the Soviet Union, in accordance with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Bereza was captured by units of Army Group Center on June 23, 1941, only the second day of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. As a result, it was impossible for the majority of the town's Jews to evacuate.

In the summer of 1941, the town was under military administration. In September 1941, authority for the region was transferred to a German civil administration. Bereza and the surrounding Rayon were at first in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, but from January 1942, it formed a part of Gebiet Kobryn in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien of Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Oskar Panzer.[1] Gebiet Kobryn also had a Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer, to whom the police post in Bereza was subordinated. The head of the local police in Bereza was Nikolai Stepanovich Olshevskii, who received his instructions from the German Gendarmerie officials based in the town.[2]

The first anti-Jewish Aktion in the town was the burning of the Bet Midrash by German soldiers on June 26, 1941. Soon afterwards, the local commandant ordered the Jews to wear a six-pointed star on the back and breast of their outer garments, to hand over gold and other valuables, and to pay an indemnity. Jews capable of working were sent to do various kinds of forced labor, including constructing a barracks for the Germans, for which they received 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per day. The occupiers also set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 men—Nissan Zakheim, Naftali Levenson, Fishel Beiser, Hanoch Liskovsky, Meir Rashinsky, Yaacov Moshkovich, Biniamin Shapira, Yaacov-Asher Fridenshtein, Gadl Pisetski, Yaacov Shlosburg, Leibe Danzig, and Leibel Molodowski (who served as translator)—and a Jewish police force, which was headed by Shmuel Geberman.[3] The Jewish Council and the Jewish Police were made personally accountable for ensuring that the Jewish population complied unconditionally with all the orders and regulations issued by the German authorities. During the first months of the German occupation, peasants from the vicinity still came to the town and sold foodstuffs, in exchange for materials and household goods.[4]

In the spring of 1942, a ghetto was created in Bereza and surrounded with barbed wire. The ghetto stretched from Ulani Mazosha Street to Shlomo Vinshteyn's [house], where the gate was closed. The ghetto was divided into two parts: Ghetto A housed Jews fit for work and their families; Ghetto B, the Jews unfit for work. All the Jews in the ghetto were also registered.[5] Several hundred Jews from neighboring villages, including Małecz, Siehniewicze, Błuden, and Piaski, were resettled to Bereza and confined in the ghetto.[6] Several hundred Jews from Sielec were escorted to the ghetto in Bereza by members of the local police on May 25, 1942.[7] In all, the Bereza ghetto held more than 3,000 Jews. According to one survivor, "[L]ife in the ghetto was unbearably difficult. The population supported itself with supplies that were smuggled into the ghetto despite the many guards."[8]

The first Aktion against the ghetto took place on July 15, 1942. All the Jews in Ghetto B were directed to the railroad station under the pretext of resettlement to Białystok. Several Jews tried to flee but were shot by the guards. They were loaded onto a freight train, which took them to Bronna Góra, 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northeast of Bereza. A Security Police and SD squad then shot them in ditches that had been dug near the station earlier. A few Jews managed to hide in attics and basements within Ghetto B or in the surrounding fields; several of these Jews were subsequently smuggled into Ghetto A with the aid of the Judenrat.[9] In total, some 1,000 people were murdered.[10]

On October 15, 1942, in the course of the second Aktion, the ghetto was liquidated. That day, the Jews in Ghetto A—1,800 people—were transported away on trucks and shot by a Security Police and SD squad in the village of Smoliarka some 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) east of Bereza. Some Jews who resisted were killed in the ghetto itself.[11]

The 1st and 3rd Companies of Police Battalion 320 (Berlin), which was also known as 3rd Battalion/SS-Police Regiment 11, took part in liquidating the ghetto. The 1st Company cordoned off the ghetto and unloaded the trucks at the

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execution site, while the 3rd Company cordoned off the execution site itself. At the killing site, police from the latter company also formed a corridor through which the Jews were directed to the mass grave, in which they were shot by the Security Police and SD squad.[12]

Some Jews from the Bereza ghetto, who fled to the forests after the first Aktion in July, participated in the attack on the nearby town of Kosów Poleski at the beginning of August 1942. Just prior to the ghetto liquidation, some 21 Jews were arrested at the sawmill and shot, as the Germans suspected they had contacts with the partisans. Then on the eve of the ghetto's liquidation, almost all the members of the Jewish Council, including two doctors, committed suicide by hanging themselves. There was also some armed resistance during the night before the final roundup, and Jewish youths set the ghetto on fire, but the Germans and their collaborators crushed the uprising by shooting into the burning ghetto.[13]

Nevertheless, several Jews managed to save themselves by fleeing into the woods or to the ghetto in Prużana. A number of young people from the ghetto joined the Soviet partisans, and several survived to see Bereza liberated.

SOURCES An article about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Bereza by J. Friedman, "The Holocaust Chronicle Kartuz-Bereza," can be found in I. Kowalski, ed., *Anthology of Armed Jewish Resistance 1939–1945* vol. 2 (New York: Jewish Combatants Publishing House, 1985); some additional information can also be found in *Pamiat'. Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika Berezovskogo raiona* (Minsk: Belorusskaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia imeni Petrusia Brovki, 1987). The yizkor book *Kartuz-Bereza. Sefer zikaron ve-edut le-kehilah she-husmedah hy'd* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Emigrants from Kartuz-Bereza in Israel, 1993) also contains several firsthand accounts by survivors of the Bereza ghetto. Information on the history of the Jewish community in Bereza can be found in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000).

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Bereza can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL: 204 AR-Z 392/59, II 202 AR-Z 12/66, vols. 3 and 11, AR-Z 48/58); GABO; GARF (7021-83-9); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. BA-L, B 162/4838 (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 334/59 [investigation of Rohde]), vol. 7, pp. 1696–1699.
3. *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 187–188, 197–198.
4. Moshe Tuchman, "The Destruction of Bereza-Kartuska," in ibid., pp. 197–200.
5. Ibid.
6. *Pamiat'*, p. 172. According to Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004), pp. 253–255, the Jews of Małecz were forcibly resettled to Bereza in the fall of 1941, and a number of Jews were shot in the confusion as they were being rounded up.
7. See *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 190–191; three local policemen from Sielec, Alfons Glowinski, Francisek Nowysz, and one other, were tried in Poland in the 1960s: see IPN, SWSz 68.
8. David Bakler, "On the Jews of Sielec and the Jews of Bereza Kartuska and Their Bitter End," in *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 190–191.
9. *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 187–189, 191, 199.
10. According to the materials of the ChGK, around 4,000 Jews were shot; see GARF, 7021-83-9, pp. 128 (reverse), 138. This figure appears to be too high.
11. *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 200–201. According to the ChGK report, the Germans shot around 3,000 people; see GARF, 7021-83-9, pp. 139 and reverse side. This figure seems to be too high. German investigative sources cite only about 1,000 victims of this Aktion; see BA-L, 110 AR 1797/95.
12. Sta. Bielefeld, 5 Js 703/70, report (Vermerk) of October 26, 1973.
13. *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 190–191, 197–201.

BEREŻCE

Pre-1939: Bereżce, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Velikie Berezhtsy, Kremenets raion, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Bereshzy, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Velyki Berezhtsi, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Bereżce lies on the left bank of the Ikwa River, 8 kilometers (5 miles) west of Krzemieniec. In 1921, the Jewish population of Bereżce was 181.[1]

German forces entered Bereżce in early July 1941. During July and August 1941, a German military administration temporarily governed the small town until September 1941, when power was transferred to a German civil administration. The town was in the Rayon and Gebiet of Kremenez, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec was Regierungsrat Müller.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Bereżce: Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first a white armband with a Star of David on the right arm, and later a yellow patch sewn on their clothing), and they were compelled to perform forced labor, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans established a small ghetto in Bereżce. It contained 238 Jews and was guarded by the local police, as recalled by Mikhail Tkatschuk, who subsequently became the head of the local police in Bereżce.[3]

In August 1942, the Security Police and SD, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, conducted a series of Aktions against the Jews of the Krzemieniec ghetto. In mid-August 1942, the Jews from the ghetto in Bereżce were brought in trucks and murdered along with more than 6,000 Jews in Krzemieniec.[4]

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SOURCES Documents on the fate of the Jews of Bereżce can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162, II 204 AR-Z 163/67); and IPN.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 212. This figure includes the population of both the town and the nearby hamlet of Bereżce.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Übersicht über die besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, pp. 293–294, statement of Mikhail N. Tkatschuk on May 26, 1944.
4. Ibid.; IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, sygn. 77. The document has also been published in A. I. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 395.

BEREZNE

Pre-1939: Berezne, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Berezno, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresno, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; 1944–1991: Berezno, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; post-1991: Berezne, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Berezne is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) northeast of Równe. In 1921, 2,372 Jews resided in the town (comprising 58 percent of the population).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Berezne on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), and after September 1941, administrative authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Berezne became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kostopol within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SA-Standartenführer Löhnert was the Gebietskommissar in Kostopol, and Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1]

The German military administration established a Ukrainian local council and a Ukrainian police force. In the fall, the local police came under the direction of a German Gendarmerie post in Berezne consisting of several Gendarmes.

Immediately after the occupation of the village by German forces, antisemitic Ukrainians massacred, slaughtered, and robbed the Jews. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was organized in the village, with Yoel Gilberg as the chairman. Among its tasks was the transmission of German orders and instructions to the Jewish population.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation authorities enforced a series of anti-Jewish measures. As recalled by Tzilla Kitron, the Germans plundered their houses, and Jews tried to conceal their valuables. Jews were obliged to wear distinguishing yellow stars on the front and back of their clothes, whole families were sent to perform forced labor, bread was rationed, and people formed long lines in front of the shops.[2] According to Seweryn Dobroszklanka, a resident of the nearby village of Małyńska, the Ukrainian police robbed and beat the Jews.[3] About 300 Jews were sent from Berezne to a labor camp in Kostopol in the fall of 1941.

Portrait of the Raboy family in Berezne, 1935. Pictured are Abraham and Feiga Raboy and their four children, Buncia, Shaindel, Beila, and Aron. Only Aron survived the war.
USHMM WS #13556, COURTESY OF ARON RABOY

On October 6, 1941 (the first day of the Sukkot holiday), the German authorities established a ghetto in Berezne, surrounded by a wooden fence and barbed wire. There was only one entrance, by the road leading to the center of town. A second, separate ghetto was established for skilled workers and their families. Altogether at least 1,500 Jews lived in the two ghettos.[4] Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto unless they had a pass and were usually permitted to leave only to perform forced labor. It was somewhat easier, however, for children to evade the guards. For example, Tzilla Kitron's sister Sonya managed to visit Ukrainian friends with the aim of obtaining some food in the nearby village of Bori-Kotiy by putting on a Ukrainian peasant dress and passing as an "Aryan."[5]

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From mid-June 1942, Jews from the neighboring villages, including those from Małyńska 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the north, were moved into the ghetto. On arriving in Berezne, the Jews were awaited by members of the Judenrat, but the German police ordered them to surrender all their money and valuables on pain of death. By this time people were beginning to starve in the ghetto. Each ghetto inmate received ration cards for only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day and some very thin soup. Conditions also became overcrowded, with two or three families sharing a room in decrepit buildings.[6]

On August 25, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On that day, a squad of Security Police and SD men from Równe, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, entered the ghetto and ordered all the Jews to assemble for a work assignment. Aware of the fate of neighboring communities, most of the ghetto inmates realized that this was the end. The Jews were formed into columns and marched to pits prepared in advance outside the town. At the pits, they were forced to undress, and the Germans, assisted by their Ukrainian collaborators, shot them. In total, about 3,200 Jews were killed.[7]

In the chaos of the roundup, a number of Jews tried to escape. Tzilla Kitron's parents urged her and her siblings to try and save themselves. Tzilla managed to escape across the barbed wire of the ghetto amid screams, crying, and shots from machine guns. She hid in a nearby field for the rest of the day while Germans with dogs and Ukrainian police searched for any Jews in hiding. That night she joined her sister Sonya, who chanced to be foraging in Bori-Kotiy when the Aktion started. Another Jew managed to escape with the help of the local commandant of the Ukrainian police.[8] Bracha Weisbarth was tipped off the day before the Aktion by a family friend and escaped with part of his family, taking refuge with another friendly peasant who had received a cow from them when the Soviets arrived.[9]

Approximately 200 Jews ran away during the Aktion or were fortunate to have been outside the ghetto when it began. In December 1942, more than 20 Jews were hunted down and shot by the local police, and some were also killed in the forests by Ukrainian partisans ("Banderowcy"). Of those who survived, some joined the growing Soviet partisan movement, which slowly changed the local peasants' obedience to German orders. The Red Army drove the Germans out of the region in January 1944.[10]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Berezne during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Gierc Bejgiel, ed., *Mayn shtetele Berezne: Zamlung fun zikhroynes fun Berezner landslayt in land un in oysland* (Tel Aviv, 1954); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 48–50; Tzilla Kitron, *Wanderungen: Erinnerung an das Überleben in den Jahren 1942–1945* (Hanau: Salisberg Verlag, 1994); Bracha Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight Another Day* (Jerusalem: Mazo, 2004); *Fun letsten hurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 57–58; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:123–124.

Documents concerning the persecution and murder of the Jews of Berezne, including the testimony of eyewitnesses and Jewish survivors, can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1222, 1488, and 2739); DARO (534-1-3); GARF (7021-71-42); TsDAVO (4620-3-367); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Kitron, *Wanderungen*, p. 8; see also Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, p. 16.
3. AŻIH, 301/1222, testimony of Seweryn Dobroszklanka.
4. Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, p. 19, gives the figure of almost 3,000 inhabitants of the ghetto; Kitron, *Wanderungen*, p. 8.
5. Kitron, *Wanderungen*, p. 9; see also Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, pp. 20–21.
6. AŻIH, 301/1222; in 1921 there were 39 Jews in Małyńska. Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, pp. 17–20, dates the transfer of the Małyńska Jews in July: the adult men were sent to a separate labor camp to fell trees.
7. GARF, 7021-71-42, p. 2, gives the figure of 3,680 Jews killed. According to a document dated January 4, 1946, 3,200 people were murdered (see TsDAVO, 4620-3-367, pp. 10, 21); AŻIH, 301/1488, dates the Aktion on August 25, 1942; Kitron, *Wanderungen*, pp. 9–10.
8. DARO, 534-1-3, p. 88.
9. Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, pp. 21–23.
10. AŻIH, 301/1222.

BEREŻNICA

Pre-1939: Bereżnica, *town*, *województwo poleskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Berezhnitsa*, *Dubrovitsa raion*, *Rovno oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Bereschniza*, *Rayon Dombrowiza*, *Gebiet Sarny*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Berezhnytsia*, *Rivne oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Bereżnica is located 109 kilometers (68 miles) northeast of Łuck. The Jewish community identified mainly with Stolin and Turzysk Hasidism. In 1897, the Jewish population was 2,160 (out of a total population of 2,964). Subsequently the Jewish population declined sharply. According to the 1921 population census, 1,321 Jews lived in Bereżnica.

In September 1939, the town came under Soviet control. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Bereżnica in early July 1941. Immediately after the German forces arrived, an antisemitic mood gripped the local Ukrainians, who organized a pogrom in the town. Many Jews were robbed and assaulted, and a number of people were seriously wounded. In the summer of 1941, a German military administration ruled

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Bereżnica. Within a few days the Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat).

In September 1941, a German civil administration was established. Bereżnica became part of Rayon Dombrowiza in Gebiet Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala was appointed Gebietskommissar.[1] A German Gendarmerie post and a unit of the Ukrainian auxiliary police were established in Bereżnica.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Bereżnica. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings in the shape of the Star of David and later in the form of a yellow circle. They also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. Jews were prohibited from leaving the town and were not permitted to buy goods from non-Jews. All Jews above the age of 14 were required to perform heavy manual work. Finally, the German authorities and the Ukrainian police subjected the Jews to systematic confiscations, robberies, and assaults.

On April 14, 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Sarny issued an order setting a deadline of May 10, 1942, for the establishment of a "Jewish residential quarter" in Bereżnica.[2] As a result, an open ghetto was established, containing about 1,000 inhabitants. On August 26, 1942, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators escorted all the Jews from the Bereżnica ghetto to Sarny, shooting many of them on the way. German forces and their collaborators then murdered the remaining Jews from the Bereżnica ghetto with other Jews from the region in Sarny on August 27, 1942. A number of Jews managed to escape in Sarny, and a few of these successfully hid in the region. Some of these survivors joined the Soviet partisans fighting against the Germans, including Aaron Perlow, who was a unit commander. The Red Army captured Bereżnica from the Germans in mid-January 1944, and by 1946 about 45 Jews had returned to the town, including some that had fled east into the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941.

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: 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), p. 116; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 32; and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 51.

Documentation concerning the fate of the Jewish community in Bereżnica can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/7287); DARO (R293-2-1); GARF (7021-71-49); and YVA (M-1/E/1234).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. DARO, R293-2-1, p. 4, Order no. 280 of the main administration in Dąbrowica to the mayor in Dąbrowica, April 29, 1942.

BEREZÓW

Pre-1939: Berezów, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Berezovoe, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresowo, Rayon Rokitno, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Berezovo, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Berezów is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) north–northeast of Rokitno in a remote area of Polesie. In 1921, there were 58 Jews residing in the village. By the 1930s, their number had increased to about 100. On September 17, 1939, the Red Army arrived in Berezów, which became part of the Soviet Union. In the fall of 1939, it is probable that the Jewish population of Berezów was increased by the arrival of refugees from central and eastern Poland.

Soon after German forces occupied the region in July 1941, two SS men accompanied by two Poles arrived in the village of Glinne, not far from Berezów, to arrest a woman named Muszka Szuster. After saying good-bye to her family, Szuster was taken to Berezów, where the German authorities hanged her a short time later.[1]

In the summer of 1941, a Ukrainian local administration was established in Berezów, probably by forces subordinated to the Ukrainian leader Bul'ba-Borovets' known as the Polis'ka Sich, which remained more or less in control of this region until the German civil administration was established in the fall of 1941. The Ukrainian administration included a uniformed local police force armed with guns.

At the end of September 1941, local Ukrainians, apparently on their own initiative, murdered the Jews in the small villages of "Vitkovits" (possibly Wierzchowicze) and Tupik (24 kilometers [15 miles] northeast of Rokitno). A few Jews from Tupik managed to escape to "Vilevich" (probably Białowieża), where the locals protected them. In Tupik the bodies of the murdered Jews were initially left lying in the street, so that dogs and wild animals began to eat them. After a while, Jews from neighboring communities came to remove the bodies and bury them in a mass grave in the large Jewish cemetery in the village of Glinne.[2] When the bodies were buried, Nachum Bryk, an educated Jew who was the Jewish elder of the ghetto, made a speech at the funeral in which he said: "Dear Jews, do not cry [yet], for you do not know who is going to bury you."[3]

Some time before August 1942, probably between April and July of that year, the German authorities established a ghetto for the Jews in Berezów, which was surrounded by barbed wire. According to the account of Zevi Olshanski, the Jews of Berezów and its vicinity were supposed to be moved into the Stolin ghetto. However, the Jewish Council succeeded in bribing the local medical officer to issue a certificate that they were infected with typhus; as a result, the Jews were concentrated in Berezów instead.[4] Jews from the surrounding smaller villages, including Glinne, and a few elderly Jews who had remained in Bleżewo, were brought into Berezów in July 1942, where around 300 Jews were crammed into only a few houses.[5] The Jews in the Berezów ghetto did not lack food, as

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people had their own gardens. They ate mainly dried bread and potatoes. However, the Germans assigned all the Jews to forced labor. Even youths were marched every day under armed guard to their workplaces. Work included peeling potatoes and cutting down trees. To prevent Jews from fleeing into the forest, the Germans conducted regular roll calls, threatening to kill Jews at random if anyone was missing.

At the end of August 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghettos in Rokitno and other towns in the vicinity, sending most of the Jews to Sarny, where they murdered them. A few of the Jews who escaped from these ghettos made their way to Berezów. Once the German authorities became aware of their arrival, they demanded from Nachum Bryk that the Jewish community pay a large ransom for the lives of these refugees to be spared. The money was collected with some difficulty, and the Jews were permitted to stay in the ghetto. However, at this time two Jews who had been working for a local Ukrainian learned of plans for the destruction of the Berezów ghetto and brought this news back into the ghetto.[6]

Early on the morning of September 11, 1942 (the eve of Rosh Hashanah), the German police, assisted by Ukrainian auxiliary policemen, surrounded the village and started to drive the Jews out of their houses, shouting, "Raus! Raus! Verfluchter Jude! Raus!" (Get out! Get out! Filthy Jew! Get out!). During the roundup, some of the Jews were shot on the spot, but more than 50 people managed to escape, assisted by the thick fog on that morning. The Germans and their collaborators escorted the rest of the Jews into the forest a few kilometers outside the village and shot them in a large pit prepared beforehand for that purpose.[7]

The Jewish escapees from the ghetto hid in the surrounding forests, living off cranberries and potatoes and whatever they could beg or steal from Ukrainian farmers. One group of Jewish survivors numbered about 15 people at one time. As the weather became colder, they stole clothes from the peasants to keep warm. The Germans were afraid to go into the woods because of the partisans, but they offered Ukrainians a reward of a pound of salt for catching Jews, as salt was scarce during the war. This made life difficult for the remaining Jews, but some local peasants around Bleżewo, and especially the Baptists (Stundists), for example, assisted them, helping to reunite family members and allowing them to hide on their property, at least for a time.[8] Due to the continued hunt for Jews into 1943, some of the escapees were captured and killed, but about 40 managed to survive until the Red Army drove the German occupants from the Berezów area in January 1944.[9]

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community in Berezów and its destruction during World War II include the following: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 48; Eliezer Leoni, ed., *Rokitno: (Vohlin) veha-sevivah; sefer 'edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Rokitno veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1967), pp. 291–295; and 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), p. 116.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Berezów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DARO; VHF (# 23387 and 24104); and YVA (M-1/E/402 and 1907; O-3/3402 and 3478).

Crispin Brooks and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. VHF, # 24104, testimony of Nina Merrick.
2. In 1921, there were 66 Jews residing in Glinne. See *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965).
3. VHF, # 24104, testimony of Nina Merrick; the fate of the Jews of Tupik is mentioned also in Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 291–293.
4. YVA, M-1/E/402, testimony of Zevi Olshanski.
5. In 1921, the Jewish population of Bleżewo was 101. On Bleżewo, see Spector and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 157; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 38; and Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 293–295.
6. VHF, # 24104, testimony of Nina Merrick.
7. Ibid.; Spector and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, pp. 116, 157; and Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 293–295.
8. VHF, # 24104, testimony of Nina Merrick; and Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 293–295.
9. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 358.

BOREMEL (AKA MICHAŁÓWKA)

Pre-1939: Boremel (Yiddish: Boromel), village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Boremel (aka Mikhailovka), Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Demidowka, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Baremel', Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Boremel is located on the left bank of the Styr River, about 85 kilometers (53 miles) west-southwest of Równe. The Jewish population numbered 1,047 in 1897. By 1921, the Jewish population had declined to 857 (95 percent of the total).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Boremel on June 25, 1941. At the time of the German invasion, local Ukrainians took the opportunity to rob the Jews, and a few Jews were killed. Among the first victims was Yosef Feldman. The German occupying forces also ordered systematic requisitions of Jewish property and valuables.

In July and August 1941, Boremel was governed by a German military administration, and from September 1941 authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Boremel was located in Rayon Demidowka, within Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was Nachwuchsführer Broks, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt.[1]

Shortly after their arrival, the new German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). This consisted of seven men, drawn mostly from people who had been active in the community before the war. There was also a Jewish

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police force. The Jews were made to perform forced labor, and nearly all the young men were taken to Dubno and Równe for work. Most never returned, and presumably they were killed along with the other Jews in these places. Of those Jews who remained in Boremel, many were taken to work on farms in the surrounding villages. Apart from these work assignments, Jews were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the village.

Throughout the occupation there were sporadic killings of Jews. Once the Germans had established a fenced ghetto in Boremel on the edge of the village by June 1942, some Jews were killed for leaving the ghetto in an attempt to obtain some bread. Despite German prohibitions, Jews still managed to barter their remaining possessions for food.[2]

In early October 1942, German police, assisted by the Ukrainian local police, liquidated the ghetto: about 700 Jews were shot; the men and women were escorted in separate groups to the graves outside the village. According to one survivor's recollection, on the night of the murder, Moshe Shloyme Ashers set the ghetto on fire and then hanged himself. After the liquidation of the ghetto, several dozen Jews who had managed to hide were found and shot. Only a few Jews managed to survive in the forests until the Red Army drove out the German occupying forces in the spring of 1944.[3]

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the annihilation of the Jewish community of Boremel: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 46; Mendel Singer, ed., *Hayetah 'ayarah: Sefer zikaron li-kehilot Berestets'kah, Beremelyah veha-sevivah* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Berestets'kah be-Yisrael, 1960 or 1961), pp. 195–201.

Documents and testimonies regarding the destruction of the Jews in Boremel can be found in the following archives: DARO; GARF (7021-71-46); VHF (# 37741); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Rachel Kibrik, "A Cry for Help" [in Yiddish], in Singer, *Hayetah 'ayarah*, pp. 195–201; VHF, # 37741, testimony of Shoshana Mazeh. This witness states that the ghetto was established early in the occupation.
3. Kibrik, "A Cry for Help," pp. 195–201; GARF, 7021-71-46, p. 16; Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, p. 46.

BRZEŚĆ

Pre-1939: Brześć (Yiddish: Brisk), city, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Brest, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Brest-Litowsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Beras'tse, raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

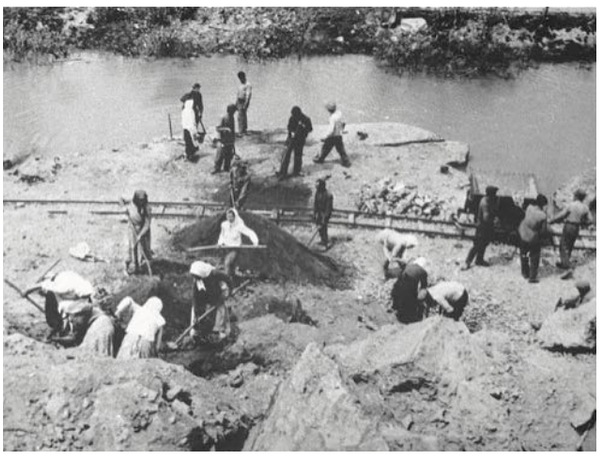
Brześć is located 346 kilometers (215 miles) southwest of Minsk. As of March 20, 1937, there were 21,653 Jews living in Brześć, or 41.6 percent of the total population of 52,024 persons.[1] By June 1941, the number of Jews in the city had decreased slightly.

German forces occupied Brześć for the first time on September 15, 1939. Already by September 22, 1939, the Red Army had entered the city according to the secret terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. German forces occupied Brześć for a second time on June 22, 1941, on the very first day of the German invasion of the USSR. On that day, practically all the Jews became trapped under German occupation and unable to evacuate the city.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the city. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Brześć was designated as a city (*Stadt*). Brześć became the administrative center of Gebiet Brest-Litowsk in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Bürgermeister Franz Burat became the Stadtkommissar in Brześć. In September 1942, he was also appointed as Gebietskommissar for Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, replacing SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle, who had served in this capacity since September 1941.

On June 24, 1941, a Security Police (Sipo) detachment of 15 men from Lublin under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Schmidt arrived in Brześć. In September 1941, this detachment returned to Lublin. In February 1942, an outpost of the Security Police and the SD (Sipo/SD-Aussendienststelle) was established in Brześć, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Ernst Berger. This detachment served under the command of the Security Police and SD in Równe, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz and organized and directed the mass killing Aktions against the Jewish population of Brześć.

From October 1941, the police unit "Nürnberg" commanded by Oberleutnant Josef Eisele was stationed in the city. This unit took part on a regular basis in various killing Aktions. At the end of 1941, around 10 men were taken from this Nürnberg unit, and they formed the core of the newly



Jews from the Brześć ghetto are forced to level the banks of the Bug River, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #74374, COURTESY OF ŻIH

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established Schutzpolizei (Order Police) unit in the city. This unit was headed initially by Leutnant Karl Pressinger, who died on January 21, 1944. Pressinger was succeeded by Hauptmann Georg Bienert in March 1942. A local police unit served under the Schutzpolizei and took part in the measures taken against the Jewish population. Pressinger and Bienert served under the command of the SS-und Polizeistandortführer, Major and SS-Standartenführer Friedrich Rohde.

Beginning in July 1941, the 307th Police Battalion headed by Major Theodor Stahr was stationed in the city. It remained there for about two weeks. On July 6, 1941, the battalion, with the assistance of the Security Police, arrested 4,435 people and shot them on the following two days. Among the victims were also 400 Russian and Belorussian non-Jews, but more than 4,000 were Jewish men.[2]

In August 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed in accordance with the instructions of the occupying authorities. Hirsh Rosenberg served as its head, Nachman Landau as his deputy, and Boruch Landau as the secretary.[3] A Jewish police unit was also formed, commanded by a man named Feldman. Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and later patches in the shape of a yellow circle sewn onto the left breast pocket and back of their clothing. Jews were forbidden to leave the limits of the city and were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local police. In August 1941, Jews were also prohibited from trading with the locals, and non-Jews in turn could not sell anything to the Jews. Jews lost their right to walk freely on the streets and to use the sidewalks.[4] A contribution of 2 million Karbonowaz was exacted from the Jewish population, and jewelry, property, goods, Soviet money, and other items of value—an estimated 26 million rubles' worth—were taken from the Jews. On September 15, the mayor of the city, a man named M. Bronikowski, drafted an instruction for the Stadtkommissar, who then ordered the officials of the city administration not to enter into any contact with the Jews. By the order of September 17, 1941, as decreed by the Generalkommissar, the Jews in communally owned and state businesses had to report for work once a week for uncompensated labor. In addition, they were to receive 80 percent of the salary of non-Jews.[5]

A registration of the population in the city was carried out in November 1941. According to this census, there were 49,780 residents, including 17,574 Jews.[6] At this time the Jewish population over the age of 14 was also issued with identity cards, which included a photograph and fingerprint of the holder. Copies of these identity cards survived the war and can be found in the State Archives of the Brest oblast' in Belarus (GABO) and other archives.[7]

Preparatory work to construct a ghetto in Brześć had begun by November 1941, and the Judenrat is known to have registered some doubts about the small size of the area designated for the ghetto. In the first half of December 1941, the forcible resettlement of the Jewish population into a "Jewish residential district" was carried out, and the ghetto was sealed on December 15, 1941.[8] The ghetto was surrounded by fences and barbed wire and was located in an area composed mainly of small one-story houses. Shortly after its establishment, the ghetto was expanded by an area extending towards the Muchawie River, which was known as the small ghetto, as it was separated from the main (large) ghetto by a major transit road. The ghetto was guarded by the Jewish Police internally and the local police externally.[9] Jews could only leave the ghetto with a special pass and, from April 1942, only in closed formations under Jewish Police guard to reach their workplaces. Some Jews, however, risked taking off their yellow patches to sneak out of the ghetto illegally.[10]

On the initiative of the Judenrat, a hospital, store, and communal kitchen were opened in the ghetto. Due to the German need for labor, increasing numbers of Jews worked in factories and other sites outside the ghetto, and the German authorities set up workshops for Jewish artisans. Whereas in January 1942 only 4,956 residents of the ghetto were registered as employed, by June this number had increased to 7,994, of which 5,039 were females.[11]

The Jews in the ghetto received smaller rations than the non-Jewish population, in early 1942 only 180 grams (6.3 ounces) of flour per day and no potatoes or meat. To bake the flour into bread, there were four bakeries in operation, which had to serve all 17,724 residents of the ghetto. Bread was distributed at nine designated points. In April 1942, the bread ration for Jews, regardless of age and ability to perform labor, was cut to 150 grams (5.3 ounces) per day.[12]

In the spring and early summer of 1942, hundreds of young able-bodied Jews were removed from the ghettos in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk and assigned to forced labor under arduous conditions on road construction projects, farm labor, and other work at various sites throughout the Gebiet. They were housed in barracks, and many died from the inadequate food and poor living conditions.[13]

Inside the Brześć ghetto, there was no medicine available, nor much food or household goods for trading. There was also a shortage of drinkable water, since there were only two wells in the ghetto. Three or four families had to share a single house, leading to infestations of lice in the dirty conditions. Many Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease. There was a constant threat of being beaten, shot, and losing one's relatives, especially one's children. However, in the Brześć ghetto, at least, mass starvation as in Warsaw or Łódź did not set in.

The isolation from the outside world was almost total, and everything was subject to rumor. All of these conditions paralyzed the will of the people psychologically. Rumors of massacres of Jews in Distrikt Lublin and elsewhere in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien made the Jews in the Brześć ghetto very anxious. German reports from the summer of 1942 stressed that this pressure increased their willingness to work "to achieve recognition of their right to exist through intensified labor."[14] In the view of Christopher Browning, the local German authorities in Brześć were eager to continue exploiting this willing labor force. But at the end of August 1942, Reichskommissar Erich Koch, following a

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meeting with Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, was insisting on a 100 percent "cleansing" of the Jews from Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien within the next five weeks.[15]

In fact, it was just over six weeks later when it became the turn of the Brześć ghetto to experience a cleansing. As of October 15, 1942, there were 41,091 persons counted in Brześć, including 16,934 Jews in the ghetto.[16] On that day in the early morning hours, the liquidation of the ghetto began. In the course of two days, around 16,000 people were exterminated.[17] Several hundred Jews were killed in the ghetto itself, including the infirm and the personnel in the Jewish hospital, Jewish Police, children at the children's home, and elderly from the home for the retired. Most of the Jews from the ghetto were sent via rail to Bronnaia Gora, near Bereza Kartuska, where they were shot and buried in mass graves. The Security Police, Police Company Nürnberg, the Schutzpolizei, the 3rd Company of the 310th Police Battalion, and members of the local police all took part in the mass murder.

Sensing the danger, a number of the Jews went into hiding. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the local police that also included a number of Poles, as well as Ukrainians and Belorussians, regularly conducted searches for Jews in hiding on the grounds of the ghetto. Jews who were captured were shot on the spot or sent to prison. The 300 or 400 Jews collected in the prison were later transported by train in the direction of Baranowicze.[18]

A number of young Jews in the ghetto created two underground organizations: "Liberation" (former Komsomol members) and "Revenge" (Zionists). The members of these organizations procured weapons and drew up plans for armed resistance. They devised a strategy to protect the ghetto and save Jews from liquidation. Worker units who were responsible for clearing the ruins in the fortress and military aerodrome were those who procured the weapons. The plan to protect and save the population intended that armed groups would open fire on the police and torch the ghetto at the moment the German forces started to liquidate the ghetto, creating a diversion that might enable some of the Jews to escape into the forest. However, the Gestapo, which was informed of all developments in the ghetto, arrested many members of the underground organizations, including those who had prepared the resistance plan, on the night before the liquidation Aktion.[19]

A number of Jews were saved, thanks to the efforts of non-Jewish residents in the city of Brześć. After identity cards were issued to the population (Jewish and non-Jewish) at the end of 1941, members of the city's Communist underground organization were able to acquire such cards for M. Popov, A. Aronin, and M. Hamburg and to save them from expulsion from the ghetto.[20] The Jewish family of Tsilia, Boris, and Lyova Pikus was hidden by the family of P. Zhulikov, the head of a local Communist underground organization in the city. Zhulikov himself perished in 1943. Boris Pikus, who died in April 1942, served as one of the points of contact between the city's Communist resistance organization and the underground resistance organization in the ghetto.[21]

After the Germans were driven from the city by the Red Army in July 1944, only some 20 Jews from the ghetto are known to have emerged from hiding and returned to Brześć.

SOURCES Secondary works dealing with the Brześć ghetto include the following: John Garrard and Carol Garrard, "Barbarossa's First Victims: The Jews of Brest," *East European Jewish Affairs* 28:2 (Winter 1998–1999): 3–48; E. Rozenblat and I. Elenskaia, "Sotsial'no-demograficheskaia struktura Brestskogo getto po materialam pasportizatsii evreiskogo naseleniia," in *Evrei Belarusi: Istoriia i kul'tura: Sbornik statei*, Vypusk 1 (Minsk, 1997), pp. 70–78; V.P. Samovich, *Rasstreliany, zamucheny, povesheny: O fashistskom genotside v Breste* (Minsk, 1994). There is also a case study on the implementation of Nazi policies based on the detailed German correspondence regarding the Jews in the Brześć ghetto by Christopher Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 116–142.

Additional information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Brześć can be found in these publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981); E. Steinman, ed., *Brisk da-Lita* (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Diaspora: A Memorial Library of Countries and Communities, 1954); *Brisk da-Lita. Oyflag in idish. Hotsaat Entsiklopedya shel galuyot* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1958); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 226–237; E. Rozenblat, *"Zhizn' i sud'ba" brestskoi evreiskoi obshchiny XIV–XX vv* (Brest, 1993); and R. Levin, *Mal'chik iz getto* (Moscow, 1996).

Documents about the extermination of the Jews in Brześć can be found in the following archives: AAN (202/III/7, t. 1); BA-BL (R 94/6, 7); BA-L (e.g., B 162/4836 and 5016); GABO (e.g., 201-1-15, 19, 1042, 6173); GARF (7021-83-10); NARA (RG-242, T-454, reel 103); NARB (4683-3-918 and 942); Ts-GAMORF (233-2374-41); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1996.A.0169); VHF (e.g., # 2321, 24998, 29502); and YVA (e.g., M-41 [GABO, 514-1-41 and 192-1-20]).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Information from GABO, as cited by Rozenblat, *"Zhizn' i sud'ba,"* p. 61.

2. BA-L, B 162/5016 (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 392/59, Bd. IV), pp. 887–888; testimony of Heinrich M., in Paul Kohl, ed., *"Ich wundere mich, dass ich noch lebe." Sowjetische Augenzeugen berichten* (Gütersloh, 1990), pp. 190–191; BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 32, July 24, 1941. See also BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 82/61, testimonies of former members of Police Battalion 307, as cited by Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*, pp. 119–123.

3. GABO, 201-1-1042, p. 5, contains a list of the Judenrat members and their permanent and temporary assistants.

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4. A translation of the decree, which was written in Polish and signed by the mayor, M. Bronikowski, can be found in Garrard and Garrard, "Barbarossa's First Victims," pp. 23–24. See also VHF, # 24998, testimony of Moshe Smolar.

5. GABO, 201-1-15, p. 20.

6. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 103, fr. 7, Report of Stadtkommissar Brest-Litowsk, November 21, 1941.

7. GABO, 201-1-21 to 445. See also USHMM, Acc. 1996.A.0169 (copied from YVA, M-41/320 to 625), reels 5–17.

8. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 103, fr. 7, Report of Stadtkommissar Brest-Litowsk, November 21, 1941.

9. VHF, # 29502, testimony of Roman Levin; BA-BL, R 94/6, Stadtkommissar Brest-Litowsk, reports of December 23, 1941, and March 25, 1942.

10. BA-BL, R 94/6, reports of the Stadtkommissar and the SS- und Polizeistandortführer in Brest-Litowsk for April and May 1942. VHF, # 2321, testimony of Iakov Gandman.

11. GABO, 192-1-20, pp. 2–3, reports of the Arbeitsamt of the Gebietskommissar, July 7 and 15, 1942.

12. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 22 (YVA, M-41/653), Das Stadtkommissariat, Ernährungsamt, Statistischer Bericht, April 23, 1942.

13. BA-BL, R 94/6, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, Labor Office, July 6, 1942; VHF, # 29502. It appears that only a few Jews from the Brześć ghetto were among these youths.

14. BA-BL, R 94/6, Situation Report of Stadtkommissar Brest-Litowsk, July 12, 1942.

15. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 8, Sturmbannführer Pütz to Aussenstellen der Sipo-SD in Brest, Pinsk, Starokonstantinow, Kamenez-Podolsk, August 31, 1942.

16. Information from GABO, as cited in Rozenblat, "*Zhizn' i sud'ba*," p. 61.

17. Report of the 3rd Company of the 310th Police Battalion, October 18, 1942, and the war diary of the 310th Police Battalion, entry for October 16, 1942, in GARF, 7021-148-4.

18. BA-L, B 162/4836 (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 334/59, vol. 5), p. 1141; AAN, 202/III/7, t. 1, p. 187, Polish Underground Report 252/A-1, December 17, 1942.

19. Information from GABO, as cited in Rozenblat, "*Zhizn' i sud'ba*," pp. 30–33. See also, e.g., VHF, # 24998, which mentions plans for resistance that did not materialize.

20. *Bug v ogne* (Minsk, 1965), p. 380.

21. A.I. Borovskii, *O nikh molchali svodki* (Minsk, 1970), p. 69.

CHERNYI OSTROV

Pre-1941: Chernyi Ostrov, village, raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tscherny Ostrow, Gebiet Proskurow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Chornyi Ostriv, Khmel'nyts'kyi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

The village of Chernyi Ostrov is located in western Ukraine, roughly 200 kilometers (124 miles) east-southeast of Lwów. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,172 Jews living in Chernyi Ostrov, representing 28.7 percent of the town's total population. At that time the Chernyi Ostrov raion had a Jewish population of 1,995.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Chernyi Ostrov on July 7, 1941. In the period since Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews fled to the east or had been drafted into the Red Army, leaving about 1,000 Jews in the town at the start of the occupation. Within a few weeks, the military administration (Ortskommandantur) appointed a village elder (starosta) and formed a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. The chief of police was a former bricklayer, P. Iarusevich, and the deputy chief was V. Beznosiuk, a former unskilled laborer. In September 1941, a German civil administration was established, subordinated to Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck, the Gebietskommissar in Gebiet Proskurow.

Shortly after their arrival, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures; Jews were forbidden to leave the village, were required to perform forced labor on road construction and street-cleaning projects, and were marked by a yellow patch on their clothing.

On July 27, 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in the settlement. At that time, they rounded up about 200 adult male Jews; around 20 managed to escape, and the rest were shot. The remaining Jews, mostly the elderly, women, and children, were soon relocated into a ghetto established in a part of town near where the synagogue had been. The Jews were able to take most of their belongings with them into the ghetto. The perimeter of the ghetto was fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian police. Inside the ghetto, the Jews lived under terrible conditions. Despite the police guard, it was still possible for the ghetto inmates to barter with local peasants across the barbed wire or possibly forage for food while serving on work details outside the ghetto.[1] In May 1942, about 100 Jews from the ghetto were selected and sent along with other Jews from the region to a forced labor camp established in horse stables at Leznevo, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the northeast of Proskurov.[2]

The liquidation of the ghetto was probably organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov under the command of Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. In the early morning hours of September 12, 1942, German and local Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto and then started rounding up the Jews by banging on the doors. Those unable to move fast enough were beaten. Once the inmates were assembled, a selection took place, and about 100 Jews deemed fit to work were sent to forced labor camps near Proskurov, where they worked on road construction. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police loaded the remaining several hundred Jews onto carts and escorted them to a forest between the villages of Pavlikovtsy and Geletintsy, 17 kilometers (10.6 miles) southwest of Chernyi Ostrov. Here they were shot at a prepared killing site together with Jews from the village of Fel'shtyn. After the liquidation, Ukrainian police combed the former ghetto, searching for survivors who had hidden during the Aktion. Some 26 of these unfortunates were captured and shot at the Jewish cemetery.[3]

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A handful of Jews managed to escape from the ghetto during the chaos of the liquidation Aktion; the young girl Anna Tsel'ner ran out of her grandparents' house and, owing to her size, slipped through the roundup unnoticed by the police and hid behind an outbuilding. Later she crawled through a gap in the barbed wire and fled, eventually reaching safety. After the war, the few surviving Jews soon left the area, and the community was not reconstituted.

SOURCES Information documenting the fate of Chernyi Ostrov's Jews can be found in the following publications: Iakov Khonigsman, "Tragediia evreev poselka Chernyi Ostrov," *Daidzhest*, no. 5 (22) (May 2001); 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), p. 248.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Chernyi Ostrov can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-817); and VHF (# 21488).

Alexander Kruglov and Michael McConnell
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, #21488, interview with Anna Tsel'ner.
2. Iosif Groysman, interview, January 2, 2001 (in the possession of Diana Voskoboynik), states that there were anywhere from 1,000 to 3,000 Jews in the Leznevo camp. Ilya Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt': Tragediia evreev goroda Zinkova* (New York: Effect Publishing, 1991), pp. 34–37, indicates that there were only a few hundred people.
3. Khonigsman, "Tragediia evreev poselka Chernyi Ostrov"; GARF, 7021-64-817; DAKhO, 863-2-44; VHF, # 21488, interview with Anna Tsel'ner.

CHOMSK

Pre-1939: Chomsk, *village*, *województwo poleskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Khomsk*, *Drogichin raion*, *Brest oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschomsk*, *Rayon Drogitschin*, *Gebiet Kobryn*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Khomsk*, *Drahichyn raen*, *Beras'tse voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Chomsk is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) north of Drohiczyn. After World War I, there were more than 1,000 Jews living in the village. Under Soviet rule from September 1939 until the end of June 1941, three Jewish families were exiled to Siberia, which paradoxically saved their lives. According to some sources, there may have been as many as 1,700 Jews living in Chomsk just prior to the German invasion.

On the arrival of German forces in Chomsk in late June 1941, German forces robbed the Jews and murdered several people (both Jews and Christians), accusing them of being Communist activists. As Chomsk lay isolated in the Pripet Marshes, most German detachments bypassed the village during the first weeks of the occupation.

In early August 1941, however, a detachment of SS-Cavalry Regiment 1 under the overall command of Gustav Lombard arrived in Chomsk with instructions from Heinrich Himmler

Members of the Dror Zionist youth movement musical ensemble in Chomsk rehearse outside, ca. 1938.
USHMM WS #98682, COURTESY OF GFH

to murder all the Jews in the villages north of the main railway line from Brześć to Pińsk.[1] Moishe Kantorowitz, who obtained information from local witnesses when he arrived in Chomsk a few weeks later, pieced together a rough account of what happened.

A cordon of about 150 German cavalrymen surrounded the shtetl at daybreak. Others entered the shtetl and began to gather the Jewish inhabitants. Some Jews tried to flee and were shot while running. Others then attempted to hide. With the active help of the local Christian population, the Germans searched thoroughly for all those in hiding and then escorted the entire Jewish population to a nearby meadow.

Here the 480 Jewish men among the group were ordered to dig a large ditch. Then the German cavalrymen shot the women, children, and elderly in groups, using a machine gun. The Jewish men had to throw in those bodies that did not fall directly into the ditch. This mass grave was then filled in by the Jewish men, before they had to dig another ditch, which was to be their own mass grave. After they too had been shot, local non-Jews filled in this grave. The entire Aktion lasted two days.[2]

A few, mostly younger Jews managed to escape through the German cordon, and most found refuge in nearby Drohiczyn. For a time, in August 1941, there were no Jews living in Chomsk, apart from one pharmacist who had been spared. However, in September 1941, about 80 Jewish families who had been driven from Szereszów in Gebiet Bialystok in late August 1941, and marched all the way to Drohiczyn, were permitted by the authorities to settle in Chomsk, in the deserted and plundered houses of the Jews. The Szereszów Jews included a number of artisans who earned a living by providing useful services to the farmers around Chomsk. The empty Jewish houses had been robbed of almost everything that was useful, but some firewood remained, and there were sufficient potatoes in the small gardens to feed the Szereszów Jews for several months. After the Szereszów Jews had settled in Chomsk, the German authorities also ordered the 12 or so

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survivors of the Chomsk Jewish community in Drohiczyn to return home.[3]

It does not appear that an enclosed ghetto was established in Chomsk, but the Jews lived together on the street which is described in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* as a ghetto that led to the two mass graves. Knowledge of the fate of the Chomsk Jews and of the active part played by the local Christians cast a heavy shadow over the Jews from Szereszów. For example, at the school, all the non-Jewish children were now wearing the coats of the murdered Jewish children, while the newly arrived Jews were excluded from school. In view of the fear and anxiety that persisted in Chomsk, some of the Szereszów Jews subsequently moved to the Prużana ghetto, which appeared to offer more security among a larger Jewish community.

Little is known about living conditions for the Jews in Chomsk after December 1941, as Moishe Kantorowitz and his family left at that time. However, in the Prużana ghetto he was able to piece together some details about the fate of the 80 or so Szereszów Jewish families that remained in Chomsk, as one of the Bikstein brothers managed to escape from Chomsk to Prużana just after the second mass slaughter.

On the morning of September 13, 1942, the Nazi killers surrounded Chomsk and herded the remaining Jews together, escorting them to the site of the previous two mass graves. At the request of the local non-Jews, the Germans spared five artisans and their families, including a blacksmith, a tailor, and a seamstress; however, they deliberately chose those artisans with the smallest families. Subsequently these Jews were placed together in one house, forming a small remnant ghetto. The other 75 Jewish families from Szereszów, together with the last Jews from Chomsk, were all shot and buried in the same graves used for the first slaughter of the Chomsk Jews almost 14 months previously.[4]

The few Jews in the remnant ghetto were not permitted outside. The police station was across the street from the Jews' house, and the local police kept a close eye on them. Only one of the Jews is known to have escaped from the house. The other four artisans and their families, including Pola Rotenberg, were all shot a few weeks later, in accordance with instructions issued by the Generalkommissar of Wolhynien und Podolien that specialist workers could not be preserved for more than two months after the main Aktions.[5]

According to Soviet sources summarized by Marat Botvinnik, up to 2,000 Jews were murdered altogether in Chomsk in 1941 and 1942.

When the Red Army drove the Germans from Chomsk in the summer of 1944, very few of the original Jews from the village were still alive. A couple of Chomsk Jews escaped to join the Soviet partisans, and just over a dozen returned from exile in Russia.

SOURCES The main source for this entry is the memoir of Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004). Earlier testimonies from the same author include Meishke Kantorovich, *Shershev: Agony and Death of a Shtetl: In Memoriam*, which originally formed chapters 16–18 of Jacob Auerbach, *The Undying Spark* (Long Beach, NY: J. Auerbach, between 1976 and 1992). Brief information on the fate of the Jews in Chomsk can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 251–252; and regarding "Khomsk," in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 125, 137.

Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Chomsk under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GABO (R514-1-255); GARF; NARB; StA-Wfb; USHMM (RG-02.113); and YVA (O-3/2285).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. StA-Wfb, 62 Nds Fb. 2, Nr. 1304, p. 269, report of SS Kav. Rgt. I, August 11, 1941.
2. Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest*, pp. 239–243.
3. Ibid., pp. 242–256; YVA, O-3/2285, testimony of Yossef Bender, as cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 148.
4. Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest*, pp. 282–283.
5. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, Sygn. 77, pp. 8–9, Generalkommissar Wolhynien und Podolien to Security Police outposts in Brest, Pińsk, Starokonstantinov, and Kamenets-Podolskii, August 31, 1942.

CZETWIERTNIA

Pre-1939: Czetwiertnia, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Chetvertnia, Rozhishche raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschetwertnja, Rayon Roshischtsche, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Chetvertnia, Rozhyshche raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

According to Jewish survivor Fanya Rosenblatt, in the village of Czetwiertnia, located 16 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of Rożyszcze, there was a small rural ghetto that existed for a number of months before it was liquidated on October 10, 1942, almost two months after the liquidation of the Rożyszcze ghetto. Under the Soviet occupation, a kolkhoz had been established in the village on lands formerly belonging to a Polish noble family. When the ghetto was set up, Jews were brought in from other villages in the immediately surrounding area, including the villages of Susk, Łuków, Hodomicze, Łyszcze, and Sławatycze,[1] such that probably around 100 or more Jews were concentrated there. All the Jews of the ghetto performed agricultural work on the kolkhoz. They learned about the destruction of the other, larger ghettos in the area during the summer of 1942 but continued to hope that they would be retained by the Germans as needed workers.

When Ukrainian policemen came to search the houses in the Czetwiertnia ghetto on October 10, 1942, Fanya Rosenblatt's parents hid her inside the sofa. The local policemen found her nonetheless, but an older one among them took pity on her. He then helped her to flee without the Germans

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noticing. All the other Jews of the ghetto were murdered on that day. A policeman named Korney, who was tasked with guarding former Jewish property, also helped Fanya to survive, assisting her to regain her family's property from local peasants in order to buy a non-Jewish identity card.[2]

SOURCES The testimony of Fanya Rosenblatt can be found in the Rożyszcze yizkor book edited by Gershon Zik, *Roz'ishts' ayarati/Mayn shtetl Rozshishtsh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Roz'ishts' be-Yisrael veha-irgunim be-Artsot ha-berit, Kanadah, Brazil, ve-Argentinah, 1976). There is also a video testimony by Fanya Rosenblatt (VHF, # 8581), prepared by the Shoah Foundation.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. In 1921 the population of Czetwiertnia was only 23, but in Susk there were 32 Jews; in Łuków, 14; in Hodomicze, 11; and in Łyszcze, 15.
2. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 45–46. See also her account in the Hebrew section of the same volume, which includes more details about the ghetto.

DĄBROWICA

Pre-1939: Dąbrowica, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Dubrovitsa, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dombrowiza, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Dubrovitsia, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Dąbrowica is located 114 kilometers (71 miles) north of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 2,536 Jews lived in Dąbrowica. In 1931, there were 2,739 Jews, and by the end of 1937, 3,225 Jews (comprising 43.4 percent of the population). In September 1939, the town came under Soviet control, resulting in the dissolution of Jewish communal institutions and the nationalization of much private property.

The Soviets began to evacuate Dąbrowica at the end of June 1941, and about 200 young Jews left with them by train towards Kiev. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Dąbrowica on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941 a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town, and in September 1941, a German civil administration took over. Dąbrowica was incorporated into Gebiet Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala became the Gebietskommissar.[1] A German Gendarmerie post commanded by a man named König and a unit of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police were established in Dąbrowica.[2]

Immediately after the German forces arrived, an antisemitic mood gripped the local residents, who organized a pogrom in Dąbrowica. Many Jews were robbed and assaulted, and a number of people were seriously wounded. Soon afterwards, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by Avraham Liebersohn. The German occupying authorities used the Judenrat to pass on and enforce their various orders and regulations concerning the Jewish population. A Jewish police force made up of a few individuals headed by Yaacov Perpelmazia was established and subordinated to the Judenrat.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Rayon Dombrowiza. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David, then later, patches in the shape of a yellow circle. They also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town and from buying goods from non-Jews. Finally, the German authorities and Ukrainian police subjected the Jews to systematic confiscations, robberies, and assaults. For example, on November 17, 1941, the town administration, headed by Mayor Rait, ordered the Jews to hand over all their goats and horses immediately.[4]

Most onerous was the imposition of forced labor. All male Jews over the age of 14 were required to perform heavy manual work, either at sawmills or at the train station, where they loaded and unloaded freight. Jewish women were sent to the fields for agricultural work. The Judenrat paid workers half a kilogram (1.1 pounds) of bread per day for their labors. One day in January 1942, when 80 men failed to show up for work, they were arrested, and the German authorities ordered them to be shot. The Judenrat paid a bribe to save their lives, but the arrested men were flogged every night for eight nights, still having to work the next day.[5]

The Jews of Dąbrowica were spared the hunger and starvation that afflicted many other communities because of a strategic connection with the local flour mill. Jews had previously owned the mill, but it had been nationalized during the Soviet period. It still had a number of Jewish workers, including the former owners. They made a special arrangement with the local ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) who managed the mill, a certain Gavrilchik, whereby the Jews could secretly remove as much as one quarter of the daily output in exchange for a complicated system of bribes and incentives that bought his cooperation. The German inspectors who periodically visited the mill were similarly rewarded for their discretion.[6]

In April 1942, the German civil administration established a ghetto in Dąbrowica. On April 14, 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Sarny issued an order to the mayor, giving him and his administration until May 10, 1942, to establish "Jewish residential quarters" in Dąbrowica and Bereżnica. On April 29, 1942, the Jews from the surrounding villages, including several hundred from Kołki, were forcibly resettled into the ghetto in Dąbrowica, raising its population to 4,327 Jews.[7] The Jews were given only three days to move into the ghetto, but some brought with them such valuable items as glass, window frames, and broken electrical equipment. As a result, on May 5, 1942, the town administration in Dąbrowica ordered the Judenrat to compel all Jews moving into the ghetto to hand over the contents of their former homes in full, including all items of value and other belongings.[8] No mention is made of a fence or other barrier in the available sources, so it was presumably an open ghetto, as was the smaller ghetto formed in nearby Bereżnica, which had about 1,000 inhabitants.

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News of the massacres in other nearby towns, such as that in Kowel in early June 1942, caused a number of young people to meet secretly to plan their escape. The Judenrat tried to discourage them and even threatened to turn them in to the authorities.

The ghetto in Dąbrowica existed until the end of August 1942. On August 26, 1942, German police and Ukrainian collaborators liquidated the ghetto. As the Jews were being marched to the railway station to be transported to Sarny, about 1,500 of them fled en masse, as Leibel Landau had bribed the Ukrainian guards to look the other way, but about 200 of them were shot and killed on the spot. Of those who fled, more than 500 managed to escape to the forest, but many others were soon recaptured. Several hundred Jews made it to the nearby ghetto of Wysock, where they were killed together with the local Jews a couple of weeks later. German forces and their collaborators murdered the remaining 3,000 or so Jews from the Dąbrowica ghetto with other Jews from the region in Sarny.[9]

Many of the escapees from the ghettos died of hunger and disease in 1942–1943 or were arrested by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie and then shot. The head of the Ukrainian police in Dąbrowica, Chaim Sygal, gave evidence in 1951 regarding the shooting of some 30 Jews found hiding in and around the Dąbrowica ghetto at the end of August 1942. Then in September 1942, the 70 Jews who had been in charge of "clearing out" the ghetto were also shot.[10] Some of those who escaped from the ghetto or during another breakout in Sarny joined partisan groups. About 50 Jews from Dąbrowica survived until the town was liberated with the aid of Soviet partisans on January 10, 1944.

SOURCES Accounts by survivors from Dąbrowica can be found in the yizkor book edited by L. Losh, *Sefer Dombrovitsah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Dombrovitsah be-Yisrael, 1964). Brief articles on Dąbrowica can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 61–65; and 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), p. 322.

Documentation concerning the fate of the Jewish community in Dąbrowica can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3134); BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/7287); DARO (R293-2-1); GARF (7021-71-49); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q-1367/161; O-3/3112 and 3513).

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. In the summer of 1942, K. Sygolenko (alias Chaim Sygal, also Kovalski) was in charge of the Ukrainian police section. He was a Jew from Lwów who in the fall of 1941 (under the name of K. Sygolenko) was a collaborator in the Ukrainian nationalist paramiltary unit called "Polesskaia Sich'." After December 1941, he became a translator working for the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police chief in Dąbrowica. In 1943, he served as a translator for the Security Police and SD in Sarny; and after 1944 he worked in Königsberg and Potsdam. In 1952, Sygolenko was tried in Rovno. For further information, see T. Gladkov and B. Steklar, ". . . Vse ravno konets budet!" in *So shchitom i mechom: Ocherki i stat'i* (Lvov, 1988), pp. 173–180; and also BA-L, B 162/7287, pp. 354–356.

3. Losh, *Sefer Dombrovitsah*, p. 446. The yizkor book also lists the names of several members of the Jewish Council and the Jewish Police.

4. For the instruction of November 17, 1941, issued by the town's administration concerning the Jewish population in Dąbrowica, see DARO, R293-2-2a, p. 73. According to another source, most horses and other livestock belonging to the Jews had already been confiscated by the Germans in July; see Losh, *Sefer Dombrovitsah*, p. 457.

5. Losh, *Sefer Dombrovitsah*, pp. 446–447, 456.

6. Ibid., p. 438.

7. DARO, R293-2-1, p. 4, Order no. 280 of the main administration in Dąbrowica to the mayor in Dąbrowica, April 29, 1942. The figure of 4,327 comes from a ghetto census taken by the Judenrat including those Jews brought in from other villages; see Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, p. 61.

8. DARO, R293-2-1, p. 61, Order of the town administration in Dąbrowica to the Judenrat in Dąbrowica, no. 54/42, May 5, 1942.

9. According to the documents of the ChGK, 5,000 Jews were transported to Sarny and murdered there. See GARF, 7021-71-49, p. 4. This latter figure is almost certainly too high, even including those Jews brought from Bereżnica.

10. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, p. 65; and BA-L, B 162/7287, pp. 354–356.

DAWIDGRÓDEK

Pre-1939: Dawidgródek, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: David-Gorodok, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dawid-Gorodok, Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Davyd-Haradok, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dawidgródek is located on the Horyn River, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) east of Pińsk. In 1921, the town had a Jewish population of 2,832, out of a total population of 9,851. On September 19, 1939, the Red Army arrived in the town and annexed it to the Soviet Union.

The non-Jewish population of Dawidgródek—known to the Jews as *Horodtshukes*—considered themselves a distinct quasi-ethnic group, separate from both the peasants in the surrounding areas and the town's small Polish population. Jewish survivors from Dawidgródek speak more of indigenous antisemitism than survivors from other towns in the area. Antisemitic tsarist Horodtshukes had attempted to organize a pogrom in 1917. Although the Horodtshukes were not particularly

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supportive of the Polish government, they fiercely resented the Soviets—with whom they came to associate the Jews.

Shortly after Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Soviet officials and their families began to evacuate from Dawidgródek; many Jews tried to flee as well but were stopped by Soviet officials stationed along the former Soviet-Polish border. By July 6, the last remnants of the Soviet government had fled. The advance unit of Oberstleutnant von Pannwitz reached Dawidgródek on July 7–8, 1941.[1] However, the initial German forces did not leave a garrison in the town, as it was not on any of the major highways.[2] A delegation of non-Jewish townspeople, led by a medical worker named Ivan Mareiko who was known for his animosity towards Jews, reported to the German headquarters in Pińsk.[3] According to Jewish survivors, the delegation reported that the Jews had been engaged in partisan activities. The Germans appointed Mareiko mayor of the town and made Lyovo Kosarev head of the local police force, which included the Tanyo brothers and Kulaga. The Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David.[4]

On July 19, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler placed the SS-Cavalry Regiments 1 and 2 under the command of Höherer SS-und Polizeiführer Erich von dem Bach Zelewski for the systematic combing of the Pripiat Marshes for Jews, remnants of the Red Army, and potential partisans.[5] On July 28, he explicitly ordered the shooting of all adult male Jews in the area and that Jewish women and children were to be driven into the swamps.[6] On August 10, in the early hours of the morning, members of the 2nd Regiment's 3rd Squadron arrived in Dawidgródek to do away with the Jewish population. The Jewish houses in which members of the squadron stayed were empty of furniture and belongings, having been looted already by the local population.[7]

The local militia brought all the Jewish males aged 14 and older to the marketplace.[8] The Jews had been informed that they were going to be sent away for forced labor. The local police searched the houses of the Jews for men who tried to hide. Then, with the help of part of the 3rd Squadron, they escorted them to a pit near the village of Hinowsk, where the other members of the squadron were waiting. They ordered a group of Jews to line up, standing or kneeling, in front of the pit, each Jew opposite an SS man. After shooting them, they had the next row of Jews line up in similar fashion and proceeded thus until they had killed all of them—probably close to 1,000 men and youths in total.[9]

On the following day, the SS and local police expelled the Jewish women and children from Dawidgródek, following Himmler's order to "drive them into the swamps." Several Jewish men who had escaped the Aktion by disguising themselves as women were caught by the local police and killed. At this time, there were no partisan units in the forests to absorb the refugees. Many tried to enter surrounding towns, such as Stolin; others tried to hide with peasants. Eventually, many of them gradually returned to Dawidgródek, having nowhere else to go. Towards the end of 1941, most of the surviving Jews had returned, and they were forced into a ghetto surrounded by barbed wire, approximately 100 by 30 meters (328 by 98 feet) in area.[10] Each resident was given a ration of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day.[11] They were forced to work in various workshops that were set up inside the ghetto, primarily performing tasks necessary for the Wehrmacht. Many died of hunger or disease.[12] Some, however, managed to escape and join partisans operating in the area. The local partisan units, made up of both Jews and non-Jews, launched successful attacks on the police post in Dawidgródek.

In the summer of 1942, SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp, head of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD office in Pińsk, received orders from his superiors to begin liquidating the Jewish population in Polesie.[13] On September 10 or 11, 1942, Rasp arrived in Dawidgródek with a Sipo/SD detachment of 10 men. The German Gendarmerie and the local police had surrounded the ghetto prior to his arrival. They then escorted the Jews to the pit near Hinowsk, where they were shot. While the shooting was going on, a search was conducted for Jews hiding inside the ghetto and those who tried to escape. When found, they were shot on the spot and then brought to the pit by local peasants. A group of about 50 peasants then covered the pits.[14] By this point, the Jewish population had become so impoverished that no attempt was made to collect valuable items from their houses after the liquidation.[15]

SOURCES Despite Dawidgródek's small size, there is useful primary material on the town from both victim and perpetrator sources. Most of the former was found in Yitshak Eidan, ed., *Sefer zikaron: David-Horodok* (Tel Aviv, 1957), parts of which have been translated into English as *Memorial Book of David-Horodok* (Oak Park, MI: B. Chase, 1981). This book provides several survivor testimonies. The verdict of the trial in Braunschweig of Franz Magill, commander of the SS-Kavallerieregiment 2, has been published in the *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* series.

There is also information on the fate of the Jewish population of Dawidgródek in the following archives: BA-L; BA-MA; GARF; Sta. Braunschweig; and YVA.

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-45/28, Meldung Vorausabteilung v. Pannwitz, July 7, 1941.

2. Y. Lipshits, p. 57; and Yitskhok Nakhmanovitsh, p. 443—both in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*.

3. Lipshits, pp. 57, 62; Bas-Sheve Kushnir and Grunm Pilavin, p. 441; Nakhmanovitsh, p. 443; and Meyer Hershl Korman, p. 448—all in ibid.

4. Lipshits, p. 57; Nakhmanovitsh, pp. 443–445; and Miriam Bregman, p. 462—all in ibid.

5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 570, LG-Braun 2 Ks 1/63 (Strafsache gegen Franz Magill u.a.), pp. 41–43.

6. BA-MA, RS 3-8/36, Himmler Order to SS Cavalry Regiment 2, August 1, 1941.

7. BA-L, ZStL, 2 Ks 11/63, statement of Albert Colas, October 9, 1962.

8. *JuNS-V*, 20:58–59; Lipshits, in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 57.

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9. *JuNS-V*, 20:58–59. And Lipshits, see p. 57; Kushnir and Pilavin, p. 442; Nakhmanovitsh, p. 443; and Korman, p. 448—all in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*. Also see BA-L, ZStL, 2 Ks 11/63, statement of Henschke; Sta. Braunschweig 1 Js 1409/60 (gegen Magill u.a.), vol. 1266, pp. 143–147, Max Mahn statement, July 10, 1962, and vol. 1270, pp. 69–73, Blum statement, March 8, 1963.

10. See BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, Ghetto Vernichtung im Raum Pinsk. Also see Lipshits, p. 58; Kushnir and Pilavin, p. 443; Nakhmanovitsh, p. 445; and Bregman, p. 463—all in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*.

11. Lipshits, p. 58, in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*.

12. Nakhmanovitsh, p. 445, in ibid.

13. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2, pp. 173–194.

14. Ibid., ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, p. 249, statement by Nikolai Kosstjuk, February 5, 1972.

15. Ibid., ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statements by Richard Mitschke, December 17, 1962, and April 4, 1962, as cited by Stephen Pallavicini, "The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie: 1941–1942. A Case Study: Pinsk and Surrounding Areas" (Ph.D. diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, 2001), pp. 118–119.

DEMIDÓWKA

Pre-1939: Demidówka, *village*, *województwo wołyńskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Demidovka*, *Rovno oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Demidowka*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Dubno*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Demydivka*, *Rivne oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Demidówka is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Równe. According to the census, 595 Jews lived in Demidówka in 1921. In mid-1941, allowing for an estimated natural increase, there were probably around 700 Jews living in Demidówka.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Demidówka on June 25, 1941. In the first week, seven Jews were shot as Communists. Shortly afterwards, the first requisitions of Jewish property and valuables began. In July and August 1941, Demidówka was governed by a series of German military commandants (Ortskommandanturen), and from September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Demidówka became part of Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was Nachwuchsführer Broks, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt.[1] There was a Gendarmerie post in Demidówka, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police.

Soon after the start of the German occupation, Jews were ordered to wear distinctive symbols on their clothing. A Judenrat was created in the settlement, headed by Eliahu Titelboym. In total there were 10 members of the Judenrat. The Jewish population suffered from severe shortages of food. One of the Judenrat's functions was the distribution of the limited supplies of flour it received from the German authorities. However, local Ukrainians also robbed the Jews of these flour rations as well as their money.

Forced labor was imposed, and Jews were put to work on farms and in peat bogs; some men were sent to work on the estate of Count Liudochowski, in the village of Smordwa. Here they were made to run up and down stairs and were beaten in the middle of the night.[2]

In May 1942, a ghetto was created, which existed until early October 1942. On October 8, 1942, a team of Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto: approximately 600 Jews were taken out of the village on trucks and shot. More than 100 Jews were able to avoid the massacre by hiding. Of this number, 50 people were found and shot later in October 1942.[3] Afterwards, several dozen more Jews were captured and shot. After the liberation in March 1944, only about 30 Jews returned to Demidówka. According to material collected by Ilya Ehrenburg, some Jews managed to survive in the Demidówka raion with the aid of Vera Iosifovna Krasova and her daughter, who hid them from the Germans.[4]

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the annihilation of the Jewish community of Demidówka: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 65–66; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:375; and Mendel Singer, ed., *Hayetah 'ayarah: Sefer zikaron li-kehilot Berestets'kah*, *Beremelyah veha-sevivah* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Berestets'kah be-Yisrael, 1960 or 1961).

Documents and testimonies regarding the destruction of the Jews in Demidówka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DARO; GARF (7021-71-46); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Yehudit Rudolf, "Life under the German Occupation," in Yitshak Siegleman, ed., *Sefer Mlinov-Muravits* (Haifa: Va'ad yots'e Mlinov-Muravits be-Yisrael, 1970), pp. 287–292.

3. GARF, 7021-71-46, p. 16.

4. Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*, English edition trans. and ed. David Patterson (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 419–420.

DERAZHNIA

Pre-1941: Derazhnia, *town*, *Kamenets-Podolskii oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Derashnja*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Letischew*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Derazhnya*, *Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Derazhnia is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Proskurov. At its peak in 1897, as many as 3,300 Jews lived

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in Derazhnia. The train station there is famous as the location for Sholom Aleichem's story "The German."[1] In 1939, the Jewish population of Derazhnia was 2,651.

The German army occupied Derazhnia on July 11, 1941.[2] Within a few weeks, the Germans established a ghetto just north of the train station that consisted of two parts separated by a main road. Initially, 1,848 Jews were registered, including 579 children and 715 "workers."[3] Jews from the nearby Jewish collective farms of Loitera and Staryi Maidan, as well as Jews from the town of Volkovintsy, were brought into the Derazhnia ghetto.[4] Before the relocations, the nearby collective of Staryi Maidan had a population that swelled many times larger than its pre-war size because Jewish refugees from other towns mistakenly assumed that farming skills would grant them special privileges.[5]

Several rows of barbed wire, which ranged from 3.3 to 5 meters (10.8 to 16.4 feet) high, surrounded the ghetto. Jews were forced to wear the Star of David on both the front and back of their clothes. On different occasions, "contributions" were collected in the amounts of 115 kilograms (254 pounds) of gold, 325 kilograms (717 pounds) of silver, and the equivalent of U.S. $59,500.[6]

Smaller group killings took place in 1941 in Volkovintsy (369 Jews), in Nizhne (70 prisoners of war [POWs]), at the railroad station (62 POWs), and at various nearby locations (about 30 Jews).[7] Strong, able-bodied Jewish workers were transferred to Letichev to work in the large slave labor camp there.[8]

Living conditions in the ghettos were overcrowded, as several families had to share each house. Local policemen guarded the ghettos, but some Jews still sneaked out, especially children, to beg or barter for food, such as milk or potatoes, with local non-Jews. Thanks to this and reserves of food within the ghetto, there was hunger but little starvation. Jews were taken for forced labor, working on excavation projects and repairing a bridge.[9]

On or about September 20, 1942, the Germans and the local police under the command of Vasil Shimkov began to liquidate the ghetto. German Gendarmes and the local police escorted the Jews in a column led by the rabbi to mass graves prepared from two ravines at the top of a hill outside Derazhnia near Nizhne. The Jews were forced to take off their clothes and place them in a communal pile and then lie face-down in the trench. A German "SS man" then shot them with a submachine gun. On this day, about 1,500 people were shot.[10] At least 1 Jew tried to escape at the killing site but was gunned down before he could get far. Some of the victims were only wounded, and small children were thrown into the mass grave to be buried alive.

According to local inhabitants interviewed many years after the events by Yahad-In Unum (YIU), a number of Jews evaded the roundup by hiding in basements and behind false walls. The Germans and local police, assisted by dogs, then searched the ghetto area for these fugitives for several weeks. Those Jews who were found were placed in a tightly guarded ghetto for a while and were then shot together in a subsequent Aktion about one month after the first. Another pit was prepared for this. Some Jews sought shelter with local peasants in and around Derazhnia. However, since the families of anyone caught hiding Jews also faced the death penalty, most Jews were advised to go (or were taken) to more remote locations, where the chance of discovery was much less.[11]

Various Soviet intelligence reports list the total number of Jews killed as between 3,378 and 3,647, but this number is probably too high.[12] The discrepancy may result in part from the killing of a sizable group of non-Jews. The entire Gypsy village of Kitanovka, outside Volkovintsy, perhaps 450 people in total, was also killed in Derazhnia.[13] Local witnesses mention Russians and others shot in the same pit as some of the Jews, for concealing Jews or other suspected offenses against the German authorities.[14]

Gendarmerie and local police chiefs at various times included Paul Reski, Deichmann, Schultz, Mugle, Stockelmann, and Minkov. The head of the local police is identified as Vasil Shimkov, and another notorious policeman who allegedly also beat and shot Jews was Dema Podnevich.[15]

No information was found about resistance in the area. Survivors listed in the Soviet sources include Shpilberg, R. Mekhel, D.R. Beldf, Lazar Akselrod, Moisevich, and A.B. Kusharsky.[16] It does not appear that these people recorded testimonies beyond the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) summaries. The only detailed testimony comes from B.Kh. Tsukerman. A tailor by the name of Melamed was also a survivor.

Several war crime trials of Ukrainian collaborators took place after the war. For example, a man named Mikhail Voitov was tried in 1950 for having served as a policeman in the village of Sharki, Derazhnia raion, during the German occupation.[17]

Portrait of the Lewin family in Derazhnia, ca. 1927. Most of the family was killed by the Nazis in Derazhnia in 1942.
USHMM WS #25519, COURTESY OF ESTER AJZEN LEWIN

SOURCES Some information in English can be found in chapter 16 (Holocaust) of David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, eds., *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten*

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Jewish Community in Eastern Europe, vol. 2 (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000).

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (e.g., 363-1-30 and 363-1-58); GARF; GASBU; PRO; and YIU (nos. 712–13).

David Chapin, Ben Weinstock, and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Sholom Aleichem, *Tevye's Daughters* (New York: Crown, 1948).
2. Newspaper *Za chest' Rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
3. B.Kh. Tsukerman, "Genotsid evreev na zemle Khmelnitchnini," in Dr. Iurii Liakhovitskii, *Kholokost*, "*Evreiskii vopros*" *i sovremennoe ukrainskoe obshchestvo* (Kharkov and Jerusalem: Bensiah Library), p. 120 (reproduced in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, 2:744).
4. Ibid.; Vladimir Goykher, *Tragedy of the Letichev Ghetto* (New York: Vladimir Goykher, 1992); and YIU, Témoin no. 713.
5. PADC, Yefrem Mankovetsky testimony, 1994.
6. Tsukerman, "Genotsid evreev."
7. DAKhO, 363-1-30, p. 1, and 363-1-58, pp. 55–58, ChGK reports "About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmel'nitskii Oblast' at the time of the Fascist occupation."
8. Goykher, *Tragedy of the Letichev Ghetto*.
9. YIU, Témoins nos. 712 and 713.
10. Tsukerman, "Genotsid evreev"; statement of former local policeman V.I. Siniavski given on May 22, 1987, in material received by the Hetherington-Chalmers War Crimes Inquiry in the U.K. from the Soviet Procurators (records now in the PRO).
11. YIU, Témoins nos. 712 and 713.
12. DAKhO, 363-1-30, p. 1, and 363-1-58, pp. 55–58, ChGK reports.
13. Ibid.
14. YIU, Témoins nos. 712 and 713.
15. DAKhO, 363-1-30, p. 1, and 363-1-58, pp. 55–58, ChGK reports; Tsukerman testimony; ibid., no. 712.
16. DAKhO, 363-1-30, p. 1, and 363-1-58, pp. 55–58, ChGK reports.
17. Information received from the Ukrainian authorities by the British War Crimes Investigation, Simyon Bik testimony, 1996 (records now in the PRO).

DERAŹNE

Pre-1939: Deraźne, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Derazhne, Kostopol' raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Derashne, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Derazhne, Kostopil' raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Deraźne is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northwest of Równe. In 1897 there were 770 Jews living in the village (51.4 percent of the total population), and in 1921, 592 Jews resided there.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village, but in September 1941 authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Deraźne became part of Gebiet Kostopol, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

The Gebietskommissar in Kostopol was SA-Standartenführer Loehnert, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann.[1] A local Ukrainian administration and a Ukrainian police force were established in Deraźne and reported to the local post of the German Gendarmerie that was established in September 1941, consisting of several German Gendarmes.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German occupational authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the village. Jews were required to wear the Star of David for identification purposes; they had to surrender all gold and valuables; they were made to perform hard labor; they were forbidden to leave the village limits without permission; and the Ukrainian police subjected them to systematic looting and beatings. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the village, which they used to transmit and enforce their orders and regulations for the Jewish population.

On October 5, 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Deraźne, where the Jews from the nearby villages were placed as well, about 1,000 people in total. The ghetto existed for almost 11 months.[2] In May 1942, most of the able-bodied men were sent for forced labor to work camps outside the ghetto, such that thereafter the inmates consisted mainly of women, children, and the elderly.[3] The women also were obliged to work in agriculture to receive food or a ration card. According to one survivor account, the ghetto remained unfenced, but all the Jews were moved in together with those who already lived in the houses around the main square. Therefore, it remained fairly easy to sneak in and out of the ghetto.[4]

On August 24, 1942, the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie liquidated the ghetto. According to Chayah Sherman's recollection, in the evening (probably of August 23), all the Jews were ordered to assemble in the main square of the ghetto. Some Jews thought of escaping, but the rabbis and members of the Judenrat warned them that probably everyone would be killed if the Jews did not comply with German demands. While the Jews were gathered in the square, Germans and Ukrainians searched attics and basements in the ghetto for any Jews in hiding. From the square, the Jews were marched three abreast through the Ukrainian villages, watched by their neighbors. Jews begged the Ukrainians for water, in vain.[5]

The Jews of Deraźne, together with those of the nearby village of Osowa Wyszka,[6] 1,868 people in total,[7] were escorted by the Ukrainian police to an area near Kostopol and then shot there by a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe. In the fall of 1942, the Ukrainian police and the

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German Gendarmerie caught 152 Jews in hiding and shot them in an area 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) north of the village.[8]

SOURCES An article on the destruction of the Jewish population of Deraźne can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 67–68.

Documents regarding the destruction of the Jews of Deraźne can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1268 and 2872); DARO; GARF (7021-71-47); VHF (# 22483); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. AŻIH, 301/1268, testimony of A. Dereczynski.
3. Ibid.
4. VHF, # 2483, interview with Chayah Sherman.
5. Ibid.
6. According to the 1921 census, there were 700 Jews residing in the village of Osowa Wyszka. Allowing for an annual natural population growth of 9 to 10 per 1,000, by mid-1941 there would have been approximately 850 Jews. About 30 Jewish youths from Osowa Wyszka escaped to the forest and formed a partisan unit.
7. GARF, 7021-71-47, p. 1. AŻIH, 301/1268, however, gives the date of August 22, 1942, for the liquidation of all the ghettos in Gebiet Kostopol.
8. GARF, 7021-71-47, pp. 20, 22–23.

DOMACZÓW

Pre-1939: Domaczów, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Domachevo, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Domatschewo, Rayon center, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Damachava, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Domaczów is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) south of Brześć. In 1921, the Jewish population of Domaczów was 1,337. At the time of the German occupation, including a number of refugees who had arrived from central and western Poland, there were probably about 3,000 Jews residing in the town.[1]

Units of the German 1st Cavalry Division captured Domaczów on June 22, 1941. Combat operations destroyed roughly half the houses in town; many Jews became casualties. Then the Germans began a program of restrictions, abuse, plunder, and murder.

The Germans established a ghetto within two or three months. The ghetto was quite small and overcrowded, consisting of only about 30 wooden houses. It was fenced with planks of wood along the main road and by barbed wire on the other sides. Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Leplówka, were also brought into the Domaczów ghetto.[2]

The Storch family vacations with friends in Chelmski guesthouse in Domaczów, 1938.
USHMM WS #64239, COURTESY OF HELENA JACOBS

During the summer of 1941, the town was administered by a succession of military administrative headquarters: for example, in early August 1941, Feldkommandantur 594 was based in the town.[3] The first Rayon mayor appointed by the Germans was the Pole Stanisław Gwiadziński. The Germans arrested him in early 1942 and later murdered him. The mayor of Domaczów, appointed in February 1942, was an ethnic German named Ludwig.[4]

In the fall of 1941, a civil administration took over responsibility for the region from the military authorities. Domaczów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, subordinated to the Gebietskommissar (Brest-Land), Curt Rolle. In August 1942, part of a German cavalry squadron arrived in Domaczów to reinforce the Gendarmerie post.

Shortly after their arrival, the Germans established a local police force made up of about 40 local Ukrainian and Polish volunteers, supervised by four German Gendarmes. The commander of the local police from the spring of 1942 to the summer of 1943 was Konstanty Korneluk. The tasks of the local police included guarding the ghetto and searching people returning from work to ensure they did not smuggle in any food. As Jewish survivor Faibel Stul later recalled, "[T]he Jews in the ghetto were not given any provisions; they were starving and were therefore compelled to go to their deaths on the other side of the wire in their quest for a piece of bread."[5] Local policemen also beat Jews they caught not wearing their yellow patches and demanded from the Judenrat that clothing and other items be made especially for them.

The winter of 1941–1942 was very cold, with temperatures sometimes more than 30 degrees below zero. No fuel was available to heat the houses in the ghetto, and the Jews had to burn their furniture to stay warm. There was insufficient food, and people lost their will to go on, as it appeared there was no end in sight; they were almost envious of those who died. Frequent

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raids into the ghetto by the Germans and the local police terrorized the ghetto population.

According to a German report dated March 1942, artisan workshops were established for blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and other craftsmen in Domaczów in order for "Aryans" to be trained by Jewish specialists.[6] In the spring of 1942, the Judenrat asked all the Jews to assemble at the entrance to the ghetto; the younger men and women were loaded onto trucks and taken away, presumably for forced labor for digging peat and building roads, which the Gebietskommissar in Brześć demanded of all Jews capable of work.[7] According to one account, some 500 Jews were taken from the Domaczów ghetto in May 1942 for work on the Brześć-Kowel highway. Apparently those who were exhausted and weakened were shot shortly afterwards.[8]

During the summer of 1942, conditions in the ghetto for those remaining deteriorated, and some Jews, including Ben-Zion Blustein's family, constructed hiding places in anticipation of further recruitment of forced laborers or also a possible "liquidation Aktion."[9] Rumors spread of the massacre of the inhabitants from the ghettos in neighboring towns, such as Kowel and Małoryta.

On Sunday, September 20, 1942, a German special detachment arrived in Domaczów. The Jews received instructions to report to the sports stadium, where the Germans took away their gold and other valuables and forced them to strip naked. The local police then escorted them in large groups to a sandy area in the forest about 500 meters (0.3 mile) east of Domaczów. Here they were made to lie facedown on the ground. The Germans then shot the Jews and buried them in a pit.[10] At the killing site, the Germans singled out 13 Jews who were kept alive to work in the stables for the cavalry squadron.[11]

Shortly afterwards, the German Gendarmerie commander in Brześć reported that "on September 19 and 20, 1942, about 2,900 Jews were shot in Domaczów and Tomaszówka by a special command of the SD together with the cavalry squadron stationed in Domaczów, the Gendarmerie, and the Schutzmannschaft [local police]. The 'Jewish Aktion' took place without any disturbances."[12] The village elder in Domaczów at the time, Moisei Naumchik, covered the graves with lime about a week after the mass shooting. He estimated that the Germans had shot about 1,000 Jews.[13] The precise number of Jews in the Domaczów ghetto at the time of its liquidation is not known. Given the departure of many Jews to work on forced labor projects prior to the Aktion, the number of Jews killed was probably about 1,000, consisting mainly of the elderly, women, and children.

In the days after the massacre, the local police repeatedly searched the ghetto area and murdered any Jews they found—some had hidden in bunkers and other hiding spots—while also looting Jewish property.

After the massacre, the Gebietskommissar in Brześć complained that he had not been informed beforehand and that consequently the local population had plundered Jewish property. The small soap factory in Domaczów was forced to close down, as all its workers had been killed.[14] In November 1942, the Gebietskommissar issued instructions for the former Jewish houses to be sold by the end of the year.[15]

The Germans issued orders that anyone hiding Jews would be strictly punished, and rewards were offered for those who turned Jews in. For example, Boris Grunsztein was handed over to the Domaczów police after he was discovered by the local blacksmith, Stanisław Szepel.[16] Most Jews who survived did so by joining the Soviet partisan movement in the area. In late 1943, the Soviet partisans launched an attack on the town of Domaczów in which they burned part of the town and killed several local policemen. In December 1943, there were eight Jewish members of the "Voroshilov" partisan group operating in the area, out of a total strength of 423 men and 26 women.[17] Only a handful of Jews survived to return to the town after its liberation by the Red Army in the fall of 1944.

Of the local policemen involved in guarding the ghetto, escorting the Jews to the killing site, and especially in hunting down surviving Jews after the massacre, several were tried by the Soviets in the period from 1944 to 1948. The Polish authorities tried the head of the local police, Konstanty Korneluk, in the 1960s. Andrei Sawoniuk, a Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) in the local police, was convicted on two counts of murder by a British court at the Old Bailey in 1999. He was the only person to be successfully prosecuted under the British (Nazi) War Crimes Act passed in 1991 and was given a mandatory life sentence for the crime of murder. He died in Norwich jail in November 2005.[18]

SOURCES Documents on the German occupation of Domaczów and the fate of the town's Jews can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBBO; BA-BL (R 94); BA-L; GABO; GARF; IPN; NARB; Sta. Dortmund; WCU; and YVA. Much of this article is based on the statement of Ben-Zion Blustein at the Committal hearing at Bow Street Magistrates Court in London in the case against Anthony (Andrei) Sawoniuk, a local policeman from Domaczów, in 1998 (cited as Bow Street, Blustein, 1998).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942; BA-BL, RD 207/3-2, pp. 7–32, *Zentralblatt Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, January 9, 1943.

2. Bow Street, Blustein, 1998; WCU, Mariya Ivanovna Onufriyuk, Officer's Information (OFI), February 1997; WCU, statement of Sergei Ulyanovich Melyanyuk, February 1997; Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 13/64 (case against Hahn), vol. 1, pp. 82–86, statement of Erwin Glas on June 18, 1968. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 148, gives a population of 14 Jews for Leplówka in 1921.

3. BA-BL, R 2104/16, p. 353.

4. Ibid., R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, February 24, 1942.

5. IPN, SWGd 72-74, Case against Konstanty Korneluk, pp. 11–12, statement of Anastasiya Andreevna Yuzvik, August 3, 1967; AUKGBRBBO, Search File for Konstanty Korneluk,

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pp. 10–11, statement of the Jewish survivor Faibel Shmulyevich Stul, October 30, 1945.

6. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942.

7. Ibid., R 94/6, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, Labor Office, July 6, 1942.

8. GABO, 514-1-195, pp. 4–7.

9. Bow Street, Blustein, 1998.

10. AUKGBRBBO, Case of Ivan Yefimovich Chikun, Arch. File No. 466, vol. 2, pp. 94–98, statement of Ivan Stepanovich Khvisyuchik, March 16, 1983.

11. Ibid., Case of Roman Antonovich Vitovskiy, Archive No. 6134, pp. 30–31, statement of the accused, January 28, 1945.

12. BA-BL, R 94/7, Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, situation report, October 6, 1942.

13. IPN, SWGd 72-74, testimony of Moisei Evstaf'evich Naumchik.

14. BA-BL, R 94/7, Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, situation report, October 9, 1942; Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, situation report, October 6, 1942.

15. GABO, 195-1-300, p. 11, Gebietskommissar Brest to all Rayon chiefs on the use of houses left empty by the Jews, November 14, 1942.

16. See especially AUKGBRBBO, Case of Stanislav Dmitrevich Shepel, File No. 42 (1944).

17. NARB, 3500-4-305, Partisan records of the Stalin Brigade, 1942–44.

18. *The Guardian*, November 7, 2005.

DROHICZYN

Pre-1939: Drohiczyn, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Drogichin, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Drogitschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Drahichyn, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Drohiczyn is located about halfway between Kobryń and Pińsk on the main highway from Brześć to Gomel'. In 1921 there were 1,521 Jews living in Drohiczyn. In September 1939, Soviet forces occupied the town, which was incorporated into the Soviet Union shortly thereafter. Under Soviet rule, most shops and businesses were nationalized.

German forces occupied Drohiczyn on June 25, 1941. The only Jews who managed to flee were those with close connections to the Soviet authorities, including the photographer Israel Shvarts. On their arrival, the Germans searched Jewish houses, looking for arms, and stole items of value.[1]

In the first weeks of occupation, a German military commandant controlled Drohiczyn. After a few days, he established a local administration, appointing as mayor the Pole Czaplinski, who organized a police force made up mainly of Poles. During the second week, the mayor ordered the Jews to place a Star of David on their houses and to wear yellow patches on their clothes. The Germans ordered the Jews living in the nearby villages to move into town.[2]

In early July, a detachment of Security Police arrived in Drohiczyn and arrested a number of Jews, allegedly as Communist activists. They then shot these prisoners 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town. At the beginning of August, assisted by the Christian population, units of German SS-Cavalry Regiment I, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Gustav Lombard, brutally murdered almost all the Jews in the town of Chomsk (in Rayon Drogitschin) and also in Motol, after collecting a large "contribution" from those Jewish communities. German propaganda blamed the Jews for the war, both as Communists and capitalists, supposedly influencing the governments in the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively.[3]

Group portrait of Jewish physicians in Drohiczyn who later committed suicide rather than witness the murder of the town's Jews, n.d. Among those pictured are Dr. Shekhter (third from left) and Dr. Lampel (second from right).
USHMM WS #41040, COURTESY OF YIVO

As of September 1, 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Drohiczyn was incorporated into Gebiet Kobryn, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Kobryń was Regierungsassessor Oscar Panzer.[4] In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Drohiczyn. Jews were required to perform forced labor. They were forbidden to walk on the pavements, read the newspaper, listen to the radio, communicate with Christians, or leave their place of residence; and their schools were closed down. The local auxiliary police also beat and robbed them with impunity.[5]

To assist in the enforcement of German regulations, the commandant ordered the Jews to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Not all Jews wanted to serve on the council, but Litman Feldman was chosen as its first head, soon to be replaced by his deputy, Jakov Sidorov. Two Jewish doctors also advised the council, and a Jewish police force served under it. The council's first task was to collect from the Jews a "contribution" of 10,000 rubles and 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of gold within two hours, or the Germans would shoot everyone. Out of fear, the Jews promptly surrendered their watches, jewelry, and money to meet the demand. The Jewish Council also built up a reserve of cash, to meet future demands and pay bribes. Another major task it performed was the organization

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of forced labor, with the Jewish Police sometimes using force to comply with German demands. The onerous burdens placed on ordinary Jews led to resentment against the Jewish Council and Jewish Police, some of whom were accused of enriching themselves.[6]

Soon after the arrival of the Germans, rumors spread in Drohiczyn that a ghetto might be established. In fact, the ghetto was set up in several stages. First, the Jews were driven completely from a few streets inhabited mainly by Poles, including the so-called Zamd, the street that led to the Jewish cemetery. Around this time (late summer 1941), several hundred Jewish refugees also arrived from Chomsk, Szereszów, and the nearby village of Kolonie, leading to considerable overcrowding in the shtetl. Meanwhile, German requisitions emptied most Jewish houses of their furniture. However, local Christians continued to trade food illegally with the Jews in exchange for clothing, supplementing the meager official ration of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and a little fat and sugar per day.[7]

The Gebietskommissar in Kobryń ordered the Jews of Drohiczyn to move into two separate ghettos on April 1, 1942 (Passover): Ghetto A for "useful Jews" and Ghetto B for "nonuseful Jews." The "useful workers" received special papers, and a lively trade in these certificates developed in the weeks before the establishment of the ghettos, as officials sold them secretly to the highest bidder, rather than issuing them directly to the actual craftsmen. The move into the two ghettos lasted several days. Soon Ghetto A was surrounded with a fence 2.5 meters (8.2 feet) high, while some of the youths from Ghetto B were sent to forced labor camps at Piotrowicze, Radostów, and elsewhere in the Gebiet. In the camps, the Jews mainly worked constructing roads or chopping wood. They received weekly food packages from the Jews in Drohiczyn. Those working as craftsmen in Ghetto A received additional food from Christian customers in payment for their work, while in Ghetto B some trade continued, as it was not fenced in.[8]

On July 25, 1942, the Germans and local collaborators conducted an Aktion against Ghetto B. Polish and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto at 11:00 P.M. and together with members of the Jewish Police assisted a detachment of German mounted police in brutally driving the ghetto inhabitants to the market square, where they were forced to surrender their boots and other valuable items. The Aktion lasted more than seven hours, as many Jews tried to hide. From the market square the Jews were escorted to the railway station. In total, some 1,700 Jews (including some from Ghetto A) were deported by rail to Bronnaia Gora, where they were shot on arrival together with Jews from Kobryń and Antopol. Only three members of the Jewish Council survived the Aktion.[9]

Following this Aktion, a new Jewish Council was established in Ghetto A, and the Jewish Police was reorganized. Christians moved into the houses of Ghetto B, and the property left behind was collected in a special warehouse. The Christians continued to trade illegally with the Jews, so there was no starvation in the ghetto. The yizkor book also speaks favorably of the two "Russian" mayors, Kreiditsh and Borisiuk, who succeeded Czapliński: they helped the Jews to meet some of the German demands for contributions and warned them of the impending liquidation of Ghetto A.

After a while, a number of specialist craftsmen were selected from the ghetto and sent to Kobryń, which indicated to those remaining that they in turn were now becoming "unnecessary." Both at the nearby labor camp of Radostów and in Drohiczyn, the Jewish leaders tried to bribe the German authorities, in the hope that this would save them. However, the SD shot the entire Jewish Council just before the final liquidation of the ghetto in October 1942.[10]

On October 15, 1942, the local police surrounded the ghetto and drove the Jews (according to the yizkor book, about 3,000 of them) out to the railway station near the cemetery, where on this occasion the Germans shot them into a large mass grave. As they had expected this Aktion, many Jews hid inside the ghetto, and a number succeeded in fleeing. However, the Germans offered a reward of 50 Reichsmark (RM) with tobacco and schnapps to local peasants for handing over Jews, while also threatening with death those caught hiding them. The search for Jews in the empty ghetto lasted several days, and more were captured and killed (some betrayed by local peasants) in the surrounding forests thereafter. A few Jews managed to reach the Prużana ghetto in Distrikt Bialystok, sharing the fate of the other Jews there. Some survived by hiding with local peasants and subsequently joined the Soviet partisan units that grew stronger in the area during 1943. Several, such as Erial Pomerantz, died as partisans fighting against the Germans.[11]

In 1944, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) uncovered a mass grave near Drohiczyn that apparently contained 3,816 corpses, partly tied to each other with barbed wire, including 895 men, 1,083 women, and 1,838 children. Given the breakdown of the victims by age and sex, the vast majority of these were probably Jews.[12]

SOURCES A detailed account of the persecution of the Jews in Drohiczyn can be found in the yizkor book edited by B. Varshavski, *Drohitshin, finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn* (Chicago: Bukh Komitet Drohitshin, 1958), especially pp. 287–303; there is also a short article in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 242–244.

Documents regarding the fate of the Jews of Drohiczyn during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-98-28); NARB (845-1-13); StA-Wfb; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Varshavski, *Drohitshin, finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, pp. 287–289.
2. Ibid., p. 289.
3. StA-Wfb, 62 Nds Fb. 2, Nr. 1304, p. 269, report of SS Kav. Rgt. I, August 11, 1941; Varshavski, *Drohitshin, finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, p. 290.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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5. Varshavski, *Drohitshin*, *finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, pp. 289–291.

6. Ibid., p. 291.

7. Ibid., pp. 292–293. On the fate of the Jews of Szereszów, see also Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004).

8. Varshavski, *Drohitshin*, *finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, pp. 293–294.

9. Ibid., pp. 294–295; see also Benzion H. Ayalon, ed., *Aṇtopol: Aṇtipolye sefer-yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Aṇtopol be-Yisrael uve-Amerikah, 1972), pp. 564–565.

10. Varshavski, *Drohitshin*, *finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, pp. 296–299; the craftsmen in Kobryń were murdered in 1943.

11. Ibid., pp. 298–301.

12. GARF, 7021-98-28, pp. 1 and reverse, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, October 30 to November 2, 1944.

DUBNO

Pre-1939: Dubno, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Dubno is located about 44 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Równe. According to Moyshe Vaysberg and other sources, in 1939, the Jewish population of Dubno numbered some 12,000, or approximately 60 percent of the total population. In 1941, with the influx of refugees fleeing from Nazi-occupied western Poland, the number of Jews grew to about 13,000.[1]

German troops arrived in Dubno only a few days after invading the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Yehoshua Vubk writes that "shortly after the Germans entered Dubno, they established a Ukrainian police force and a municipal administration, made up of Ukrainians."[2] Ukrainian administrators included the mayor Burka, deputy mayor Servas, and a village elder (starosta), Siderovich."[3] Anti-Jewish measures took effect almost immediately, including marking, expropriation, harrassment, beatings, and killings. In three Aktions between late June and late August, the Germans and Ukrainians killed well over 1,000 Jews at the Jewish cemetery. The first took place on June 30, 1941, when 23 Jews accused of collaboration with the NKVD were killed. During the second Aktion in mid-July, 80 men, mostly leaders and prominent members of the Jewish community, were killed. The third Aktion on August 21, 1941, was directed at the more assimilated members of the Jewish intelligentsia. Ukrainian militia forced their way into Jewish houses, dragged out the men, including, according to Helen Segall, her father, Hersh Leyb Szwom, his two brothers and two brothers-in-law. Together with men caught on the street they were taken first to the market place, later to the city jail, and finally all (about 900 to 1000 men) were murdered at the Jewish cemetery that day.

A Jewish water-carrier stands next to a horse-drawn cart on the streets of Dubno, ca. 1927–1930.
USHMM WS #64353, COURTESY OF YIVO

In mid-July, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Konrad Toybenfeld was placed at its head.[4] "Rozenbaum and Bakszt were the directors of the Jewish Labor Office."[5] The Judenrat was ordered to collect sums of money and household goods as "contributions." In the first week of August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur II (V) 909 in Dubno ordered the Judenrat to collect and surrender all the Jews' gold, silver, and other valuables.[6] In December 1941, the Judenrat had to collect and deliver to the Germans all fur and woolen items. Vaysberg noted that these orders were carried out with particular care, although people did what they could to hide their valuables.[7] Jews were burying their jewelry and taking their valuables, silver, china, clothing, furs, and even furniture to their Christian Polish, Czech, and Ukrainian friends for safekeeping "until the war is over."

After the first wave of killings, life went on, but it was never the same. Jews continued to live in their own houses and kept many of their possessions. There was privation but no general starvation. By September 1941, a German civil administration had taken over from the military. According to Vaysberg, the German administration of Dubno included the commandant of the Gendarmerie, von Papke, known for his cruelty; the leader of the German Labor Office (Arbeitsamt), Hauptmann Hammerstein; Gebietskommissar Werner Broks, who was responsible for the mass killings in 1942; his representative Stabsleiter Alleter; and Inspector Wiese.[8] As news of murders committed during Aktions in Równe and other towns began to spread, people became nervous. The violence continued. Homes were vandalized by local Ukrainians, and people were arrested on trumped-up charges, jailed, and executed. "In such a way, my uncle Moniek Katz, Aunt Hana's husband, was accused of listening to the radio, arrested, beaten, and shot on February 23, 1942."[9]

The ghetto was officially established on April 2, 1942, the first day of Passover. It was located in the old Jewish section of town. Its northern border was Trzeciego Sierpnia Street, the main road leading from Zabrama in the west to Surmicze on the eastern outskirts of town. The Ikwa River marked its

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southern border. People were given 24 hours to move in. They had to leave most of their belongings behind, as there was no time or space for furniture, kitchen utensils, and clothing to be transported.[10] On the same day, a very tall wooden fence topped with barbed wire was constructed between the buildings forming the outer border of the ghetto. Windows and doors facing outward were boarded up and sealed tight.[11] Helen Segall writes that she and her mother were able to move in with her "grandparents, Golda and Pinchas Ajzenberg, whose house was on the edge of the ghetto. This made the move less traumatic."[12] Some 11,000 Jews were crowded into the ghetto. It included people fleeing German persecution in other places. Bringing goods, food supplies, and other items into the ghetto was strictly forbidden and punishable by beatings, imprisonment, and even death. Nevertheless, people took risks and did it. There was hunger and epidemic diseases soon began to spread.

There were no public cultural activities in the Dubno ghetto. Religious and personal events were observed among family members in the space they occupied. Many people had books. Segall comments: "My mother, aunts, and I read a lot. My grandfather studied the Torah and prayed."[13]

People able to work gathered at the gate every morning. Here they were organized into groups. Jewish Police led them to work in the morning and back into the ghetto each evening. Work varied. It was on construction sites, on the railroad, in factories, and in workshops specializing in products needed by the Germans. Jewish Police were the main force controlling order in the ghetto. Frequently, German policemen and Ukrainian Schutzmänner (in the fall of 1941, the militia was renamed the Schutzmannschaft) would carry out inspections of returning groups, confiscating food items and punishing individuals caught with them.

In the middle of May 1942, the ghetto was divided into two sections. One side was for the *Fachleute*, skilled workers and craftsmen, and the second for *nicht Fachleute*, people without a skill. Skilled workers were given special certificates. Many tried to obtain certificates by other means. They could be obtained through connections or purchased for a high price.[14] Segall writes: "Others, like my mother, were able to move to the skilled side by arranging a fictitious marriage with a skilled worker."[15]

Segall continues: "It was a beautiful spring. Lilacs were in bloom everywhere and their sweet scent permeated the air. Everyone was nervous. Rumors spread that large, deep ditches had been dug at the abandoned airfield in Surmicze."[16] According to Vaysberg and others: "On Tuesday evening, May 26, 1942, the Jewish ghetto police received an order not to let anyone from the 'unskilled' side enter the other side of the ghetto. At midnight, three shots announced the fourth Aktion."[17] SS men, armed with guns and leather whips, together with a few hundred Ukrainian Schutzmännner, entered the ghetto, which was surrounded by armed SS and police, some with dogs. Everyone was driven out of the ghetto and gathered at the "Platz" on Sholom-Aleikhem Street, at the ghetto entrance. The very sick and disabled were shot on the spot. People who refused to leave were dragged out of their houses by Ukrainian Schutzmänner, who beat them as they herded them to the Platz. From there they were driven on trucks, or led in columns, to their places of execution. Vaysberg, other eyewitnesses, and the reports of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that women, children, the elderly, and the sick were taken to the former airfield, behind the train station in Surmicze. The men were taken to Shybina Gora, a hill with a ravine below it, located west of the center of town and Zabrama, near the village of Kleshchikha. This Aktion was carried out by a mobile SS squad from Równe, assisted by German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Schutzmänner.

At Surmicze, the victims were brought to pits previously dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). They had to undress and, in groups of 20,[18] walk over and lie facedown on top of others who had just been shot. They were then shot by German SS men. One report of the ChGK indicated that in several pits they found remains of women and children whose mouths and noses were tightly bound by rags. They concluded that these victims died of suffocation.[19] At the end of this Aktion, approximately 300 small children who had been left behind were pushed by the SS men into a pit, into which they tossed two grenades.[20] Men who were brought to Shybina Gora were also murdered in previously dug pits in the ravine. As after the other Aktions, the graves were heaving, and blood was flowing for several days afterwards. German SS men did the killing. Ukrainian Schutzmänner were actively involved in the murders and in helping the SS. The victims' clothing was loaded onto trucks returning to Dubno, placed in warehouses, and then shipped to Germany. Most sources indicate that approximately 5,000 people were murdered on May 27, 1942.[21] That day almost every Jew in Dubno lost family members and loved ones.

Over the next four months, killings and the harassment of individuals increased. News of the liquidation of the Równe, Krzemieniec, and other Volhynian ghettos caused general demoralization and a sense of hopelessness. Whoever could bought Aryan papers, went into hiding with non-Jewish friends, or fled into the forests. Expecting the worst, almost everyone built a hiding place in his house. "In August 1942, there were about 4,500 to 5,000 Jews concentrated in the Dubno ghetto. This number included the Jews resettled into the Dubno ghetto from villages in the vicinity."[22] There was hunger, starvation, and epidemics. Vubk writes that for the Kol Nidre service, on September 20, 1942, "men gathered in a house near the river to pray. They were led by the only surviving cantor, Reb Pinkhes Shoykhet."[23]

The fifth Aktion in Dubno took place on October 5, 1942. People in the ghetto knew what to expect, and many committed suicide by taking poison, hanging themselves, cutting their veins, or jumping into the Ikwa River.[24] Jews were assembled at Rybnaia Street and from there driven on trucks to Surmicze. Hermann Graebe, chief engineer of the German construction firm Josef Jung from Solingen, witnessed the killing. In his affidavit presented at the International Military

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Tribunal in Nuremberg in July 1946, he described in moving detail the slaughter he had witnessed as he stood at the killing site in Surmicze. Graebe states: "Armed Ukrainian militia drove the people off the trucks under the supervision of an SS man. The militia men acted as guards on the trucks and drove them to and from the pit."[25] Graebe describes the man who did the shooting: "He was an SS man, who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a submachine gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette."[26] The graves were again dug in advance; people had to undress and in groups of 20 walk down into the pits and lie facedown on top of others who had already been shot. During the Aktion, men of an SS mobile unit conducted the killing.

Eugenia Sztiwel writes that 240 people given "iron certificates" were spared and remained in the ghetto.[27] Vaysberg states that following the October 5 Aktion, in an effort to lure survivors into the open, the Germans posted notices all over the ghetto promising that no harm would come to those who would come out of hiding willingly, because they were needed for work. During the next two weeks, about 150 Jews came out of hiding. On October 23, 1942, in a sixth Aktion, except for 10 specialists, all Jews in the ghetto were killed.[28] Most sources indicate that almost 1,000 people were killed that day.[29] Segall writes that "people who remained in the ghetto in hiding places had to leave them once their food and water supply ran out. Many escaped to the woods in an attempt to join the partisans."[30] She continues: "My Aunt Natalie and her husband, Leyzer Gitrajer, were among them. Aunt Natalie, who was blond and had Aryan papers, got a job in the sugar refinery in Mizocz. Uncle Leyzer went into the woods, but was killed before the war ended."[31] Thus, by the end of October 1942, Dubno was officially declared to be cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*).

The key events in the history of the Dubno ghetto were the Aktions. The Dubno ghetto existed for less than seven months, from April 2 until October 23, 1942. Seven weeks after its establishment, even while people were still settling in, on May 27, more than half of its residents were slaughtered. During the summer of 1942, people tried to find means and ways to escape from the ghetto. Some did. There was no organized resistance or escape. Some individuals who escaped did so with the help of their Christian friends and survived in hiding. Others survived on false papers,[32] and yet others survived cold and hunger in fields and woods alone, in groups, or with the partisans.

The Red Army liberated Dubno on February 9, 1944. According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, only 300 Jews from Dubno survived the war, including those who had evacuated into the Soviet interior.

SOURCES Relevant published sources on the Dubno ghetto include the following: Ya'acov Adini, ed., *Dubno: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Dubno be-Yisrael, 1966); Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995); International Military Tribunal, ed., *The Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (*IMT*) [Blue Series] (Nuremberg, 1947), 19:507–509 and 31:446–450 (2992-PS); Douglas K. Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno: The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Christian Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety during the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1985); Sara Gochberg de Silberstein, *Sobrevivimos* (Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2002); and Rhoda G. Lewin, ed., *Witnesses to the Holocaust: An Oral History* (Boston: Twayne, 1990).

Relevant documentation on the fate of the Jews of Dubno during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/1542, 2168, 2887, and 4918); BA-BL (R 2104/21); GARF (7021-71-48); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M and Acc.1995.A.084 [Irene Zoosman memoir]); VHF; and YVA. In addition, reference is made to the author's own unpublished manuscript, Helen Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom: A Memoir."

Helen Segall

NOTES

1. Moyshe Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto," in Adini, *Dubno: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 693–706.
2. Yehoshua Vubk, "Di Likvidatsye fun Dubner Geto," in ibid., pp. 707–712.
3. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
4. Ibid.
5. AŻIH, 301/2168, testimony of Eugenia Sztiwel, July 16, 1946.
6. BA-BL, R 2104/21, pp. 341–462, report of OK II (V) 909 in Dubno, contains an extensive description of the valuables handed over up to August 10, 1941.
7. AŻIH, 301/2168.
8. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom."
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
15. Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom."
16. Ibid.
17. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
18. Ibid.
19. GARF, Report of the ChGK, which examined remains in some of the graves at Surmicze on December 11, 12, and 13, 1945; see 7021-71-48, p. 23.
20. Ibid., "Protokol doprosa svidetelia," 7021-71-48, pp. 36 and reverse side.
21. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 6:33–34; and GARF, 7021-71-48, pp. 33–34. It should be noted that the dates and statistics presented in the ChGK reports and in other eyewitness accounts are often incorrect.
22. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
23. Vubk, "Di Likvidatsye fun Dubner Geto."
24. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
25. Testimony of Hermann Friedrich Graebe in International Military Tribunal, *The Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 19:507; the German original is at vol. 31, pp. 446–449 (2992-PS).
26. Ibid., 19:508.
27. AŻIH, 301/2168, p. 3.
28. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto"; and AŻIH, 301/2168.

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29. GARF, "Protokol doprosa svidetelia," November 21, 1944, 7021-71-48, p. 37.
30. Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom."
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.

DUNAEVTSY

Pre-1941: Dunaevtsy (Yiddish: Dinovitz), town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dunajewzy, Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Dunaivtsi, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Dunaevtsy is located 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) northeast of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1939 census, 4,478 Jews resided in the town (68 percent of the population). Another 848 Jews lived in the villages of the Dunaevtsy raion. After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, a small group of Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army, and some other Jews were able to evacuate to the east. About 4,000 Jews remained in Dunaevtsy and came under German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army captured Dunaevtsy on July 10, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, establishing a town council and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civilian administration. Dunaevtsy became the administrative center of the Gebiet Dunajewzy, which also included the Rayons of Solobkowzy, Winkowzy, and Minkowzy. The Gebietskommissar was Gemeinschaftsführer Eduard Eggers. His assistant and chief of staff was Robert Hornig.[1] There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Dunaevtsy, and the detachment of Ukrainian local police (ukrainische Miliz) was renamed the Schutzmannschaft by 1942 and subordinated to the Gendarmerie. The Germans set up short-term training courses in Dunaevtsy for the volunteers recruited into the local police.[2]

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Gebiet Dunajewzy were mostly coordinated by a team of Security Police and SD from the outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii. This detachment was established in May 1942 and was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer.[3] The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, as well as Gebietskommissar Eggers, also participated in these Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, following the German occupation of the Ukrainian SSR, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Gebiet Dunajewzy, including marking, robbery, beatings, and forced labor. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which is referred to in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents as a self-governing Jewish community. One of the main tasks of the Jewish communal authority was the assignment of Jews to various types of hard physical labor for the Germans.

In February or March 1942, a group of Jewish men was assigned to work at the railroad station in Dunaevtsy. For some reason, these men abandoned their work, which the Germans considered to be an act of sabotage. On the orders of the Gebietskommissar, the German authorities arrested 20 Jews to make an example of them and discourage further attempts at sabotage or resistance. One of those arrested was released, but the rest were executed: 1 was shot as he attempted to escape, and 18 were hanged, their bodies left hanging for five days before the Germans let members of the Jewish community bury them.[4]

Sometime in the spring of 1942, all the Jews were forced to move into a ghetto: a separate part of the town that was sealed off with barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. There was no well within the area of the ghetto, and the only way for the Jews to obtain water was to leave the ghetto with the guards' permission. Food rations were also minimal. Jews were taken daily under armed guard by the local police for arduous forced labor.[5]

On May 8, 1942, the Jews were assembled in the yard of the Dunaevtsy Machine Tractor Station (MTS), a storage depot for agricultural equipment. Once there, the Germans selected a number of "specialists" (tailors, carpenters, and others) and those considered fit for hard labor and gave them special passes. The remainder, some 2,300 people, were marched 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) east of the town to the phosphorous mine near the village of Demiankovtsy. About 300 of them, primarily the very old and the very young, were shot on the way to the mine by the accompanying escorts of local police and Gendarmerie as they tried to escape or were unable to keep up with the pace of the march. Gebietskommissar Eggers ordered all the Jews to undress. They were then herded into the mine in groups of 15 or more people. The policemen beat with rifle butts those who resisted and did not want to go inside. Shots were fired into the crowd of naked, defenseless people. After all the Jews were inside the mine, the entrance was blown up. Those inside died a slow, torturous death from asphyxiation and starvation. Witnesses recall hearing moaning and screaming from the mine for five days following the Aktion.

Afterwards the clothes of those who had been murdered were transported back to Dunaevtsy.[6] Most of the former policemen participating in the Aktion were rewarded by the Germans with clothes or fabrics. The "specialists" among the Jews of Dunaevtsy, about 2,000 in total, were moved back into the ghetto. Some former policemen reported that some of the Jews (about 500) were kept in the Dunaevtsy MTS, and the others (approximately 1,500) returned to the ghetto in the town. A special section of houses on one of the streets of Dunaevka (probably a section or suburb of Dunaevtsy) was fenced off with barbed wire and was permanently guarded by a group of 10 local policemen. During the day the Jews were taken out for forced labor and then locked up again at night.[7]

The liquidation of the ghetto was prepared and carried out jointly by the Security Police and SD from Kamenets-Podolskii, the German Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police.[8] Just before the shootings began, 10 members of the

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Kamenets-Podolskii Gestapo, along with the local police from the Minkowzy and Solobkowzy Rayons, arrived in the town. At 4:00 A.M. on October 19, 1942, the Gendarmerie chief Pusch assembled the police and Gendarmerie forces and assigned them their roles in the extermination of the Jews.[9] Through a local interpreter and police member Bilinsky, Pusch appointed the guards, the shooters, the escorts, and those responsible for having the victims undress and leading them to the pits. After the meeting, the police cordoned off the town and searched the attics, basements, and other hiding places for Jews. The Jews were taken from their homes to the ghetto square and arranged in groups of 200 to 300 people. They were then escorted by local policemen to the Solonichnik Forest near the village of Chan'kovo, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) west of the town, where pits had been dug in preparation. Ten policemen led the Jews in groups towards the pits and stripped them naked. Adults were shot in the nape of the neck, while children were thrown into the pits alive by the police and shot by members of the Gestapo. One of the victims, Shikogkoren, attacked one of the Gestapo men, biting him in the neck. He was immediately killed by the local policeman Magera, who was rewarded with vodka and clothing for saving the German's life. The waiting Jewish victims wept and begged the police not to kill them, but the entire group of nearly 2,000 people was shot on that day and buried in two pits.[10]

Some Jews successfully escaped the killings by hiding and survived until the liberation of the town on March 31, 1944. Several Ukrainian residents of Dunaevtsy helped these Jews to survive.

SOURCES A brief article on the annihilation of the Jews of Dunaevtsy can be found in *Vestnik. Vypusk 2. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy, 1992), pp. 57–58; more general information on the Jewish population of the town can be found in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Dunaevtsy can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67 and II 204 AR 332/71, vol. 3); DAKhO (R863-2-44, pp. 32–33); GARF (7021-64-798); USHMM (RG-22.002M); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67, pp. 86–94, closing report, April 15, 1970.
2. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-64-798.
3. After the war, Fermer worked for some time for the Criminal Police in Dortmund (Germany).
4. *Vestnik. Vypusk 2*, p. 57, dates this event in November 1941; the detailed evidence from former policemen in GARF, 7021-64-798, indicates February or March 1942.
5. *Vestnik. Vypusk 2*, p. 58; according to Else Exner, the ghettoization took place sometime in spring 1942, that is, probably before the May Aktion. She also notes that the Jews were already living in a separate quarter of town, which was not enclosed, prior to the ghettoization; see BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67, Bd. I, pp. 159–162, statement of Else Exner, July 14, 1971.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67, Bd. I, pp. 86–94, closing report, April 15, 1970; *Vestnik. Vypusk 2*, pp. 57–58; *Podilliya u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini (1941–1945 rr.). Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (L'viv, 1969), p. 98; GARF, 7021-64-798, p. 53.
7. GARF, 7021-64-798.
8. Ibid., 7021-64-798, p. 108.
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67, Bd. I, pp. 86–94, closing report, April 15, 1970. According to other sources, the liquidation of the ghetto was carried out in September 1942 (GARF, 7021-64-798, p. 108). It is possible that the liquidation occurred on September 19 and not on October 19, 1942. The Dunaevtsy ghetto is also mentioned briefly by Boris Leibovich Levin, who dates the two Aktions as taking place in May and October; see I.M. Liakhovitskii, ed., *Zheltaia kniga: Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov and Jerusalem: Biblioteka gazety "Bensiakh," 1994), p. 88.
10. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-9-798. Some witness reports collected by the ChGK indicate that as many as 5,000 Jews were shot on October 19, 1942, but that figure may include all the Jews of Solobkovtsy (ca. 500) and Minkovtsy (2,200) that were murdered. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 109, gives the figure of about 1,820 victims from the Dunaevtsy ghetto.

DYWIN

Pre-1939: Dywin, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Dyvin, Kobrin raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dywin, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Dzivin, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dywin is located 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) west-southwest of Pińsk. According to the 1921 population census, there were 786 Jews living in Dywin (34.2 percent of the total population). By mid-1941, allowing for the average natural increase of the Jewish population in Poland, there would have been around 1,000 Jews residing in the village.

As German forces approached Dywin after the surprise attack on June 22, 1941, there were attacks on Jews by local "bandits" in the villages around Dywin. Jews from Załuchów and Wólka Szczytyńska fled to Dywin following these attacks, taking the bodies of the victims with them for sacred burial. On June 24, 1941, the first German units arrived in Dywin. The new military authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) as an intermediary body between the Jewish population and the German authorities. Appointed as head of the Jewish Council was Abraham Engel. The German authorities also ordered the registration of the Jews. As men were being taken for forced labor, those who were not from Dywin fled back into the surrounding countryside, leaving their women and families in the village.

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In the first days of the occupation, the Germans ordered a roll call of all Jewish men in Dywin and rounded up the Jews for forced labor. The work tasks included cleaning the Germans' boots and horses. The Jews feared that some men would be shot and were relieved when they were allowed to return home on completion of these tasks. A few days later, however, two Jews were shot in the surrounding countryside when they were discovered by a German patrol. Once news of this event spread, most of the men who had hidden in the forests again returned to Dywin. Some of the Jews from Wólka Szczтyńska subsequently returned to their village, and from there they were moved into the ghetto at Kamień Koszyrski.[1]

From June to August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Dywin. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Dywin became part of Gebiet Kobryn, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Kobryń was Regierungsassessor Oscar Panzer.[2] A local police force was established in Dywin. Under the civil administration, the local police was renamed the Schutzmannschaft and placed under the control of a small squad of German Gendarmerie.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish policies in Dywin. Jews were ordered to wear patches in the image of the Star of David and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village. Before the end of 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Dywin in which a number of Jews from nearby villages were also forced to reside. The ghetto was guarded by the German Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft).

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on August 12–13, 1942.[3] On August 12, German and local police surrounded the ghetto. They drove all the men into a carpenter's workshop and sealed the windows with boards. Then they took the women into the synagogue. Close to the carpenter's studio, 30 peasants spent all night digging a large ditch. On August 13, the Germans murdered the Jews from the ghetto, shooting the men first, followed by the women and children. More than 1,000 people were murdered in total.[4]

Over the following months, units of the Order Police conducted searches for Jews who had escaped. On October 31, 1942, the 9th Company of Police Regiment 15, assisted by 39 members of the Schutzmannschaft from Dywin, shot 74 Jews in the village of Samary, on the border with Rayon Ratno. In addition, one Ukrainian family (six people) was shot together with the Jews in Samary for hiding a Jewish woman.[5]

SOURCES Relevant publications regarding the Holocaust in Dywin include the following: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 241–242; A.A. Stein et al., eds., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kamin Koshirsky and Surroundings in Israel, 1965), pp. 745–750. The ghetto in Dywin is mentioned in Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 88; and in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 115, 128.

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Dywin during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-83-13); NARB (750-1-232); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 16); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva*, pp. 745–750.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-83-13, pp. 7–8.
4. Ibid.; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 128, 139, gives the figure of 1,450 Jewish victims, but this is probably too high.
5. GARF, 7021-148-2, pp. 346–347, Report of 9th Company, Police Regiment 15, November 1, 1942.

GORODOK

Pre-1941: Gorodok, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Jarmolinzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Horodok, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Gorodok is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Khmel'nitskii. The Jewish population of the town was 2,329 in 1939. In addition, there were another 1,632 Jews living in the villages of the Gorodok raion.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, there was no organized evacuation of the population from Gorodok. A number of Jews attempted to flee the town by horse and cart, but many were caught by the Germans' rapid advance and had to return. It is not known how many Jews remained in Gorodok at the start of the occupation, but it was probably in excess of 1,000 people.

Units of the German 6th Army had occupied Gorodok by the middle of July 1941. The town was run initially by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which appointed a local Ukrainian police force. Shortly after the Germans' arrival, they established a ghetto in Gorodok for the Jews. Part of the town was designated as only for the Jews, and they were forced to move into this area by the local police.[1] Jews were required to wear the Star of David and to perform forced labor. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also established.

In September 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Gorodok became a Rayon center in Gebiet Jarmolinzy, which also included the Rayons of Satanow, Michalpol, and Jarmolinzy. The Gebietskommissar based in Iarmolintsy was Kameradschaftsführer Ernst Mertes.[2]

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Jews from neighboring villages were also brought into the Gorodok ghetto, for example, from the villages of Kuz'min (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] away), in October 1941, and Novii Shvet, just north of Gorodok. According to survivor Evgeniia Dantsis, the Jews were concentrated in one area, but it remained unfenced. Forced labor consisted of digging ditches. No food was provided to the Jews in the ghetto, but they were able to barter with local villagers. This was carried out mostly by children, who left the ghetto clandestinely.[3] At some point in 1942, several groups of Jews were transferred from the Gorodok ghetto to the forced labor camp in Leznevo.

In late October 1942, on the order of Gebietskommissar Mertes, most of the remaining Jews from the ghetto in Gorodok (at least 300 people) were rounded up and transferred under close guard by truck to Iarmolintsy by forces of the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.[4] In Iarmolintsy, all the Jews gathered from Gebiet Jarmolinzy were confined within a derelict barracks compound close to the railway station for a number of days.[5] On the arrival of a detachment of Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf, the Jews were shot in groups into three pits prepared nearby. The Ukrainian police were stationed around the execution site to isolate it and to prevent the prisoners from escaping. In total, about 6,400 Jews were shot there over the course of about six hours.[6]

According to Dantsis, who managed to hide during the roundup in Gorodok and was sheltered by local Ukrainians, about 10 Jewish families (more than 100 Jews) also survived the roundup and remained in Gorodok, probably kept alive, with their families, as skilled workers.[7] Of these Jews, 87 were killed in December 1942 and another 16 in January 1943.[8]

SOURCES Relevant publications on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Gorodok include: A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 89.

Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Gorodok can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5071-72); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-796 and 818); and VHF (# 32340, 34283).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 34283, testimony of Sofiia Vugman.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. VHF, # 32340, testimony of Evgeniia Dantsis.
4. BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 434, statement of Karl Furchert, August 30, 1962, gives the figure of 300 Jews in Gorodok, but this is probably too low; VHF, # 32340 and 34283.
5. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. See also BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–657.
6. BA-L, B 162/5071, pp. 89–92, statement of Wilhelm Kurt Paul Grosse, January 8, 1960.
7. VHF, # 32340.
8. GARF, 7021-64-796, pp. 63–65.

GRITSEV

Pre-1941: Gritsev, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Grizew, Rayon center, Gebiet Starokonstantinow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Hrytsiv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Gritsev is located 22 kilometers (13.7 miles) north of Starokonstantinov. In 1939, there were 1,095 Jews living in the town (36.1 percent of the total population). In addition, there were another 218 Jews living in the villages of the Gritsev raion.[1]

Since Gritsev was located relatively far away from the nearest railway line (15 kilometers, or 9.3 miles), and many Jews hesitated to leave their homes, only a few managed to escape or join the Red Army before the Germans occupied the town on July 5, 1941. Many Jews were forced to return to Gritsev after having gone only a few kilometers to the east. Immediately after the arrival of the Germans, the Jews were humiliated and ordered to hang large Stars of David on the doors of their homes. Ten young Jewish men and women were arrested and thrown into the water in the middle of the large lake near Gritsev. The police used oars to kill those who emerged from the water, and only 1 was able to save himself and survive. A week later, 10 more young Jews were arrested and confined to a basement; 24 hours later, the Ukrainian police shot them not far from the village of Gora.[2]

In the first days of August 1941, on one of the streets that adjoined the lake, a ghetto was organized for the Jews. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by Ukrainian policemen. A German detachment arrived in Gritsev at dawn and rounded up the entire Jewish population of the town. Remaining Jewish properties and valuables outside the ghetto were looted by the Ukrainians and taken to German police headquarters. The Germans appointed one of the inhabitants, a man named Niakha (Nokhem), as the elder in charge of the ghetto. Three others were named as his deputies.

The inhabitants of the ghetto managed to buy food only by selling their possessions to the Ukrainians. Children sometimes sneaked out of the ghetto for this purpose, but the trading mainly took place through the barbed-wire fence. From time to time the Ukrainians brought food to the Jews out of sympathy. But this was generally insufficient. Scarcity and starvation resulted in many deaths among the ghetto inhabitants.[3]

At dawn on August 4, 1941, part of the 10th SS-Infantry Regiment, 1st SS-Infantry Brigade, arrived in Gritsev and gathered all the Jews of the ghetto into a school building. After the registration and selection of a group aged 15 and older, these Jews were taken by truck into a nearby wood located about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) from the town. The police separated the men and women, then lined the men up against a stone wall and shot them. They took all the young women in a second group and shot them as well. Altogether they murdered 286 people.[4]

The remaining Jews from the school were returned to the ghetto, where they realized that the Ukrainians had confiscated all of their most valuable belongings with the permission of the German authorities. The surviving women

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and children were led out of the ghetto for work on a daily basis. This work included cleaning administrative buildings and the homes of the policemen and subsequently (during the winter) removing snow from the roads. Heavy labor, such as chopping wood and repairing roads, was performed by a group of 12 men under the guard of the Ukrainian police.[5]

During the selection at the school building, some of the young women had managed to avoid being taken by putting on the head scarves typically worn by old women. Some of the men escaped the Germans' inspection by hiding in concealed places inside the ghetto. Led by Isaak Bialik, a number of these men later managed to join the partisan resistance. Some of them also perished fighting against the Germans. Bialik himself survived until the arrival of the Red Army, which he then joined, to continue the struggle against Nazi Germany.[6]

On September 4, 1941, the German police conducted another selection after bringing all of the prisoners to the town's cultural center. On the previous night, one of the Germans had forewarned the Jews about the Aktion, but many did not trust him and therefore made no attempt to escape from the ghetto. The Germans spared the children, but shot a few hundred of the surviving women.

In September 1941, power was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Gritsev became a Rayon center in Gebiet Starokonstantinow. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Schröder, who was later replaced by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle.

In May 1942, the remaining inmates of the Gritsev ghetto were escorted to the ghetto in Starokonstantinov and later shot there.[7] Thanks to the help of several Ukrainian families—among them the Melen'chuk family, who received the title of "Righteous Among the Nations" from Yad Vashem—a group of five women and children were able to survive.[8]

All the Jewish homes in Gritsev were either demolished for their building materials or seized by the Ukrainians. The Red Army liberated Gritsev on March 6, 1944.

SOURCES The following publications contain relevant information on the fate of the Jews of Gritsev: I. Melen'chuk, "Riatuvaly, ryzkuiuchy zhyttiam," *Den' za dnem* (Shepetovka), no. 4 (1993): 3; and Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 84.

Documents and testimonies regarding the Jewish community in Gritsev and the ghetto there can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/II 204 AR-Z 442/67); CAHJP (HM2/8969); and YVA (M-33/179, O-3/4019, O-3/4932, and M-31/7740).

Albert Kaganovich
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. CAHJP, HM2/8969.
2. YVA, O-3/4019, O-3/4932.
3. Ibid.
4. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS, Tätigkeitsberichte der 1. und 2. SS-Inf. Brigade, der 1. SS-Kav.-Brigade und von Sonderkommandos der SS* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1984), p. 108, Report of 1. SS Brigade, August 6, 1941.
5. YVA, O-3/4019, O-3/4932.
6. Ibid., M-33/179, O-3/4019, O-3/4932.
7. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 263, 324.
8. YVA, M-31/7740; Melen'chuk, "Riatuvaly, ryzkuiuchy zhyttiam," p. 3.

HOROCHÓW

Pre–September 1939: Horochów (Yiddish: Horchiv), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorokhov, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorochow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Horokhiv, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Horochów is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) northeast of Lwów. According to the 1931 census, the Jewish population was 2,806. The total population of the town in 1937 was 6,260.

Most of the population did not evacuate when the German-Russian war broke out, even though trucks were available for those who wanted to leave. When the Germans arrived on June 24, 1941,[1] the non-Jewish locals rejoiced and greeted them with flowers because they hated the Communists and were pleased to be rid of them.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, on the second day of the occupation, June 25, 1941, the Germans ordered the town's residents to gather on the main square. Not everyone showed up because the order was not announced on all streets. Then the Germans threw incendiary grenades into houses around town. About half of the houses were burned.[2] The Christian population suffered most in this Aktion and blamed the Jews as a result.

Before the end of June, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established. On the request of the Ortskommandant, a squad of Security Police was sent by Sonderkommando 4a, based in Sokal, to Horochów, where they arrested and shot seven people as "communist functionaries."[3] The Germans established a Ukrainian police force, which was merciless to the Jews. They tortured any Jews they caught and robbed Jewish houses. In July 1941, there was a pogrom during which two Jews were killed, and many were beaten and robbed.[4]

The first German decrees established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). All Jews had to pay a large fine, and everyone over 14 had to wear a white armband with a Star of David. All valuable personal possessions were confiscated: gold, silver, paintings, Persian rugs, telephones, fur, radios, and musical instruments. The levies in money and gold amounted to 100 rubles per adult and 50 rubles per child.[5] One day, the Germans gathered the Jews in the marketplace and made them watch the burning of the synagogues. The Torah scrolls and prayer books were all burned.[6]

On August 12, 1941, two truckloads of Ukrainian police arrived in Horochów together with officers of the Gestapo

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from Łuck. The Ukrainian police rounded up 300 Jewish men according to a list, with no involvement on the part of the Germans. The men were forced to dig a large pit near the forest, into which they were all thrown after being shot. The list of 300 men was probably drawn up from information provided by neighbors and former friends. The 300 men were local notables in the Jewish community. Another 70 or 80 people were shot on August 23, 1941.[7]

By August 1941, a permanent Gebietskommissar had replaced the temporary military commandant. The commander of the Gendarmerie post in Horochów was Krause, and the Gebietskommissar was Härter.[8] Jews were not allowed to use electricity. Everyone over 14 had to engage in forced labor. Those who worked received an additional food ration. Many workers were black and blue from beatings endured during work. The local Ukrainian police guarded the Jews while they worked.

At the beginning of November 1941, all Jews had to leave their homes and gather in the marketplace with whatever they could carry. They were then herded into certain designated side streets in a very poor section of town. This became the ghetto. On the following day, a high wooden fence with barbed wire was erected around these streets. Most of the houses were dilapidated, and there was extreme overcrowding. The average housing density was two families (about 10 people) per room.[9] There were two gates, and a written permit was needed to enter or exit the ghetto. Yellow patches on the chest and back replaced the white armbands.

All women aged between 14 and 40 and all men aged between 14 and 50 had to engage in forced labor for little or no pay. Those who worked outside the ghetto wore green armbands and were known as "useful" Jews. They mainly worked as tanners, preparing leather for military use. Other people worked on road construction. Some Jews established skilled workshops for other Jews to perform skilled labor: knitting, making brushes, and other craft activities. The workshops were situated in the town in houses outside the ghetto. Some Jews not employed in skilled jobs had to stand in the water all day during the winter in a river outside the town, probably working on bridge construction.[10] Craftsmen were kept in a separate part of the ghetto from other Jews. Unskilled workers often performed meaningless manual labor, which they undid the following day.

There was starvation in the ghetto because there was no way to get food. People were executed if they tried to obtain food. Skilled workers received 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, while "useless" Jews received 150 grams (5.3 ounces). Because food was so scarce, 20 youngsters built a tunnel under the fence as a way of getting out of the ghetto.[11] They would take off their stars and look for food for their families. They always had to barter items, such as clothing or jewelry, for the food.

The smells in the ghetto were horrible, and hygiene was almost nonexistent. Soap, toothbrushes, and toothpaste were not to be found. The chairman of the Judenrat was opportunistic: he treated the people in the ghetto very badly, and his family lived well at the community's expense. For his own benefit, he did things that he was not forced to do by the Germans. There was a Jewish police force in the ghetto.

At first, there was a doctor in the ghetto. At one of the weekly roundups, however, he was taken away a month or two after the ghetto was created. Several women organized a school in the ghetto. They had to stop lessons when they ran out of things to barter for school supplies. At night, people gathered in the ghetto square to talk and get fresh air.

As a means of resistance, some young organizers stockpiled kerosene to set fire to the ghetto. Having learned of their plans, other Jews attacked them, demanding that the preparations be abandoned because they were afraid that everyone in the ghetto would be killed.[12]

When people found out about the mass murders taking place in other cities, they began to build hiding places. Jews fasted and prayed in the ghetto. In the spring of 1942, everyone was moved to a smaller ghetto, because the population had dwindled so much. Three sides of this ghetto, like the previous one, were enclosed, but one side was contained only by the river. When the guard on the ghetto increased, people became hysterical; they continued building false walls and hiding places in their homes, hoping that if they hid, they would not be found.

Preparation for the liquidation began in early August 1942. A pit was dug at the town limits near the road leading to Druszkopol.[13] Before the ghetto was liquidated, some people hid, and 200 young men escaped. However, reportedly only 8 of them survived; the others were shot by Ukrainians or died of hunger. Other people tried to escape by hiding in the bulrushes along the river and then crossing the river. The ghetto was liquidated on September 14, 1942. People were taken in eight trucks to the previously dug mass grave. It is estimated that more than 2,500 people were shot by forces under the command of the Gendarme Holberg. Jewish valuables were confiscated; some were taken by the police forces, and the rest went to the civil administration. Holberg, who was of Sudeten origin, was later killed by partisans.[14]

Among the survivors from the ghetto were Benjamin Fishman, Bessie Kisis Glinkiewicz, and Sonia Zyroff. Shulamit Perlmutter (Charlene Schiff) managed to survive in the forests until the arrival of the Red Army but soon left for the West because of the continuing hostile attitude towards Jews in the area, as the local people did not want to return the possessions they had taken.

SOURCES The main published work available on the Horochów ghetto is the *Horchiv Memorial Book* edited by Yosif Kariv (Tel Aviv: Horchiv Committee in Israel, 1966), which includes several accounts containing information about the ghetto.

Documentation and witness testimonies regarding the extermination of Horochów's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2862); BA-L (B 162/3878); GARF (7021-55-2); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 14; and testimony of Charlene Schiff, RG-50.030*0203); and YVA (Nazi Crimes Department of the Israeli Police, file pey-ayin 01273).

Ester-Basya Vaisman

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG 22.002M, reel 14 (GARF), Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for Horochów, 7021-55-2, p. 19.
2. Ibid.
3. USHMM, RG-30 (Acc. 1999.A.0196), Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 24, July 16, 1941; see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 694a, pp. 60–61.
4. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 66–67.
5. Ibid., p. 96.
6. A personal interview with Charlene Schiff conducted on June 19, 2003.
7. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 89; according to the ChGK report GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 20, the Aktion took place in early September, and some 350 people were rounded up and shot together with 30 people brought in from Druszkopol.
8. ChGK report, GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 20a.
9. Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 129. News of plans to establish the ghetto in Horochów had reached neighboring Łokacze by November 3, 1941; see Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), pp. 38–39.
10. *Horchiv Memorial Book*, p. 61.
11. Schiff interview.
12. *Horchiv Memorial Book*, p. 286.
13. GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 21.
14. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva*, p. 18, estimates that as many as 500 Jews may initially have escaped. According to the ChGK report, p. 21a, some 3,800 Jews were killed.

HORODEC

Pre-1939: Horodec (Yiddish: Horodets), village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Garadzets, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodez, Rayon Antopol, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Haradets, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Horodec is located 67 kilometers (42 miles) east of Brześć. In 1897, there were 648 Jews in Horodec (out of a total population of 1,761). In 1915, when the front reached the immediate vicinity of Horodec, most of the population fled, so that in 1921 there were only 269 Jews registered in Horodec out of a total population of 753. In 1939, Horodec was annexed by the Soviet Union, and several Jews were exiled into the Soviet interior.

The Germans occupied Horodec during the very first days after their attack on the Soviet Union in late June 1941. A few Jews were killed not long after the Germans' arrival. In April or May 1942, the German authorities forced all of the Jews into a ghetto surrounded by barbed wire. A Jew could be punished with severe beating for sneaking out of the ghetto to obtain food. Similarly, the local Christians were not allowed to enter the ghetto. The Jews were divided into those who could work and those who were unfit, the latter category consisting primarily of the elderly. Those who were able to work were given a daily regimen of forced labor.[1]

On July 26, 1942, the majority of the Jews were marched to the train station and sent by train to Bronna Góra, just outside Bereza Kartuska, where they were shot. According to one account, when the Jews were being marched to the train station, they were forced to sing the Soviet folk song "Katiusha." The day before the Aktion, about 15 skilled workers were brought on foot to the Antopol ghetto, where they remained until its liquidation on October 15, 1942.[2]

Although no information is available about the German perpetrators, some of the names of the local collaborators are known. Volodya Kazik was appointed mayor of the town. His deputy was Vanya Glavatski. Kalya Glavatski and Marian Bramkilises were members of the local militia. Vanya Glavatski and Bramkilises were killed by partisans.[3]

SOURCES The Horodec yizkor book, 'E. Ben-'Ezra and Yisroel Zusman, eds., *Horodets: A geshikhte fun a shtetl (1142–1942)* (New York: Bukh-komitet "Horodets," 1949), contains four brief accounts of the Holocaust period: two by Dovid Volinets, ostensibly the sole survivor, one by Binyomin Volf on Antopol, and a third by an anonymous Christian woman from Horodec. Information on the Jewish community of Horodec can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 245–247.

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Dovid Volinets, "Fun Dovid Volinets," pp. 193–194; Binyomin Volf, "Fun Binyomin Volf," p. 194; and Anon., "A briv fun a Kristin vegen der Horodetser geto," p. 194—all in Ben-'Ezra and Zusman, *Horodets*.
2. Volinets, "Fun Dovid Volinets," pp. 193–194; Volf, "Fun Binyomin Volf," p. 194; Anon., "A briv fun a Kristin," p. 194; Sta. Bielefeld, 5 Js 703/70, Vermerk, October 26, 1973.
3. Dovid Volinets, "Vegen Horodetser mithelfer," in Ben-'Ezra and Zusman, *Horodets*, p. 194.

HORODNO

Pre-1939: Horodno, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodnaia, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodno, Rayon and Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Haradnaia, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Horodno is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Pińsk. According to the 1921 census, there were 583 Jews living in Horodno, comprising 22.4 percent of the total population.

In September 1939, forces of the Red Army occupied Horodno, which was soon incorporated into the Belorussian SSR. At this time, many Jewish refugees from central and

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western Poland arrived in the region. Under Soviet rule, some Polish landowners and Jews who owned stores were among those people deported to Siberia. By mid-1941, there were probably around 700 Jews living in Horodno.

Following the German surprise attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jews attempted to flee Horodno to the east. Some were turned back by Soviet guards at the former Polish-Soviet border, however, and had to return home. German military forces entered Horodno during the first half of July 1941. Initially, a German military administration was responsible for the area around Horodno, but no permanent garrison was stationed in the town. In early August 1941, German mounted SS forces conducted a first Aktion in Horodno. A detachment of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment shot more than 50 Jewish men over the age of 14 near the Jewish cemetery. Some Jewish men managed to hide and avoid the roundup.[1]

In August 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Horodno, which was made personally responsible for the enforcement of German regulations and demands. These included the collection of all valuable items, especially gold and silver, and their surrender to the Germans. According to the Jewish survivor Iosef Dryzhun, the ghetto was also established in August; it probably remained an "open ghetto" at this time, as Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town.[2] Jews were also required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Horodno was incorporated into Gebiet Stolin, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Stolin was SA-Standartenführer Dziembowski. In Horodno there was a squad of local police, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie.

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, by May 1942, the ghetto in Horodno was enclosed with barbed wire, and additional Jews from the surrounding villages had been resettled into the ghetto.[3] Local peasants would come to the ghetto and collect Jews to work for them. The Jews were paid with food in return. Some of the ghetto inmates were also required to work maintaining the roads. Members of the Judenrat who dutifully obeyed German orders thought that they would be spared in the event of a further Aktion. Everyone looked out for himself and his immediate family first of all.[4]

Sources disagree about the date of the German liquidation of the Horodno ghetto, but it probably took place in the first half of September 1942, around the time of the Aktions in Stolin and Wysock.[5] Just prior to this, local peasants warned the Jews that the Germans had ordered the preparation of seven ditches in the forest nearby, and they advised the Jews to escape from the ghetto. However, the rabbi in Horodno reassured the Jews that God would save them and advised them to pray instead. In the opinion of Dryzhun, many more Jews could have escaped, but "religion stood in the way." Dryzhun, together with three others, cut the barbed wire around the ghetto and ran to the forests on the day of the Aktion. About 60 Jews managed to escape altogether, but around 40 of them were captured and killed by the Germans and their collaborators over the ensuing weeks.[6]

Forces of the German Security Police based in Pińsk organized the Aktion, assisted by men from the smaller SD outposts in Stolin and Wysock. A larger number of German Gendarmes and local police guarded the Jews during the roundup and the mass shooting. According to one source, about 400 Jews were escorted into the nearby forest and shot near Podralicze, located 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) east of the village in the direction of Terebieżów. Another 200 Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly (probably those unable to walk or found in hiding), were shot and buried in Horodno.[7]

Partisan activity in the area forced the Germans to abandon the town by the end of 1943, and forces of the Red Army moved into the area from the southeast in 1944.

SOURCES A brief article on the Jewish community of Horodno can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 245.

Survivor testimonies regarding the fate of the Jews in Horodno can be found in the following archival collections: USHMM (RG-50.378*0014); and VHF (# 18847, 23729).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.378*0014, oral history interview with Iosef Fayvelevich Dryzhun, August 4, 1995, states that there were 70 victims. The information page of the Stolin Jewish cultural and educational association "Bridge" (www.stolinmost.narod.ru) gives the figure of 53 Jewish men killed.
2. USHMM, RG-50.378*0014.
3. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, p. 245. See also USHMM, RG-50.378*0014.
4. Ibid.
5. The Aktions in these two towns took place around September 10–11, 1942. According to Wilhelm Rasp, the head of the Security Police Office in Pińsk, a number of Aktions were also carried out in smaller towns around Stolin at this time; see BA-L, B 162/4950 (204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2), p. 180. USHMM, RG-50.378*0014, Dryzhun, dates the Aktion in September 1943 [*sic*], but probably means September 1942. Other sources date it in July or August 1942.
6. USHMM, RG-50.378*0014.
7. Information page of the Stolin Jewish cultural and educational association "Bridge."

HOSZCZA

Pre-1939: Hoszcza, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Hoshcha, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Hoschtscha, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Hoshcha, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Hoszcza is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) east of Równe. In 1921, there were 811 Jews residing in the village (36.3 percent

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of the population). By mid-1941, including some refugees, there were more than 1,000 Jews in the town.

On Sunday, June 29, 1941, the Germans bombed Hoszcza from the air, killing scores of Jewish inhabitants and destroying many houses. Units of the German 6th Army then occupied the town on July 4, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a civil administration. Hoszcza was part of Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Beer.[1] There was a German Gendarmerie post in Hoszcza, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Hoszcza: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (initially an armband, and from September 1941, a yellow circle on their clothing),[2] and they were compelled to perform forced labor, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused. Among the forced labor tasks, Jews had to clean the streets, load trucks, and work on building a bridge. According to one account, the Jews were forced to relocate to one part of town soon after the Germans' arrival: two, three, or more families were forced to live together in overcrowded conditions.[3] This initial "Jewish quarter" was not, however, enclosed. In addition, in the wake of the bombings the Ukrainian authorities had closed down most Jewish stores, removed all their merchandise, and even dismantled them, giving the wood to local Ukrainians. In this way, many Jews lost almost all their property.[4]

In late July 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the town, during which 10 Jews were arrested from a work detail and shot.[5] A subunit of the 10th SS-Motorized Infantry Regiment probably carried out the shooting; its headquarters was located in Hoszcza on July 27 and 28. A few weeks into the occupation, the Germans spread propaganda blaming the Jews for the war, in justification of their anti-Jewish measures. Local Ukrainians were forbidden to have contact with Jews, and most did not speak to them or even give them a dry piece of bread.[6]

Soon after their arrival, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council with seven members. Its head was Israel David Utzenik, and his main assistants were two local businessmen, Joseph Zawodnik and Zalman Zaltzman. The four other members, younger men with little experience in community affairs, assisted with the implementation of German orders. The Jewish Council was responsible for supplying Jews for work and for distributing the daily bread ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) per person from the bakery they established. These small rations were insufficient, but other goods, such as meat, butter, eggs, sugar, or tea, were unavailable. Some Jews criticized the Jewish Council, as they were sometimes seen drinking with the occupation authorities in Zaltzman's home, where they met, and they were inevitably viewed as tools of the Germans. It was suspected, for example, that when they collected utensils or money to meet German demands, they kept some of this for their own benefit.[7]

During the cold winter of 1941–1942, some Jews passed the long dark evenings confined to the Jewish quarter, gloomily contemplating suicide or playing chess.[8] News of the slaughter of some 17,000 Jews in Równe in November 1941 cast a bleak shadow over the celebration of Hanukkah. The synagogues had also been destroyed and the Torah scrolls torn apart. Some flour was found to bake matzot for Passover, but somehow the reciting of the Haggadah (Passover story) had no meaning in these terrible circumstances.[9]

By March 1942, some Jews had been issued with temporary identity cards.[10] However, many still expected the worst once the ground was no longer frozen. In the week before the Shavuot holiday, word quickly spread that trenches were being dug in the woods nearby. Many rumors circulated, and the Jews were petrified with fear.

Then, early on the morning of Wednesday, May 20, 1942, a number of trucks arrived in town. Sensing the danger, many Jews fled and went to hide with local farmers or in other hiding places. This Aktion was carried out by a squad of Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. They collected the Jews in the central square and then escorted them to the Simanoff birch forest, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from town. Here the murderers told everyone to strip down to their underwear and then shot them in pits in groups of 10. Children were crushed under the heels of their boots and were also thrown into the pits. According to Peretz Goldshtein, some 400 Jews were murdered on that day.[11] One platoon (37 men) of the 1st Company of German Order Police Battalion 33 also participated in the Aktion.[12]

After the Aktion, the survivors gradually emerged from their hiding places to find that many of their relatives had been killed and their houses plundered by local peasants. People gathered to recite Kaddish for the dead. Some Austrians based in Hoszcza, who had not participated in the slaughter, took pity on the Jews and shared their cigarettes.[13]

In the weeks that followed, news spread of the liquidation of the Równe ghetto on July 13, 1942, and survivors from other massacres in Kostopol and Tuczyn spread news of the destruction there. Surprisingly the "Jewish quarter" in Hoszcza does not seem to have been enclosed or closely guarded, although it was reduced in size, producing more overcrowding. Suspecting their fate, the remaining Jews attempted to hide their valuables with local peasants and prepare hiding places in case of need. Some farmers took money from Jews but then turned them out or betrayed them. The Judenrat continued its policy of fulfilling German demands for money or workers, although it no longer expected any good would come of it.

A third Aktion, killing the remaining Jews in the town, took place in late September 1942, when the Security Police and SD squad from Równe, assisted by the Gendarmerie and local police, shot 350 Jews. Of these about 40 were killed inside the town, where they had hidden. The bodies were buried

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in the Simanoff birch forest.[14] According to a peasant named Ochrim, who worked as a fireman for the Germans, about 140 surviving Jews later returned or were brought back to Hoszcza, and 123 of these were shot in a further Aktion on November 14, 1942. He reported that 17 Jews managed to escape.[15] Another source indicates that about 20 skilled craftsmen were kept alive by the Germans in a labor camp thereafter and were killed by the local Ukrainian police on July 17, 1943.[16] According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 1,270 civilians were killed in the Hoszcza raion under German occupation from 1941 to 1943.[17]

The few Jews who survived did so mainly with the assistance of local peasants who hid them, sometimes in return for some form of payment. At least five peasants are known who together helped to save 18 Jews from the Hoszcza area.[18] For example, Pessah Kranzberg, with his wife, daughter, and the daughter's young friend, were helped by Fiodor Kalenczuk, who hid them for 17 months in his stable, despite the risks and the fears of his wife.[19]

SOURCES The following published sources have been used in the preparation of this entry: Peretz Goldshtein, *Let the World Know* (*Zol di velt visn)* (New York: Society of Hosht, 1965), which is an English translation of the main Holocaust narrative to be found in Re'uven Fink and Avraham Yaron, eds., *Seyfer Hosht: Yizkor bukh* (Tel Aviv: Hoshter Society of New York and Irgun yotse Hosht, Tel-Aviv, 1957); and Rochelle "Rachel" Smola Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened: A True Story of Humanity and Inhumanity*, ed. Lou Weis (Irvine, CA: R. Gelman, 1995).

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Hoszcza can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1453); DARO; GARF (7021-71-121); TsDAVO; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-31.017M, reel 2, "Amtsblatt des Gebietskommissars in Rowno," announcement dated September 17, 1941.
3. Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened*, p. 15. It should be noted that the author did not arrive in Hoszcza until September 1941.
4. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 15.
6. Ibid., pp. 7–8.
7. Ibid., pp. 9–11, discusses the Jewish Council in some detail, giving the names of all its members.
8. Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened*, p. 18.
9. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, pp. 19–20.
10. Ibid., pp. 9–10, has a copy of the author's own identity card, including his photograph, noting his profession of baker and also that he worked for the Rayonverwaltung (local administration) in Hoszcza.
11. Ibid., pp. 26–30.
12. See the report of the Higher-SS and Police Leader Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942 (TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29).
13. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, pp. 26–30; Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened*, pp. 23–24.
14. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, p. 68; Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1986), p. 403, gives the number of 500 victims.
15. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, p. 68.
16. Beth Hatefutsoth, The Nahum Goldman Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Chronology for Hoszcza (available as an appendix to the USHMM copy of Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*).
17. GARF, 7021-71-121, p. 4.
18. Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened*, p. 26.
19. According to Gilbert, *The Holocaust*, p. 862, Kalenczuk was honored by Yad Vashem as one of the Righteous Among the Nations. The relevant files can be found at YVA, in collection M-31.

IALTUSHKOV

Pre-1941: Ialtushkov, village, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jaltuschkow, Rayon and Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Yaltushkiv, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ialtushkov is located 14 kilometers (8.7 miles) southwest of Bar. In 1926 the Jewish population was 1,392; by 1939, the number of Jews had declined to 1,212. At that time the village of Ialtushkov was part of the Bar raion.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied the village in mid-July 1941. Very few Jews were able to evacuate during these initial weeks following the German attack on the Soviet Union. In late July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the area and established an auxiliary police force recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants. In September 1941, authority was handed over to a German civil administration. Ialtushkov was included in the Rayon and Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar was Franz Schwarz, and his deputy was Hans Eberle.[1] The head of the Rayon administration (Rayonchef) in Bar was a former middle school teacher, Vladimir Kol'vepryk.[2]

Initially the Jews had to wear an armband with the Star of David on it; later they were obliged to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothes. The German authorities demanded from the Jewish population "contributions" of money, and the Jews were also required to surrender their valuables, clothing, furs, and especially any jewelry, gold, and silver items. On December 15, 1941, the head of the Rayon administration, Kol'vepryk, decreed the creation of ghettos in Bar and Ialtushkov starting on December 20, 1941. Some non-Jews were displaced in order to create the ghettos, and the German authorities were concerned with preventing Jews from destroying furniture they had to leave behind and also local Ukrainians from stealing it.[3] When Jews were resettled into the

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ghetto, they were not allowed to take property with them, although some left items for safekeeping with non-Jews outside the ghetto. In Ialtushkov, according to one account, "the ghetto was set up next to the market place and surrounded by a tall barbed-wire fence. The people were starving."[4]

On August 19, 1942, forces of the German Security Police, the Gendarmerie, and local policemen conducted a first killing Aktion in the ghettos of Bar and Ialtushkov. In Ialtushkov, several hundred Jews deemed unfit for work were rounded up in the ghetto. During the afternoon, the German forces and their collaborators escorted Jewish children and the elderly on foot to a sandy site a few kilometers to the northwest of the village. The policemen encouraged the Jews to keep moving by beating them with their rifle butts. At the pits, to save bullets, the Germans lined people up four deep to be shot. Some were then buried alive. Before the shooting, the people were made to undress. Afterwards the clothing of the Jews was stored in a house in Ialtushkov, and some of it was sold to the local inhabitants.[5]

Those Jews kept alive temporarily were mobilized for work mainly on road construction. In October 1942, the German Security Police conducted a second wave of killings in Gebiet Bar. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 1,194 Jews were shot when the Ialtushkov ghetto was liquidated on October 15, 1942.[6]

SOURCES A witness testimony on the ghetto in Ialtushkov can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981).

Documents and witness testimonies concerning the destruction of the Jews of Ialtushkov can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67); DAVINO (1358-1c-1; R2966-1-691; R6022-1-4); GARF (7021-54-1273); USHMM (RG-31.002M); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. See USHMM, RG-31.002M (TsDAVO), reel 3, 3206-2-19, p. 29. This document notes that Schwarz was only temporarily appointed to the post of Gebietskommissar, but his name is also recorded in the ChGK reports; see BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 60, 63.
2. RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 3, 1358-1c-1, Order no. 21, signed by Kol'vepryk.
3. Ibid.
4. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 38.
5. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 67–85, statement of Richard Schulz, February 1948, gives the figure of 213 victims. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 38, date the shooting on August 20. The ChGK report gives the number of victims as 450; see GARF, 7021-54-1273, pp. 14, 64.
6. GARF, 7021-54-1273, p. 64. This figure probably represents the total of all Jews murdered in Ialtushkov during the German occupation.

IARMOLINTSY

Pre-1941: Iarmolintsy, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jarmolinzy, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Iarmolyntsy, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Iarmolintsy is located 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south-southwest of Proskurov. The Jewish population was 1,264 in 1939 (61 percent of the total population).[1] Another 1,312 Jews resided in the villages of the Iarmolintsy raion, primarily in Sharovka and Frampol'. In the 1930s, Iarmolintsy was the center of a Jewish national sel'sovet (with 1,733 residents in 1931).

After the start of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army, and a small number of Jews was able to evacuate to the east. More than 1,000 Jews remained in Iarmolintsy at the start of the occupation.

Iarmolintsy was occupied by units of the German 17th Army in early July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. It established a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Iarmolintsy became the center of Gebiet Jarmolinzy, which included the Rayons of Satanow, Gorodok, and Michalpol, as well as Rayon Jarmolinzy. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Ernst Mertes.[2] From the fall of 1941, there was a Gendarmerie post in Iarmolintsy, which was headed initially by Gendarmeriemeister Rudolf Buchholz and, from October 19, 1942, by Gendarmeriemeister Glossat. The head of the Gendarmerie post took over responsibility for the local Ukrainian police (renamed Schutzmannschaft). The head of the Ukrainian police in Iarmolintsy was a man named Kolbasiuk, and his deputy was Omanskii.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Iarmolintsy: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created; Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols; they were compelled to perform forced labor, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused; and they were forbidden to leave the town. Already on July 9, 1941, 16 Soviet activists, including several Jews, were shot in Iarmolintsy.[3]

Sources differ somewhat regarding the precise date of the establishment of the ghetto in Iarmolintsy. On the Germans' arrival, most of the Jews lived together in the center of the town, with only a few Ukrainians and Russians living among them. According to most sources, in the fall of 1941, following the receipt of an order from Generalkommissar Schöne, the remaining non-Jews were moved out of the Jewish section of town, which was also reduced in size to only about 15 percent of the town's area, forming a ghetto. According to Jewish survivor Semyon Zelfon, the ghetto was set up about three months into the German occupation. He states that many of the former Jewish houses were demolished to create

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a park, and the ghetto itself was very overcrowded, with six to eight families sharing each small dwelling. Around this time, the ghetto was also surrounded with barbed wire and was guarded externally by the local Ukrainian police.[4]

In the ghetto the Jews suffered from hunger, as they only received a bread ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) per day. They were only permitted to visit the local market for one hour on Sundays. However, they managed to obtain some extra food by bartering their remaining possessions with the local population.[5]

Forced labor tasks for the Jews in the ghetto included earthworks on a large dam project, needed for the construction of an electrical power plant not far from Iarmolintsy.[6] At some time in 1942, probably in April, the head of the Judenrat in Iarmolintsy was obliged to select 10 Jews who were to be hanged by the Germans as a reprisal for the killing of a German official in the town. Witnesses state that he selected 10 elderly or infirm Jews. When the Jewish elder in Frampol' was presented with the same demand for 10 victims, he volunteered himself as the first to be killed.[7]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, in June 1942, Jewish residential districts, "open ghettos," were also created in the nearby villages of Sharovka and Frampol'.[8] In August 1942, 400 Jews from Gebiet Jarmolinzy were sent to the labor camp in Leznevo, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from Proskurov; the Jewish inmates of this camp were used for the construction and the repair of roads along the main transit road, Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV.[9]

In late October 1942, on the order of Gebietskommissar Mertes, most of the Jews of Gebiet Jarmolinzy, including the majority of those from the ghettos in Gorodok and Mikhalpol', and also those from Frampol' and Sharovka, were rounded up and transferred by vehicle or on foot to Iarmolintsy, escorted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.[10] In Iarmolintsy, all the Jews gathered from the Gebiet were confined within a derelict barracks compound close to the railway station for several days under unbearable conditions, without food or water.[11]

As a number had been killed during the course of the concentration of the Jews and several large pits were prepared within sight of the barracks, the Jews there offered resistance to their impending murder. A member of the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft, named by one witness as Kazik Ostrovskii, was sent into the barracks to bring out some of the Jews. Instead, he was overpowered and killed by them, severing his head. Some Jews also fired rifle shots at the German and Ukrainian police who guarded the barracks externally. A number of Jews also decided to commit suicide in the barracks rather than allow themselves to be killed by their tormentors.[12]

Fearing that the revolt might get out of control, the German officials in Iarmolintsy sent for reinforcements from other nearby police posts. On the arrival of a detachment of Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf, the Jews were smoked out of the barracks when the Germans set it on fire.[13] Once the remaining Jews emerged from the barracks, they were forced to undress and then were shot in groups of about 50 people into three pits prepared nearby. The Ukrainian police were stationed around the execution site to isolate it and to prevent the prisoners from escaping. In total, probably around 6,400 Jews were shot during this Aktion.[14]

Local witnesses indicate that some Jews hid in basements and other places in and around the Iarmolintsy ghetto during the transfer to the barracks. Over the ensuing weeks after the mass shooting, more Jews were uncovered and were shot in turn. Some Jews managed to survive with the help of local non-Jews. For example, in a nearby village a Jewish boy aged 15 was hidden by an elderly woman for the rest of the occupation. The remaining Jewish houses in the ghetto were dismantled after the Jews had been shot, and Jewish clothing was recycled for use by the local population.[15]

SOURCES Publications concerning the destruction of the Jewish population of Iarmolintsy include the following: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), p. 21.

Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Iarmolintsy can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5071 to 5073); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-818); VHF (# 24841, 32340, 34283, 38519); YIU (nos. 594 and 595); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrain'i. Istoricheskii Putevoditel'*. Vypusk 1. *Podoliia* (Jerusalem and St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 226.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 202.
4. VHF, # 38519; BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 404, B 162/5071, p. 318. YIU, Témoin no. 595, however, states the ghetto was not enclosed until 1942. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 202, dates the ghetto's formation in June 1942.
5. VHF, # 38519; YIU, Témoin no. 594.
6. VHF, # 38519; YIU, Témoin no. 595; BA-L, B 162/5071, p. 319.
7. VHF, # 38519; YIU, Témoin no. 595; BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 459.
8. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 202.
9. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 4, report of SS-Hauptsturmführer Hilliges to KdS Rowno, August 18, 1942.
10. BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 434; VHF, # 32340 and 34283; GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. YIU, Témoin no. 594, mentions that the Jews from Sharovka and Frampol' were brought to Iarmolintsy but does not date this.
11. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. See also BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–657.

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12. YIU, Témoin no. 595; BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–651, B 162/5071, p. 91. According to Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 21, 16 local policemen and five Germans were killed in the uprising, but these figures are not mentioned in other sources.

13. VHF, # 24841; BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 494.

14. BA-L, B 162/5071, pp. 89–92, for the figure of 6,400; B 162/5072, p. 460, gives the figure of 8,000 Jews shot in the mass grave near the barracks, on the basis of ChGK materials.

15. YIU, Témoins nos. 594 and 595.

IARYSHEV (AKA YARYSHEV)

Pre-1941: Iaryshev, village, raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jaryschew, Rayon center, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Iaryshev, Mohyliv-Podil's'kyi raion, Vinniytsia oblast', Ukraine

Iaryshev is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) south-southwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 509 Jews lived in Iaryshev (17.7 percent of the total population). An additional 72 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Iaryshev raion.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 400 Jews remained in Iaryshev at the start of the occupation.

Romanian armed forces occupied Iaryshev on July 19, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The Ortskommandant appointed a village elder and established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsassessor Steffen was made the Gebietskommissar.[1] In 1942, Leutnant Willi Petrich became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, and the Iaryshev Gendarmerie post was subordinated to his authority. The Ukrainian auxiliary police unit served under the direction of the German Gendarmes based in Iaryshev.

On the very first day of the occupation, Romanian soldiers killed 25 Jews in the village.[2] In early August 1941, the German military administration for the region, based in Vinnitsa, noted that there were 800 houses in Iaryshev and that all the Jews had been (temporarily) driven out on the orders of a "Romanian commander." At this time no militia had yet been recruited in the village.[3] Many of the Jews would later return to Iaryshev.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented on the authority of the German occupying forces in Iaryshev. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing armbands bearing the image of the Star of David and, later, patches in the shape of a yellow circle. They were compelled to perform forced labor, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the settlement unless they were part of a forced labor crew.

In late 1941 or at the start of 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in the village, which was surrounded by barbed wire.[4] The Jews from the village of Serebrinets, 8 kilometers (5 miles) away, were brought into Iaryshev in the fall of 1941. Initially they lived with other Jews in Iaryshev, and subsequently they were moved into the ghetto.[5] When the ghetto was set up, those Jews who lived in the center of town were required to move into the area around the marketplace. Inside the ghetto there was terrible overcrowding, with as many as 40 people sharing one room.[6]

Every morning the Germans selected a number of people from the ghetto to serve on work details. The Jews were beaten frequently by both the Germans and the local police. The German authorities took some Jews as hostages in order to extract a large ransom payment. There were also shootings and acts of rape committed by Germans against Jewish women over the age of 16. Due to inadequate clothing, the Jews in the ghetto suffered from cold in the winter. Food rations consisted mainly of soup and a small amount of bread, barely sufficient to keep people alive. A variety of diseases spread among the Jews in Iaryshev, including typhus, and a number of Jews died.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on August 21, 1942, and according to an official German report, 212 Jews were shot.[8] The Aktion was organized by a squad from the outpost of the Security Police based in Kamenets-Podolskii, which was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. On the day of the Aktion, the Jews were assembled and instructed to bring with them their valuable possessions. Then they were escorted into the woods, where a large pit had been prepared. Here they were forced to undress and were shot in the pit.[9]

On the night before the Aktion, it appears that the able-bodied Jews were selected out and transported to a forced labor camp. Jewish artisans were also selected at that time and allowed to remain alive for a short period longer.

Only a few Jews were able to escape from the ghetto and survive until the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in 1944.

SOURCES Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Iaryshev can be found in the following archives: DAVINO (P1683-1-13); GARF (7021-54-1263); VHF (e.g., # 47924, 41939); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 27–28. According to another source, 40 Jews were shot in Iaryshev on July 19, 1941, and

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another 175 Jews were killed two weeks later; see GARF, 7021-54-1271, p. 9.

3. See the report of Oberfeldkommandantur Winniza (Abt. VII) an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 11, 1941, in RGVA, 1275-3-662.

4. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 27–28.

5. VHF, # 41939, testimony taken in 1998 of Roza Veksler (née Abramson), born 1927.

6. Ibid., # 47924, testimony taken in 1998 of Leia Bandus, born 1929.

7. Ibid.; also # 41939.

8. Report of Leutnant Willi Petrich, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, August 27, 1942, on Aktions against the Jewish population. See IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10. According to the materials of the ChGK, located in GARF (7021-54-1263, p. 53), on that day there were 595 Jews killed in the village.

9. VHF, # 41939.

IZIASLAV

Pre-1941: Iziaslav, town and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Saslaw, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Iziaslav, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Iziaslav is situated 68 kilometers (42 miles) southeast of Równe. In 1897, there were 5,998 Jews living in the town (47.6 percent of the total population). Before 1910 the town was known as Zaslav. According to the 1939 census, there were 3,208 Jews in Iziaslav (27.7 percent of the population).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Iziaslav at the beginning of July 1941. During the two weeks from the start of the German invasion until the occupation of the town, a small number of Jews evacuated eastward, and some of the men were called up to or volunteered for service in the Red Army, so that at the start of the occupation about 3,000 Jews remained in the town.

In July and August of 1941, the town was under the authority of a German local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which also established a local administration and police force from among the residents. Among those appointed was a man named Digas, who served as "commandant" (probably chief of police), and also Bogutski, who became the town's mayor (Bürgermeister). In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Iziaslav became the administrative center of Gebiet Saslaw, which included the Rayons of Plushnoje, Lachowzy, and Teofipol, as well as Saslaw. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Oberführer Knochenhauer.[1] In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was created in Iziaslav; it controlled the local Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the following anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the town: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up; Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing symbols, namely, the Star of David; they were assigned to forced labor; they were forbidden to leave the boundaries of the town; and they were subjected to systematic looting and beating by the Ukrainian police. Jews suffered from food shortages from early in the occupation and had to line up for bread; however, the local authorities on occasion removed certain Jews from the bread lines.[2]

The first anti-Jewish Aktion in the town occurred on August 24, 1941. On this day, the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, commanded by Major der Polizei Martin Besser, with the help of the Ukrainian police, rounded up all the Jews, telling them to take with them their valuables for resettlement to another place, according to one survivor, to Palestine. At about 4:00 P.M. the remaining women and children were released, but approximately 1,000 Jews, mainly men, were taken away in vehicles to be shot.[3] The mass shooting was conducted on the edge of the Obluga Forest, approximately 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) south of the city. For the mass grave, the Germans used defensive fortifications, which had been prepared by the Soviet authorities in order to conceal tanks. According to a witness, the Jews were made to lie facedown in the bottom of the ditches and were shot in the back.[4]

Shortly after this mass shooting, in late August or early September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Iziaslav for the Jewish specialists selected before the Aktion and for other Jews who had managed to survive. In addition, Jews were brought into the ghetto from the surrounding villages, including Belogorodka (about 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] to the southwest).[5] It is estimated that up to 2,500 people were enclosed in the ghetto.[6]

The ghetto was located in the Old Town section of Iziaslav, which previously had been occupied by a mixed population of Jews, Ukrainians, and Russians. It included a large two-story synagogue building and about 15 to 20 houses. It was surrounded by a fence made of wooden planks and topped with barbed wire. The ghetto was also guarded by the German and Ukrainian police. Some Jews sneaked out through holes in the fence, taking off their yellow badges, to forage for food.[7]

It appears that the new arrivals were accommodated in the synagogue, which held around 500 to 1,000 Jews altogether. However, another account reports that the synagogue was used as a hospital. Some of the Jews who caught typhus were removed from the hospital periodically and shot.[8]

According to Semen Shider, there was another roundup about a month after the establishment of the ghetto, in which most of the remaining men (about 200 people) were taken away on a transport. He believes these men were also shot. After this, only a few male specialist workers remained in the ghetto.[9]

Survivors name the Jewish elder or head of the Jewish Police as Abrasha Galevich (or Kalenich). The Jewish Police were noted for some corruption in their collection of valuables from the Jews for the Germans, and they did not enjoy a good reputation. Some Jews left the ghetto under escort by the Ukrainian police for forced labor in agriculture or repairing roads and bridges. These columns sometimes received food from other local inhabitants who took pity on them and the Jews attempted to smuggle this food into the ghetto.[10]

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Little information is known about resistance in the ghetto, other than individual or family efforts at hiding or escape. One survivor, however, mentions an incident in which 12 young Jewish boys from the village of Liakhovtsi overpowered their guards and managed to escape. Subsequently it appears they were all recaptured.[11]

The Germans organized another large-scale Aktion against the ghetto on June 27, 1942. After rounding up the Jews, the specialist workers and their families were sent to one side. The remaining Jews were transported on trucks to a site about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) southwest of the town, where a squad of the Security Police and SD, with the help of the German and Ukrainian police, shot more than 2,000 people. Apart from the specialists and their families, a few other Jews survived by hiding in attics or behind false walls or escaping into the countryside.

After the Aktion, the remaining 140 or so specialist workers and their families were returned to a smaller ghetto area. Among the tasks they were now assigned were the sorting and repairing of the clothing that had been gathered at the killing site.[12]

Following a final roundup in January 1943, when most of the remaining Jews were shot, the ghetto in Iziaslav ceased to exist. A few Jews managed to escape and survived with the help of local inhabitants who agreed to conceal them for a shorter or longer period of time. Some of the survivors also joined with the Soviet partisans, who had become more numerous in the region by the summer of 1943.

In total, between 1941 and January 1943, around 3,500 Jews (including Jews from the neighboring villages) were murdered in Iziaslav.[13]

The German case against Martin Besser, the former commander of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, tried by the court in Regensburg in 1971, resulted in no punishment owing to his advanced age and ill health (in 1971, Besser was 79 years old).

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of Iziaslav can be found in D. Hoshkis, ed., *Nezahoena rana* (Slavuta-Hetishyn-Iziaslav, 1996), pp. 115–124; and in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:503–504.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Iziaslav Jews can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF; VHAP; VHF (# 27799, 32021, 33649, 50048); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 33649, testimony of Sofia Finkel; # 27799, testimony of Semen Shider.
3. Telegram of Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, no. 160, of August 25, 1941 (VHAP, Record Group—Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS). On this day the battalion also conducted shootings of Jews in Baranovka and Dubrovka (Zhitomir oblast'), in total killing 1,342 people in three separate Aktions (the majority, however, were murdered in Iziaslav).
4. VHF, # 33649; # 27799.
5. Ibid., # 50048, testimony of Lida Garnaga from Belogorodka, who dates the ghetto's establishment in August 1941; # 27799, Semen Shider of Iziaslav, however, dates it in early September 1941; # 33649, Sofia Finkel, states that the ghetto was set up for those remaining after the first Aktion.
6. Ibid., # 27799, gives the figure of between 2,000 and 3,000, which appears correct, given that about 3,000 Jews remained in the town, some 1,000 were killed in late August 1941, and a few hundred were brought in subsequently from neighboring villages.
7. Ibid., # 50048; # 27799; # 32021; # 33649.
8. Ibid., # 50048; # 33649.
9. Ibid., # 27799.
10. Ibid., # 27799; # 32021.
11. Ibid., # 27799.
12. Ibid., # 50048.
13. According to the ChGK report for Iziaslav, during the period of the occupation more than 5,000 civilians were killed, as well as 6,000 prisoners of war (see *Podillia Velykii Vitchyznianii viini 1941–1945 rr. Zbirnik dokumentiv i materialiv* [L'viv, 1969], p. 113). Most of the civilian casualties were probably Jews.

JANÓW POLESKI

Pre-1939: Janów Poleski, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ivanovo, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Janow, Rayon center, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ivanava, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Janów is located about 133 kilometers (83 miles) east of Brześć and 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) west of Pińsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of Janów was around 3,000, about half of the total. From September 1939 until July 1941, Janów came under Soviet rule. Private property was nationalized, and workers had to join cooperatives. The Jewish population was swelled by refugees from central and western Poland, but a few Jews were among those deported to the interior of the Soviet Union.

The 45th Infantry Division of the German army occupied Janów on July 7, 1941. During the first two months of the occupation, Janów remained under a military administration (Ortskommandantur). The Ortskommandant ordered the Jews to wear markings and perform forced labor. He also appointed Alter Dubinsky, the former chairman of the Jewish community, as head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). Since the members of the Judenrat were held personally responsible for the fulfillment of German orders, Dubinsky accepted this dubious honor only reluctantly.[1]

In September 1941, a German civil administration assumed control of the Polesia region. Janów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

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In Janów, the 2nd SS-Cavalry Squadron carried out an anti-Jewish Aktion in early August 1941.[2] They shot about 400 male Jews, age 14 and over, after pulling aside some with special skills, such as furriers.[3]

In the fall of 1941, a platoon of 26 German Gendarmes took over the policing of Gebiet Pinsk from the military and assumed control of the local police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft. The Schutzmannschaft consisted of about 100 men, the majority of whom were Ukrainians. Six Rayon police stations were supervised by the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Pińsk, including one in Janów.

In early April 1942 (around the holiday of Passover), the Germans ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Janów. The Jews were given only 18 hours to move into the ghetto and could only take 8 kilograms (17.6 pounds) of belongings with them.[4] The ghetto consisted of about 68 houses on Sovetskaia Street between the market square and the mill. The ghetto was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence. Jewish carpenters quickly constructed bunk beds to deal with the overcrowding, as more than 50 people had to share each house, with only about 1.2 square meters (13 square feet) each.[5] Many Jews performed forced labor at the sawmill. Daily rations were meager: 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread per day for workers and only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) for nonworkers. Jews were strictly forbidden to trade with non-Jews or to possess meat, butter, milk, or eggs. Those who worked outside the ghetto still exploited any opportunity to gain extra food illegally, in spite of regular searches when they returned. Some Jews were shot when they were caught returning to the ghetto with any food or tobacco. Others cultivated small parcels of land in an effort to supplement their diet.

In spite of these efforts to obtain extra food, hunger was rampant and disease widespread. As in other ghettos, Jewish religious life continued. There were two rabbis and a committee for assisting the community. Inside the ghetto, there was a Jewish police force of 10 men, commanded by Szmuel Grajer from the village of Zamoszi.[6] In the summer of 1942, the Germans imposed a "contribution" on the Jews of 2.5 kilograms (5.5 pounds) of gold and 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of silver. This demand could be met only by surrendering wedding rings and pocket watches. Some Jews capable of work were sent to perform forced labor near Zhitomir. Fearing they would not return, wealthier Jews bribed the Judenrat to have their names removed from the list. Only one person, who escaped from the camp after five weeks, was ever heard from again.[7]

The murder of the Jews in Gebiet Pinsk was organized by the local outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle Pinsk), which was established in May 1942 and was under the command of SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp. The Aussendienststelle was staffed by members of the Gestapo, SD, and Kripo and was reinforced by Rasp's Kommando Metz.[8] There were 50 men serving at the outpost, including 15 Security Police officials, about 15 translators, and 20 or 30 officials of the Order Police. By August 1942, a small branch office of the SD had also been established in Janów.

The liquidation of the Janów ghetto began on September 22, 1942.[9] In the evening, Gendarmerie and local policemen surrounded the ghetto. Those capable of work (about 500 people) were kept under guard at the sawmill, and on the morning of September 23, forces of the Security Police and SD arrived from Pińsk at about 8:30 A.M. Discussions on procedure then took place between Rasp and Gebietskommissar Klein.[10]

The remaining Jews in the ghetto were assembled at the marketplace and then escorted to previously excavated pits about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, where they had to undress before being shot. As the Jews approached the pits, Chana Gorodecka attacked one of the policemen, and some Jews managed to escape in the confusion.[11] The mass shooting began only after about 500 Jews had been assembled, which meant that those who arrived first had to sit naked for about an hour before the shooting began. All were shot while lying in the pit with a shot from behind to the nape of the neck (*Genickschuss*) from a automatic pistol. As the pit filled up, those who were to be shot next had to walk over the bodies of those already killed in order to lie down for their turn. When it was no longer possible for the executioners to stand in the pit because of the number of dead, they stood on the edge of the pit and shot down into it.

As many Jews had gone into hiding, the Germans and local police started to comb the ghetto. One of the Germans involved, Heinrich Oeldmann, recalled after the war that the Janów ghetto suddenly burst into flames.[12] The Jews resisted with weapons and homemade explosives. People caught on fire and turned into burning torches. Between 400 and 500 Jews lost their lives during the uprising, but about 120 managed to escape from Janów to the nearby forests.[13] According to the report of the German military economic office in Łuck for early October, "[I]n Janów . . . the entire ghetto was burned down with all its inhabitants."[14] The next morning, the mayor ordered the local population to collect the charred corpses from the streets.

On September 25, another selection was made at the sawmill, as a result of which all but 60 of the Jews held there were shot. There are conflicting estimates as to the total number of Jews murdered during the Aktion: the Germans probably murdered around 2,800 Jews altogether, including those shot or burned to death in the ghetto.[15] A few Jews who came out of hiding were permitted to join the Jews at the sawmill, but the remaining Jews were murdered a few weeks later, apart from a group who fled to the forests in time.

Of those Janów Jews who escaped to the forests, at least 50 were subsequently slain by the Nazis and their collaborators as they searched for surviving Jews. A number of Jews from Janów served in Soviet partisan formations, including the "Szelezniak" detachment. At least 7 of these people died in combat with the Germans, including Dr. Wlodawsky and a young girl named Cirinovsky.[16] Around 100 Jewish escapees from the Janów ghetto managed to survive until the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in July 1944.

SOURCES Information on the Janów ghetto can be found in the following publications: Mordekhai Nadav and Nachman

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Blumental, eds., *Yanov al-yad Pinsk: Sefer zikaron* (Jerusalem: Irgun yots'e Yanov al yad Pinsk be-Yisrael, 1969); and Yehuda Adelman, *Heroes without Medals* (New York: Vantage, 1983).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/156); BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59); BA-MA; GARF (7021-90-27); NARA (T-77, reel 628); NARB (845-1-13, p. 23; 861-1-11, pp. 45–47); Sta. Braunschweig (2 Ks 11/63); USHMM (RG-53.002M); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1944).

Stephen Pallavicini and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 253.
2. Most sources date the Aktion between August 2 and August 5, 1941.
3. Sta. Braunschweig, 2 Ks 11/63, file 1266, statement of Alfred Weidlich, July 16, 1962; AŻIH, 301/156, Samuel Reznik.
4. Isr Aplbeym, "Fun iene teg," in Nadav and Blumental, *Yanov al-yad Pinsk*, p. 335; AŻIH, 301/156, Samuel Reznik, dates the establishment of the ghetto in May 1942.
5. Aplbeym, "Fun iene teg," pp. 335–336; V.I. Adamushko et al., eds. *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001), p. 89; AŻIH, 301/156.
6. AŻIH, 301/156.
7. Aplbeym, "Fun iene teg," p. 336.
8. BA-BL, R 94/9.
9. Aplbeym, "Fun iene teg," p. 338; AŻIH, 301/156. NARB, 861-1-11, p. 46, the ChGK report for the Ivanono raion dates the Aktion on September 26–27, 1942.
10. BA-L, ZstL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, p. 3509, statement by Patik, April 5, 1963.
11. YVA, M-1/E/1944, testimony of Rosa Ichanowicz.
12. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, p. 12159, statement of Oeldmann, August 4, 1966.
13. Ibid., p. 1404, statement of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961.
14. NARA, T-77, reel 628, report of Wehrwirtschaftskommando Luzk, first 10 days of October 1942.
15. AŻIH, 301/156; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, p. 12159, statement by Oeldmann.
16. Adelman, *Heroes*, p. 39.

JEZIERZANY

Pre-1939: Jezierzany, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ozeriany, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jezeshany, Rayon Turisk, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ozeriany, Turiis'k raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Jezierzany is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south-southeast of Kowel. According to the 1921 census, 340 Jews were living in Jezierzany. By the middle of 1941, there were probably around 400 Jews in the village.

The village was occupied on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran its affairs. From September 1941 onward, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Jezierzany was incorporated into Gebiet Kowel, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Arno Kaempf became the Gebietskommissar in Kowel until June 1942, and Leutnant Philipp Rapp was appointed as Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] In June 1942, Kaempf was arrested for embezzlement of Jewish property and executed shortly thereafter. His successor as Gebietskommissar was Stabsleiter Erich Kassner.

The Germans also appointed a village elder in Jezierzany and assembled an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit, which served under the German Gendarmerie precinct in Turzysk.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Jezierzany. Jews were required to wear distinctive markers in plain view, at first in the image of the Star of David and later in the shape of a yellow circle. They were subjected to various kinds of forced labor. They were not allowed to leave the limits of the village, and they suffered from systematic robbery and assaults by the Ukrainian police. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also established in the village, through which the German occupying organs passed their orders and regulations to the rest of the Jewish population.

In the spring of 1942, an open ghetto was established in the village. All the Jews of Jezierzany were resettled into the ghetto. Jews were also brought in from the surrounding villages, such as Kupiczów (which had a Jewish population of 236 in 1921). In August 1942,[2] an SD detachment arrived from Kowel and liquidated the ghetto, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian auxiliary police. In total, 762 Jews were reportedly killed near the cemetery in the village of Sushibaba.[3] As far as is known, 6 Jews from Jezierzany and 10 from Kupiczów survived until the area was liberated by the Red Army in 1944.[4]

SOURCES Published information on the fate of the Jewish community of Jezierzany during the Holocaust can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 101–102; and V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003), pp. 37–38.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jezierzany Jews can be found in the following archives: DAVO; and GARF (7021-55-1).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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2. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 37.
3. GARF, 7021-55-1, pp. 70 and reverse side.
4. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 38.

KALIUS

Pre-1941: Kalius, village, Novaia Ushitsa raion, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kaljus, Rayon Nowaja-Uschiza, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kalius, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Kalius is located on the Dniester River about 50 kilometers (30 miles) to the east of Kamenets-Podolskii. From the second half of the 1920s, Kalius was the administrative center of a Jewish national sel'sovet. In 1931, 1,204 Jews lived in the village.[1] The Jewish population subsequently decreased by a few hundred persons as a result of the Holodomor famine in 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

Around 500 Jews resided in the village on the eve of the war. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. At that time, men eligible for military service were either conscripted or voluntarily enlisted in the Red Army. Only about 400 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Kalius on July 17, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. It appointed a village elder and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from the local non-Jewish inhabitants.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Bar in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsassessor Steffen was named as Gebietskommissar.[2] The German Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar was initially Leutnant Richard Schulz. From May 1942 he became the deputy of the SS- und Polizeigebietsführer and Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar under Hauptmann der Gendarmerie Willi Petrich.[3]

During 1942, members of the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Gebiet Bar, which included the village of Kalius. At this time SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer was in charge of the outpost. The German Gendarmerie and the auxiliary Ukrainian police also played an active role in all the Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German military administration implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kalius. Jews were required to wear distinctive markings in plain view, at first an armband bearing the Star of David and later a patch in the shape of a yellow circle. All Jews who were capable of work had to perform various forms of compulsory labor, such as chopping wood, building a bridge across the Kalius River, and building roads. The work was supervised by German overseers and the Ukrainian police, who were very cruel and who robbed and beat the Jews frequently. Jews were not allowed to leave the limits of the village.

In December 1941 or early 1942, all the Jews of the village were moved into a ghetto, and thereby a number of Jews were forced out of their homes.[4] At the start of July 1942, about 100 young, able-bodied Jews were sent to a forced labor camp in Letichev. A few dozen more Jews were sent to the camp during the following six weeks. Those who remained behind in the ghetto were murdered on August 20, 1942.[5] Altogether there were about 240 victims of this Aktion.[6] The mass shooting was organized by the Security Police detachment in Kamenets-Podolskii, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

When Moyshe Rekhtman returned to Kalius in April 1944, after the Red Army had driven out the Germans, he found only the mass grave where the local Jews had been murdered, as all the Jewish homes had been destroyed and converted into gardens. The village had virtually ceased to exist.[7]

SOURCES The testimony of Moyshe Rekhtman, a Jewish survivor from Kalius, can be found in David A. Chapin and Ben Weinstock, eds., *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe* (San Jose: Writer's showcase presented by Writer's digest, 2000), 2: 701–703. He has also published a memoir in English together with Phil Shpilberg, *Here My Home Once Stood: A Holocaust Memoir* (USA: Fourth Generation Publishing, 2008).

Documents and testimonies relevant to the extermination of the Jews of Kalius can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-803); IPN; and YVA (file M-33).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. A. Kruglov, *Poteri evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg.* (Kharkov: Tabrut Laam, 2005), p. 204.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 67–85, 159–166.
4. Testimony of M. Rekhtman, in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, 2:701–703. Other ghettos in Gebiet Bar were created in December 1941; see DAVINO, 1358-1c-1.
5. Testimony of M. Rekhtman.
6. Report of Leutnant Petrich, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, August 27, 1942, regarding "Jewish Aktions," IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10. See also GARF, 7021-64-803. According to the ChGK report, 540 Jews were murdered in the village in 1942, but the total number of Jewish deaths during the German occupation was 666. In view of the German report, this figure seems too high. Rekhtman, however, gives an even higher number of 850 Jewish victims buried in Kalius.
7. Testimony of M. Rekhtman.

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KAMENETS-PODOLSKII

Pre-1941: Kamenets-Podolskii, city, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kamenez-Podolsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kamianets-Podils'kyi, raion and oblast' center, Ukraine

Kamenets-Podolskii is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Proskurov. According to the 1939 population census, 13,796 Jews were living in the city (just over 38 percent of the total population). In the villages of the Kamenets-Podolskii raion, there were 1,255 additional Jews. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, but more than 12,000 Jews remained in Kamenets-Podolskii at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the Hungarian VIII Army Corps occupied the city on July 10, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the city. Initially it was Feldkommandantur 183, under the command of Unterleutnant Josef Meiler. The military administration established a local authority in the city, which was run by a man named Kibets. In addition, an auxiliary police force was established, recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants.

In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Kamenets-Podolskii became the administrative center of Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk. Along with Rayon Kamenez-Podolsk, the other Rayon towns in the Gebiet included Chemerovtsy, Staraja Uschiza, Orinin, and Smotritsch. From September 1941 until August 1942, the Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Reindl. He was succeeded by Regierungsrat Rosenhauer. From November 1941 to June 1943, Leutnant Albert Reich served as the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. A number of regional Gendarmerie posts, including one in Kamenets-Podolskii, were established, which were subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. From the end of April 1942 to July 1943, Gendarmeriemeister Fritz Jacob was the head of the Gendarmerie post in the city.[1] The German Gendarmerie also took over responsibility for the local Ukrainian police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft.

Jews are marched through the streets of Kamenets-Podolskii to a mass murder site outside the city, August 27, 1941. Gyula Spitz, a member of the Hungarian (Jewish) labor service, clandestinely took this photograph.
USHMM WS #28216, COURTESY OF IVAN SVED

Sonderkommando 10b (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D) was stationed in the city from the end of July to the middle of August 1941. Its commander was SS-Obersturmführer Siegfried Schuchart. Among its assigned tasks was that of preventing the mass deportation of Jews from the territory occupied by the Romanian forces into German-occupied territory.[2]

In May 1942, a Security Police (Sipo) outpost (Aussendienststelle) was established in Kamenets-Podolskii, which served under the Kommandeur der Sipo und SD (KdS), Dr. Pütz, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien based in Równe. SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer was in charge of the Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Kamenets-Podolskii until February 1943. In July 1942, a Ukrainian Criminal Police unit became part of the outpost; it was headed by a man named Gladun. The Sipo-Aussendienststelle took a leading role in the mass shootings of Jews in Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk in the summer and fall of 1942, as well as in neighboring Gebiete, such as Dunajewzy and Bar.

In July and August 1941, the occupying forces introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the city. A former member of the Ukrainian police recalls a massive anti-Jewish propaganda campaign launched by the Germans that portrayed the Jews as war profiteers.[3] The occupational authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was responsible for collecting food, furniture, valuables, bed linens, and other items demanded by the Germans. Sometimes the Judenrat also had to supply clothing and shoes for non-Jewish prostitutes who served the Germans.

Jews had to wear distinctive markings: initially white armbands with a Star of David and subsequently yellow stars sewn onto the front and back of their clothes. Those caught without the badge had to pay a fine. Fines were generally levied for the smallest offense, for example, for greeting a German in an inappropriate manner. More often than not, a fine was accompanied by a severe beating.

In late July 1941, Jews from Hungary started to arrive in Kamenets-Podolskii.[4] These Jews had been deported from Hungary following a decree issued by the Council of Ministers on the removal of all persons of dubious citizenship. The Jewish deportees were only permitted to take with them currency worth 30 pengös, food for three days, and a few personal items. They were deported to the border in freight cars, where they were transferred across the border at the rate of about 1,000 per day. Over the ensuing two weeks, more than 10,000 Hungarian deportees arrived in the area around Kamenets-Podolskii.[5]

Temporarily settled in Kamenets-Podolskii and other places nearby, the sheer number of Hungarian deportees frustrated the German authorities. They repeatedly insisted that the Jews be sent back and the deportations be halted, as they posed a threat to German lines of communication. On August 9, 1941, the military commandant's office posted announcements all across the city ordering all the Jews of Kamenets-

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Podolskii to move into a ghetto, which was set up in the center of the city, in the Old Town, within 24 hours. They could take with them only 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of luggage. The non-Jews were forcibly evicted, and the area was fenced off. Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto externally, and a Jewish police force wearing white armbands maintained order inside the ghetto.[6]

All the Jews were registered, both by the Jewish community and by the local Ukrainian administration. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto without permission on pain of death, and the same penalty was also decreed for non-Jews who dared to visit the Jewish quarters to trade with the Jews. The Jews were not allowed to buy food at either the marketplace or regular stores, so hunger became widespread, as was black marketeering. Every day the German army conscripted Jews, especially women, for all sorts of work outside the ghetto, and they received food as payment for this work. Witnesses recall a series of pogroms during which ghetto inmates were beaten, tortured, humiliated, hanged, or shot. For instance, a prominent Jewish physician, Dr. Goldentrester, was hanged from the balcony of his house. For days, the Germans forbade the Jews to remove his body for burial.

At the end of August 1941, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland Süd, organized the mass shooting of around 23,600 Jews in Kamenets-Podolskii. He was eager to complete this Aktion before the region was to be transferred to a German civil administration on September 1.[7] On August 25, 1941, most of the Hungarian Jews in the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto were instructed to prepare for their transport back to Hungary. At the same time, the local (Soviet) Jews were ordered to pay a "contribution" of 200,000 rubles "to buy their own lives." The Hungarian Jews were ordered to assemble the next morning at the Central Square. From there they were taken to the Cossack barracks near the train station. On August 26 and 27, the German police forces shot these Jews in the vicinity of the Cossack barracks, probably along with other Jews from the ghetto. On August 28, about 7,000 local Jews from Kamenets-Podolskii were assembled in the ghetto. They were escorted on foot to pits prepared on the outskirts of the city and then shot.[8] Jeckeln's military staff command (Stabskompanie) HSSPF Russland Süd played an active part in these mass shootings, as did men of Police Battalion 320, commanded by Polizeimajor Dall, the local Ukrainian police, and according to some accounts, men of the Hungarian army.

After the mass executions at the end of August 1941, only a fraction of the city's Jewish population remained alive, mostly craftsmen and their families who had been selected out, although they were soon joined by several hundred more Jews, who emerged from hiding places in attics and basements. Information regarding the location of the ghetto (or ghettos) in Kamenets-Podolskii from September 1941 is somewhat contradictory, but it appears that the original ghetto in the Old Town was more or less dissolved. Jewish survivors mention ghettos located in a former military barracks of a drill battalion on the outskirts of the city and also in the former Silicate Institute (later an Institute for Technology), but they disagree on which came first and the date of the transfers.[9] It is possible that both locations were used for parts of the ghetto population, either simultaneously or successively. According to another Jewish survivor, who describes being put into the annex of a large red building, which was next to the "Institute for Food Technology," conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with only one bed assigned to each family. Some non-Jews managed to smuggle food into the ghetto to friends and relatives (from mixed marriages), indicating that security was not too strict. Jews who still had money were able to purchase a little food. However, malnutrition and disease, combined with hard physical labor and brutality, meant that every day several bodies were removed on a horse and cart to be buried.[10]

The ghetto was exploited as a pool of labor for various tasks, including rebuilding bridges and repairing highways. The Germans also set up workshops inside the ghetto for artisans, such as shoemakers, tailors, and clock makers. All the profits from these workshops went into the budget of the Gebietskommissar. During the summer and early fall of 1942, hundreds of additional Jews were resettled into the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto from towns and villages in the surrounding area. From Chemerovtsy and Smotrich, all the Jews were marched to Kamenets-Podolskii, and after the skilled workers and their families had been selected out, the remaining 813 Jews were shot on August 11.[11] From other towns, such as Staraia Ushitsa, only the craftsmen and their families were transferred to Kamenets-Podolskii, while the remaining Jews were shot close to their homes.[12] According to one survivor who spent a couple of months in the ghetto, after being brought in from Chemerovtsy, in the ghetto people had only grains and rotting horseflesh to eat and gradually were reduced to skeletons.[13]

Some Jewish craftsmen worked for the SD. When the commander of the KdS in Równe, Dr. Pütz, learned of this, in August 1942, he ordered them to be shot along with their families.[14]

According to a former Ukrainian policeman, at the end of October 1942, there were up to 4,800 Jews in the ghetto.[15] On October 30, 1942, German security forces conducted another large Aktion against the Jews.[16] On that day, a squad of the Sipo-Aussendienststelle, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, reportedly shot more than 4,000 Jews. The mass graves were dug and filled in by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Around 500 Jews managed to escape or go into hiding on the night before the Aktion.[17] The majority of these Jews, however, were caught and shot over the ensuing weeks and months. According to postwar investigative sources, the last skilled workers from the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto, including about 65 workers at the jam factory, were shot in the spring of 1943.[18]

SOURCES Relevant publications on the Holocaust in Kamenets-Podolskii include the following: Avraham Rozen, H. 'Sarig, and Y. Bernshtain, eds., *Kaminits-Podolsk u-sevivatah: Sefer-zikaron li-kehilot Yi'sra'el ba-'arim Kaminits-Podolsk*, *Balin*, *Dunivits*,

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Zamihov, *Zvanits*, *Minkovits*, *Smotrits'*, *Frampol*, *Kupin*, *Kiteygorod she-hushmedu bi-yeme ha-Sho'ah 'al-yede ha-Natsim bi-shenat 701* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kamenets-Podolsk u-sevivatah be-Yisrael, 1965), also available in English as *Kaminits-Podolsk and Its Environs: A Memorial Book of the Jewish Communities in the Cities of Kaminits-Podolsk*, *Balin*, *Dunivits*, *Zamekhov*, *Zhvanets*, *Minkovitz*, *Smotrich*, *Frampol*, *Kupin*, *and Kitaygorod Annihilated by the Nazis in 1941*, trans. Bonnie Schooler Sohn (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu Foundation, 1999); *Podillia u Velikii Vitchyznianiy viyni 1941–1945 gg.: Sbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (L'viv, 1969); R.L. Braham, "The Kamenets Podolsk and Delvidek Massacres. Prelude to the Holocaust in Hungary," *Yad Vashem Studies* 9 (1973): 133–156; K.-M. Mallmann, "Der qualitative Sprung im Vernichtungsprozess. Das Massaker von Kamenez-Podolsk Ende August 1941," *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 10 (2001): 239–264; A. Kruglov, "Evreiskaia aktsiia" v Kamenets-Podol'skom v kontse avgusta 1941 g. v svete nemetskikh dokumentov," in *Golokost i suchasnist': naukovyi chasopis*, no. 1 (Kiev: Ukrains'kyi tsentr vyvchennia Golokostu, 2005), pp. 43–48.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kamenets-Podolskii can be found in the following archives: BA-L (4 AR-Z 223/59); DAKhO (R863-2-42 and 44); GARF (7021-64-799); NARA (N-Docs.); USHMM; VHF; YIU (no. 661); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Ksenia Krimer
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; BA-L, ZStL, 4 AR-Z 223/59 (Abschlussbericht, April 7, 1960); GARF, 7021-64-799.
2. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 202.
3. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116), ChGK report for Kamenets-Podolskii.
4. RGVA, 1275-3-667, report of Feldkommandantur 183, July 31, 1941.
5. N-Doc., PS-197, as cited in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 132.
6. GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116; Rozen et al., *Kaminits-Podolsk and Its Environs*, p. 67.
7. N-Doc., NO-3154, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 80, September 11, 1941, gives the figure of 23,600 victims, as does BA-BL, NS 33/22, Fernschreiben des HSSPF Russland Süd, August 30, 1941; N-Doc, PS-197.
8. GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 117–118.
9. Testimonies of Moisei Schwarzmann and Bina Tenneblat in Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 389–390, 403–405.
10. YIU, Témoin no. 661.
11. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 5, 6, report of the Sipo-Aussendienststelle Kamenets-Podolsk, August 13, 1942.
12. GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116.
13. Testimony of Semjon Waisblei in Zabarko, *"Nur wir haben überlebt,"* p. 428.
14. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 5, order of KdS Wolhynien und Podolien, August 18, 1942.
15. GARF, 7021-64-799, statement of Zaloga, former company commander of the Ukrainian police, May 25, 1944.
16. Testimony of Bina Tenneblat in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivimi ostalis' tol'ko my*: svidetel'stva i dokumenty (Kiev, 1999), p. 415.
17. GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 114–115, 226.
18. BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 640–641.

KAMIEŃ KOSZYRSKI

Pre-1939: Kamień Koszyrski, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kamen'-Kashirskii, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kamen Kaschirsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kamin'-Kashyrs'kyi, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kamień Koszyrski is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) north-northeast of Kowel. Due to substantial losses in World War I and during the political instability thereafter, in 1921 the Jewish population was only 617. Just prior to the outbreak of World War II on September 1, 1939, it is estimated that slightly more than 2,000 Jews lived in the town.[1] Under Soviet occupation from September 1939 until June 1941, businesses were nationalized and craftsmen were forced to join state-sponsored cooperatives (*artels*).

German forces first entered Kamień Koszyrski on June 28, 1941, although a permanent German presence was not established for a couple of weeks. From mid-July until the end of August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. In September 1941, power was handed over to a German civil administration. Kamień Koszyrski became the administrative center of Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk. In addition to the Rayon Kamen Kaschirsk, the Rayons of Ljubeschow and Morotschnoje were also part of the Gebiet. Kameradschaftsführer Fritz Michaelis served as Gebietskommissar, based in Kamień Koszyrski.[2] A local Ukrainian auxiliary police force was established in the town, subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post composed of a few German Gendarmes. The head of the Gendarmerie was a man named Berger, and the chief of the Ukrainian police was Jaschek Mazur.[3]

The Soviet authorities abandoned the town on June 26, 1941. Many farmers from the neighboring villages exploited this opportunity and looted Jewish-owned stores in Kamień Koszyrski. They sparked a pogrom in the town, during which the properties of many Jews were plundered, and 2 Jews were killed.[4] On August 1, 1941, a squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment arrived in the town from Ratno. One day later they arrested and shot 8 male Jews. On August 22, 1941, a detachment of Security Police subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C

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arrested all Jewish men aged between 16 and 60. The following day, they shot about 80 of the Jewish prisoners in a forest 5 kilometers (3 miles) west of the town. Among the victims was also the first head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), Shmuel Verble.[5]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the wearing of distinctive armbands bearing the Star of David (later it was changed to a yellow patch on their clothes) and the imposition of physically demanding forced labor. Jews also were forbidden to leave their place of residence. Within Kamień Koszyrski, certain streets were cleared of their Jewish population at this time, the Jewish residents being forced to move in with other Jews, creating a form of "open ghetto" by the fall of 1941.[6] Jews also faced systematic plunder and beatings from the Ukrainian auxiliary police. The Jewish Council was obliged to transmit to the Jewish population all the German regulations and demands that were imposed on them and also was held personally responsible for their fulfillment.

Among the new regulations was the requirement for Jews to surrender all valuable items and pay "contributions," which were collected by the Jewish Council and given to the Gebietskommissar. Gold, furs, and shoes were among the items surrendered. It was also forbidden for Jews to possess a number of "luxury" goods: for example, in early 1942 one Jew was publicly hanged after some cooking oil was found in his possession.

On the orders of the Gebietskommissar, an enclosed ghetto was established in Kamień Koszyrski, probably in late March or early April 1942. The civil administration also ordered some Jews from nearby villages, including from Pniewno, to be transferred to Kamień Koszyrski.[7] The ghetto area consisted of one side of Dolnik Street, extending to cover half of the market square and half of Kowel Street. By June 1942, it was surrounded by a 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) fence strung with barbed wire on top. The single entrance to the ghetto was guarded day and night by members of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.[8] Altogether, some 2,300 Jews resided in the ghetto area. Within the ghetto there was no security for the Jews. In the summer of 1942, the Gebietskommissar and other German officials occasionally entered the ghetto and shot Jews arbitrarily, on the street or in their homes.

On August 10, 1942, the German Security Police from Brześć, with the assistance of the local German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, carried out the first mass shooting Aktion against the Jews of the ghetto. The police forces encircled the ghetto, and the Jews were ordered to gather at the gate on the false pretext that the entire area had to be disinfected. A selection was then conducted by the Gebietskommissar, assisted by the Judenrat, on the basis of permits issued to specialist workers. The majority of the Jews were made to strip naked and murdered in the nearby Jewish cemetery, where German forces shot them into mass graves that had been prepared in advance. Some 50 Jewish families from the village of Wielka Hłusza were among the victims, and about 130 Gypsies also were killed during the Aktion.[9] Some Jews who hid within the ghetto were dragged out and shot by the local Ukrainian police over the ensuing days. In mid-August, the Security Police reported the "special treatment" of 3,399 Jews in Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk (of whom at least 1,700 had been shot within the town itself).[10]

About 600 individuals selected as useful workers, such as carpenters, were left alive in Kamień Koszyrski. After three days they were moved back into the ghetto, which was reduced in size. On November 2, 1942, about 400 Jews escaped from the ghetto. The Jews who remained behind were shot at the Jewish cemetery shortly afterwards.[11] Most of the Jews who managed to escape soon died: some perished in the woods of starvation or disease, or even at the hands of various partisan groups, while others were turned in by local farmers, whom the Germans rewarded with salt or gasoline. The German police shot these unfortunates shortly after their capture. Only about 100 of those who fled found partisan units willing to accept them, enabling many of these people to survive.[12]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Kamień Koszyrski and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A.A. Stein et al., eds., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kamin Koshirsky and Surroundings in Israel, 1965); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 153–157; A. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk and Its Surroundings," in Yehuda Merin and Ben Zion Kaminsky, eds., *Yalkut Volyn* (Givatayim: World Union of Wolynian Jews in Israel, 1998), pp. 55–60.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kamień Koszyrski can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/530); BA-L (B 162/6338); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-11); IPN; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/656, 1380, 2200, 2203, and 2283).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk," p. 34.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. Michaelis died in March 1961 in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt before he could be brought to trial.
3. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 35; Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, p. 759.
4. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk."
5. Ibid.
6. BA-L, B 162/6338, pp. 71, 340, 343.
7. Ibid., B 162/6338, pp. 21, 32; Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, p. 756.
8. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 32; Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk."
9. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 27, 32, 35 (reverse side); BA-L, B 162/6338, pp. 8, 34, 44; Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, pp. 758–759. The Jewish population of Wielka Hłusza was 224 in 1921.

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10. IPN, Zbior Zespolow Szczatkowych Jednostek SS i Policji—Sygnatura 77. The documents appear to be Polish transcripts of German originals, which may have been partially destroyed or even smuggled out by the Polish Underground. Efforts to trace the original documents have proved unsuccessful. This figure presumably also includes the Jews murdered in Lubieszów at this time and possibly those of Moroczna and other places.

11. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk"; GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 35, indicates that 815 Jews were shot on this occasion, dating it (erroneously) at the end of November.

12. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk"; BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 45.

KATRYNBURG

Pre-1939: Katrynburg, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Katerinovka, Ternopol oblast', Ukrainian SSR: 1941–1944: Katerburg, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Katerynivka, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Katrynburg is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Równe. According to the 1921 census, the population of Katrynburg included 384 Jews. By mid-1941, there were probably some 450 Jews in the village. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jewish men were drafted into or volunteered to join the Red Army. Another small group of Jews succeeded in evacuating to the east. Some 350 to 400 Jews remained in the village when German army units occupied it on July 3, 1941.

In July and August, a German military administration governed the town. Then, in September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Katrynburg became part of Gebiet Kremenez in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Müller.[1] The German authorities appointed a village elder and a squad of Ukrainian policemen to assist them in running the village.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupiers introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Katrynburg. They made Jews wear the Star of David; they compelled them to perform forced labor; and they forbade them to leave the town limits. A Judenrat was formed, which was obliged to collect "contributions" for the Germans and organize the Jewish forced labor squads. Among the labor tasks performed was the felling of trees. The Jews were escorted to work by the Ukrainian police, who frequently robbed and beat them.

In the early spring of 1942, probably in March, the Germans created a Jewish residential district, an "open ghetto," in Katrynburg for the roughly 400 Jewish inhabitants of the Rayon.[2] It existed for only about four months.

On August 10, 1942,[3] a detachment of the Security Police and SD, assisted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including members of Schutzmannschafts-Battalion 102 based in Krzemieniec,[4] carried out an Aktion in the village, during which 312 Jews were shot and killed: 114 men, 112 women, and 86 children.[5] A few Jews managed to hide from their persecutors and escaped annihilation.

The Red Army drove the German occupying forces from the town on February 5, 1944. Only about 30 Jews from the Katrynburg ghetto survived the German occupation.

SOURCES Relevant publications on the fate of the Jewish community of Katrynburg during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 175–176; and A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 110.

Information concerning the extermination of the Jews of Katrynburg can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67); DATO; GARF (7021-75-2 and 3); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Übersicht über die besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. GARF, 7021-75-3, p. 3, as cited in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 159. According to survivor testimony from the neighboring Rayon of Schumsk (AŻIH 301/2467), the ghetto there was established in March 1942.

3. GARF, 7021-75-2, p. 2.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, p. 469.

5. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 3, transcription of a Security Police report from SS-Untersturmführer Selm of the Rowno SD, August 15, 1942, concerning the "special treatment of the Jews."

KISIELIN

Pre-1939: Kisielin, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kiselin, Oziutichi raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Osjutitschi, Gebiet Gorochow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lokachi raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kisielin is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) west-northwest of Łuck and 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) west-northwest of Równe. In 1921, the Jewish population of the village was 94.

At the end of June 1941, soldiers of the German 6th Army occupied the village. From July to August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. The Ortskommandantur appointed a village elder (starosta) and formed a Ukrainian police unit from among the local population.

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After September 1941, power was in the hands of a German civil administration. Kisielin was located in Rayon Osjutitschi within Gebiet Gorochow. SA-Standartenführer Härter was named Gebietskommissar and thereby placed in charge of the civil administration.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kisielin. Jews were required initially to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, later replaced by yellow patches to be worn on the chest and back. They were required to perform forced labor, they were prohibited from leaving the boundaries of the village, and they suffered robberies and assaults at the hands of the Ukrainian police.

On August 19, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Kisielin. On the outskirts of the village, close to a desolate Polish (Roman Catholic) church, two Ukrainians who were considered Soviet activists were shot along with 48 Jews.[2]

On November 1, 1941, a ghetto was created in the village, which was surrounded with barbed wire. The authorities also brought in Jews from the villages of Oziutichi, Kholopichi, Tverdynia, and Iukhimova.[3]

In August 1942, the Germans made preparations for the liquidation of the ghetto in Kisielin. Three days before the mass shooting, German and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. Around this time local inhabitants were requisitioned to dig a large pit about 10 meters by 10 meters (11 yards by 11 yards), which took them two days. Some Jews managed to escape from the ghetto before the guard was increased, and others went into hiding inside the ghetto. According to the recollections of local non-Jewish inhabitants, the rabbi had announced to the Jews "our hour has come, we are being taken to be killed."[4]

On August 12, 1942,[5] the Germans liquidated the ghetto. The Jews were transported to the killing site on trucks and were forced to undress and then go down into the pits. The entire population of the ghetto, about 500 or 550 Jews, was shot.[6] About 20 people were able to escape on the eve of the Aktion, but the police soon caught them, and they were also shot.[7]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kisielin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003), pp. 29–30.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Kisielin Jews can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-55-10); VHF (# 1973); YIU (nos. 450, 451); and YVA (M-1/E/1622).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, pp. 29–30.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. YIU, Témoins nos. 449 and 450, Agnia Chouba (born 1926) and Serguei Romaniouk (born 1930), March 30, 2007.
5. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 29. According to another account, the ghetto was liquidated on August 15–16, 1942. See GARF, 7021-55-10, p. 15.
6. GARF, 7021-55-10, p. 15.
7. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 29.

KIWERCE

Pre-1939: Kiwerce, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kivertsy, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kiwerzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kivertsi, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kiwerce is located 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) west-northwest of Równe. In 1921, the Jewish population had declined to only 175, owing to the effects of World War I. By mid-1941, the Jewish population was probably around 400, including a number of Jewish refugees who arrived in the fall of 1939 from western and central Poland.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kiwerce on July 2, 1941. On the first day of the occupation, the Germans shot a number of Jews and Poles who had held key positions in the local administration under the Soviets.[1] During July and August, a German military administration took charge of the town. In September, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. As a part of Gebiet Luzk, under Gebietskommissar Lindner,[2] the town lay within the Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. German officials set up a local Ukrainian administration and recruited an auxiliary police force from the local inhabitants. The Ukrainian police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie from September 1941.

During the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation authorities instituted a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kiwerce. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which was headed by two Jews named Jukelsohn and Lesznar. The council was required to pass on all the orders issued by the German authorities and was made personally responsible for their prompt implementation. Among the German directives was an order for Jews to wear armbands bearing the Star of David; this was replaced in September 1941 by the compulsory wearing of a yellow circular patch on their clothes. Jews were forbidden to trade with or have other contacts with the local population. They also had to turn over all of their valuables to the German authorities and to carry out physically demanding work of all kinds for little or no payment. The Jews were forbidden to leave the borders of the area where they resided and were registered. The Ukrainian auxiliary police repeatedly looted Jewish property and beat the Jews.

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Once the German repressions started in Kiwerce, many Jews fled to the nearby Jewish rural settlement of Zofjówka, where the Jewish population increased to about 5,000 Jews. People thought that it would be easier for them to survive in a larger community. According to the testimony of Dr. Henryk Zajfen, "[T]here was no enclosed ghetto in Kiwerce, but there was some kind of Jewish quarter" (or open ghetto). There were a number of wooden barracks near the sawmill into which the Jews who had been expelled from their homes in town were resettled.[3] This resettlement probably took place at the end of 1941 or at the beginning of 1942. All local Jews, except for the physicians, had to move into the ghetto.[4]

The Jewish community of Kiwerce was liquidated in May 1942, when 270 Jews were murdered. German security forces, consisting of a detachment of the Security Police and SD together with the 1st Motorized Gendarmerie Platoon, arrived in five trucks from Łuck. Assisted by units of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, they surrounded the barracks, woke the Jewish inhabitants, and herded them half-naked and barefoot onto the trucks. The Jews were largely surprised by the Aktion, as Kiwerce was one of the first ghettos in the region to be liquidated. The Jews were escorted into the forest in the direction of Łuck and murdered. Only the Jewish physicians who lived outside the ghetto were excluded from the Aktion.[5]

Over the following months, the German authorities shot most of the Jewish physicians and their families, although a few managed to escape. For example, Mala Berenblum and her husband, who was a doctor, fled in December 1942 after purchasing forged "Aryan" papers for a very large sum.[6] Only a small number of Jews survived the German occupation in Kiwerce.

SOURCES An article on the history of the Jewish community of Kiwerce can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 176.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Kiwerce during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2162, 2167, and 2568); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-10); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt and Adam Kahane

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2568, testimony of Dr. Henryk Zajfen, June 5, 1946.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/2568.
4. Ibid., 301/2167, testimony of Rebeka Peste, November 22, 1946; 301/2162, testimony of Mala Berenblum.
5. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29, report of the Higher-SS and Police Leader Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942. AŻIH, 301/2568, gives the date of May 10, 1942, for the liquidation of the ghetto.
6. AŻIH, 301/2162, 2167, and 2568.

KLESÓW

Pre-1939: Klesów, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Klesov, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Klesow, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Klesiv, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Klesów is located about 21 kilometers (13 miles) east of Sarny. According to the 1921 census, 52 Jews lived in Klesów I, and 90 Jews lived in Klesów II, bringing the total to 142 Jews. By the late 1930s, there were about 700 Jews living in Klesów, including members of a Hehalutz kibbutz that was based there.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Klesów in the middle of July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town's affairs. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Klesów was incorporated into Gebiet Sarny, and Kameradschaftsführer Huala became the Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Schumacher became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 onward.[1] A post of the German Gendarmerie was also established in Klesów, which took command of the local Ukrainian police force.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Klesów. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings in the image of the Star of David and later in the shape of a yellow circle. They also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. In addition, they were required to perform forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and not permitted to buy goods from non-Jews. As a consequence, the Jews had to live in conditions of near starvation. In addition, the Ukrainian police subjected the Jews to systematic beatings and robberies.

On July 25, 1942, the Germans ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Klesów into which Jews from the town

Group portrait of members of a Hehalutz Kibbutz (Zionist collective) in Klesów, 1930s.
USHMM WS #98726, COURTESY OF GFH

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and the outlying villages were forcibly resettled. On August 25 or 27, 1942, the ghetto in Klesów was liquidated.[2] Early in the morning, the Germans ordered the Jews to assemble in the square by the railway station. Here the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie guarded them almost all day long. In the evening, they were loaded into cars of a train that had just arrived from Rokitno carrying other Jews. Before the train departed, a number of Jews deemed too ill or infirm were murdered on site in Klesów. Then the train brought the remaining 580 Jews to Sarny, where German forces and their collaborators murdered them on August 28, 1942. It is likely that among those taken to Sarny were some 150 Jews from the village of Tomashgorod, which lay in Rayon Klesow. Over the course of the next few days, the police also captured and shot 15 Jews who had been hiding in and around the ghetto.[3]

SOURCES An article on the annihilation of the Jewish population of Klesów can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 178.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Klesów can be found in the following archives: DARO; GARF (7021-71-52); and YVA (M-1/E-1269/1234; M-1/E-1222/1196).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), p. 2.
3. GARF, 7021-71-52, pp. 11, 17, and reverse side; DARO, R534-1-3, p. 143.

KLEWAŃ

Pre-1939: Klewań, *town*, *województwo wołyńskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Klevan'*, *raion center*, *Rovno oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Klewan*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Rowno*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Klevan'*, *Rivne oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Klewań is located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) westnorthwest of Równe on the banks of the Stubli River. According to the 1921 census, the population of the town included 1,527 Jews. Allowing for an average rate of population increase of 9 per 1,000 per year, by 1941 there were probably about 1,800 Jews living in Klewań.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Klewań on July 3, 1941. Between July and August 1941, a German military administration was in charge of the town. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Klewań was a Rayon center in Gebiet Rowno. An official named Beer became the Gebietskommissar.[1] In the town of Klewań, the Germans established an outpost of the Gendarmerie, commanded by a man named Fischer, who was in charge of a squad of about 30 Ukrainian Auxiliary Police. Among those who served in the police were Alexander Yankevich, Kuz'menko, and Kulakovsky.[2]

On the second day of the occupation, German forces, together with local antisemites, organized a pogrom against the Jews in Klewań. The killings were probably intended as a reprisal for the shooting of a number of German soldiers by a straggling group of Soviet soldiers in the village of Bronniki just prior to this. The Germans and Ukrainians lined the Jews up on the main square in five rows and shot them with a machine gun and automatic rifles. Then they began dragging Jews from their homes to kill them. Jews were buried in mass graves in at least two or three locations, and a number of bodies were left lying in the streets. At the end of the pogrom, the local authorities ordered some Jews to drag these corpses into the synagogue. The doors were then locked and the synagogue set on fire. In total, about 500 to 700 Jews were murdered in Klewań during the first days of the occupation, and most of the others, like Abraham Kirschner, fled or were driven out of town.[3]

During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Klewań. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to pass on German orders. The small remaining Jewish population had to wear special patches in the shape of the Star of David (later a yellow circle) on their clothing. In addition, they were forced to perform physically demanding labor of various kinds. According to an order issued by the Gebietskommissar in October 1941, Jews were forbidden to leave their place of residence without official permission.[4] In addition, the Jews had to endure widespread theft and physical abuse at the hands of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and local antisemites.

By the spring of 1942, a number of Jews had returned to Klewań; about 700 Jews were living there, cooped up in only 13 houses that formed an open ghetto. There was a shortage of firewood, but the Jews were forbidden to go out into the woods to gather it. They lived together in overcrowded conditions, 20 people to a room, where they cooked, slept, ate, and bathed. According to one testimony, the Jews were starving and in rags, "people walked around dressed in sacks and barefoot, because the Ukrainians stole everything."[5] The Germans based in Klewań arranged orgies from time to time. On one occasion, two Germans entered the home of a Jewish family where the mother was bedridden. They chased away the father and then raped their 15-year-old daughter in front of her mother's eyes.[6]

On April 11, 1942, German security forces arrested 48 people in Klewań: 18 Poles and 30 Jews. The Poles were arrested as nationalist activists. As all the arrested Jews were younger people, a number of older fathers voluntarily took the places of their sons. Shortly afterwards, the arrestees were led away and shot in the woods near the train station.[7]

The murder of the remaining Jews in Klewań probably took place in mid-May 1942.[8] On May 13, 1942, the German

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police commander, Fischer, issued instructions to the Judenrat for all the Jews to assemble at the station on the next day. Very few Jews obeyed this instruction, so Ukrainian policemen immediately started to search for those Jews in hiding. They discovered most of them. The Germans and their collaborators then shot those who had been arrested (probably about 600 Jews) in a forest about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside Klewań.[9] The mass shooting was organized by members of the German Security Police from Równe, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.

SOURCES A short article on the history of the Jewish community of Klewań can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 177–178. There is also a brief report on the fate of the Jews of Klewań in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 135.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Klewań can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1190); DARO; GARF (7021-71-51); USHMM (RG-31.017M, reel 2); and YVA (M-2/200, O-3/2881, M-1/E/2215, and M-1/E/2142).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. AŻIH, 301/1190, testimony of Abraham Kirschner, November 10, 1945; and Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 135.
3. GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 11, 44, 61; AŻIH, 301/1190; and Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 135.
4. USHMM, RG-31.017M, reel 2, Amtsblatt des Gebietskommissars in Rowno, announcement dated October 15, 1941.
5. AŻIH, 301/1190.
6. Ibid.
7. GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 27, 37; AŻIH, 301/1190.
8. Some sources date it, however, in mid-July 1942.
9. AŻIH, 301/1190; GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 1, 90. The ChGK report gives the figure of 1,500 victims, but this is probably too high (including the victims from the pogrom in early July 1941, as well as those killed in 1942).

KOBRYŃ

Pre-1939: Kobryń, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Kobrin, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kobryn, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kobryn', Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kobryń is located about 52 kilometers (32 miles) east-northeast of Brześć. In 1921, the Jewish population was 5,431, comprising two thirds of the total.

Kobryń was occupied by German forces on June 24, 1941. Due to the town's proximity to the frontier and the suddenness of the invasion, most Jews were unable to evacuate.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town until September 1941, when a German civil administration took over. Kobryń became the administrative center of Gebiet Kobryn in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. In addition to Rayon Kobryn, Gebiet Kobryn initially included the Rayons of Antopol, Dywin, and Shabinka. On December 1, 1941, Rayon Shabinka was transferred to Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, and Rayon Drogitschin was transferred from Gebiet Pinsk to Gebiet Kobryn in its place. Further, in January 1942, Rayon Beresa-Kartuskaja, which initially had been part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, was also included into Gebiet Kobryn.[1]

The Gebietskommissar in Kobryń was Regierungsassessor Oscar Panzer.[2] There was also a German Gendarmerie post in the city, headed by a Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. The local police (Schutzmannschaft) was subordinate to the Gendarmerie.

In the summer of 1942, an SD-Aussendienststelle (outpost) was created in Kobryń. It was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Julius Wangemann. This outpost was subordinate to the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Równe, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Pütz. In the summer and fall of 1942, the local SD outpost organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Kobryń and other towns of the Gebiet.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kobryń, including forced labor. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) containing 24 members (chaired by the merchant Angelovich). Subsequently, including the Jewish Police, the Judenrat employed around 400 people in various departments.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the Bet Midrash Hayyei Adam was burned down. In the summer of 1941, between 150 and 200 Jewish members of the intelligentsia were shot by a squad of the SD near Patryka, just off the road to Brześć. The Jews were forced to surrender 6 kilograms (13.2 pounds) of gold and 12 kilograms (26.5 pounds) of silver as a "contribution."[3] Subsequently in the fall of 1941, several hundred mentally ill Jews were also shot by German security forces.

In August 1941, hundreds of Jewish women and children were transferred to Kobryń from liquidated Jewish communities to the north in the area of the Białowieża Forest.[4]

In September or October 1941, the Germans organized a ghetto in Kobryń.[5] It was divided into two parts: ghetto A, which was in the southern part of town, housed Jewish craftsmen and their families, and ghetto B, in the western part of the city, housed those Jews who were unable to work.[6] Altogether, there were more than 7,000 Jews in the two ghettos, including Jews from the surrounding villages. The Judenrat established an office to assign living space to those moving into the ghetto. Overcrowding in the ghetto was severe, with 5 or 6 people forced to share each room. Shortly after its establishment, Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto, or even move from one part of the ghetto to the other, unless escorted in a group by the Jewish Police.[7] Subsequently the area of the ghetto was reduced. Around the time of Passover in 1942

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(April 2), the Germans began to construct a wall around ghetto B, making it much harder for Jews to escape.[8]

For many Jews in the ghetto, the main source of income was from selling their personal belongings. It was forbidden for Jews to do business with non-Jews, but much bartering went on nevertheless. The Jewish Police guarded the gates of the ghetto internally, so Jews were able to smuggle in some food. Despite food shortages, most families usually had some bread and potatoes, and there was almost no starvation in the Kobryń ghetto. Both Jews and non-Jews received ration cards. The Jews were to receive 70 grams (2.5 ounces) of bread per day. Supplies for the ghetto were secured because the Judenrat had good connections to the miller Józef Jadów, who was able to smuggle in considerably more flour than the Germans prescribed.[9]

In the first half of 1942, a number of mostly younger able-bodied Jews were rounded up from the ghetto and sent to labor camps around Kobryń. In Kobryń, around 500 Jews worked in a large craftsmen's workshop (the large *artel*) inside ghetto A, but many Jews were escorted daily by non-Jews to about 50 different work sites outside the ghetto. The Jews left the ghetto in columns, sometimes escorted by a 10-year-old non-Jewish boy. By 8:00 A.M., almost all the men had left the ghetto, and mainly women and children remained.[10]

On July 25, 1942, ghetto B was liquidated: approximately 200 Jews were shot near Mazura, and 1,800 people were taken by train to the Bronna Góra station and shot into large mass graves prepared nearby.[11] Jews from Antopol and Horodec who were not fit for work were shot on the same day. A squad of SD men carried out the shootings, assisted by Company 2 and Company 3 of the 320th Police Battalion: Company 3 transported the Jews in railroad cars to the station, and Company 2 was assigned to cordon off the place of execution, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) northwest of Bereza Kartuska.[12] Other Jews were shot inside the Kobryń ghetto over the following days as the Germans and Ukrainian police searched for people in hiding.

After this large-scale Aktion, which resulted in the dissolution of ghetto B, those Jews who had survived were registered and fingerprinted, then sent back to work. Children were employed to sort out the property of the Jews who had been shot. Shaken by the mass murders, the youth of the ghetto intensified efforts to organize armed resistance. A secret Jewish Committee was established. Conspiratorial cells of five people were established in four different sectors of the ghetto to limit the danger of being exposed. Arms were assembled or purchased clandestinely from local inhabitants. Small groups of armed Jews then escaped to the forests and operated as partisans, attacking outposts of the Ukrainian police and German grain stores. Initially the Judenrat was opposed to these resistance efforts, urging the youth instead to work in the workshops, as otherwise they might endanger the entire ghetto. Later the Judenrat cooperated with the resistance, and vague plans were made for Jews to escape to the forest in the event of a further Aktion. These remained largely unimplemented, mainly due to the lack of arms.[13]

On October 15, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators liquidated ghetto A. At a site 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of the city, a squad of the SD, assisted by the 315th Police Battalion, shot 4,250 Jews.[14] At this time those Jews who had been sent to camps in the surrounding area were also murdered. A number of Jews went into hiding in and around the ghetto, some remaining hidden for more than a week. Several hundred Jews may have escaped to the forest, but many of them were killed in the ensuing searches conducted by the Germans and Ukrainian police, and only a portion of them succeeded in joining the partisans.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, 72 Jewish craftsmen remained in the city for about another year; they were shot in the second half of 1943. In April 1944, Sonderkommando 1005c attempted to cover up the mass graves, removing the corpses from the ground and burning them. The 80 people who carried out this task were shot after the corpses had been burned.[15]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Kobryń during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Betsal'el Shvarts and Yisra'el-Hayyim Biletski, eds., *Sefer Kobryn; megilat hayim ve-hurban* (Tel Aviv, 1951)—a translation of this book by Nilli Avidan and Avner Perry is available on jewishgen.org; Meylekh Glotser, ed., *Kobryn; zamlbukh (an iberblik ibern yidishn Kobryn)* (Buenos Aires: Kobryn Book Committee, 1951); "Kobrin," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 305–310; and Betzalel Shwartz and Israel Chaim Biltzki, eds., *Book of Kobryn: The Scroll of Life and Destruction* (San Francisco, CA: Holocaust Center of Northern California, 1992).

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kobryń can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1072, 1970, 2212); BA-L (e.g., B 162/2882, 2903); GABO (514-1-336); GARF (7021-83-18); IPN; NARA; NARB; USHMM; VHF (# 17696, 34429); and YVA.

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 102, fr. 169.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. Ibid., p. 251; AŻIH, 301/1072, testimony of Józef Blinder; Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 381.

4. *Voennyi dnevnik (Kriegstagebuch) 322-go politseiskogo batal'ona: Tsentral'nyi voennyi arkhiv v Prage: Dnevnik oberleitenanta politsii Uhlia* (Warsaw: Za Wolność i Lud, 1965), no. 20, p. 9. AŻIH, 301/1970, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn; 301/1072; 301/1849, testimony of Szymon Kamiński; 301/2212, testimony of Beniamin Wolf, p. 4. Also see Berl Blustein, "The Destruction of Lineve," in Joseph Friedlaender, ed., *Pinḳas Pruz'ani ẓeha-sevivah: (tol) dot ṿe-ziḳaron le-ḳehilot she-hushmedu ba-Sho'ah* (Tel Aviv: Urgun yots'e Pruz'ani ṿeha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1983), pp. 151–153; and Glotser, *Kobryn; zamlbukh*, p. 253.

5. AŻIH, 301/1072, gives the date of September 1. I. Beil, "The Holocaust," in Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, pp.

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382–392, here p. 383, dates it two weeks after the introduction of the yellow star by the new civil administration in September.

6. M. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk, 2000), p. 105. A more precise description of the streets that formed the ghetto can be found in Glotser, *Kobryn; zamlbukh*, p. 252.
7. Glotser, *Kobryn; zamlbukh*, pp. 252–53; AŻIH, 301/1072.
8. Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 386.
9. Ibid., pp. 383–384.
10. Ibid., pp. 384–385.
11. GARF, 7021-83-18, pp. 8–9, 63, 72.
12. Sta. Bielefeld, 5 Js 703/70, Vermerk, October 26, 1973.
13. AŻIH, 301/1072; Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 388; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 458.
14. GARF, 7021-83-18, p. 9, and 7021-148-28, p. 62 (evidence of Zugwachtmeister Hermann Boltz, Company 7, 11th Police Regiment, taken prisoner in early 1944).
15. Ibid., 7021-83-18, p. 9.

KOŁKI

Pre-1939: Kołki, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kolki, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kolky, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kołki is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Równe. In 1921, 724 Jews were living in Kołki. By the end of 1937, there were 860 Jews in the village. According to the 1921 Polish census, the village of Czartorysk to the northeast had a population of 220 Jews, and Jews also lived in several other nearby villages, including Marjanówka (26), Komarów (15), and Kulikowicze (5).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kołki at the end of June or the beginning of July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village, and in September 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority in the region. Kołki became a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Luzk was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[1]

The following organizations were established in Kołki: a Ukrainian Rayon administration and a Ukrainian police force, subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post that consisted of several German Gendarmes. The chief of the Ukrainian police was D. Sachkovski.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) composed of five people was created in the village and was used by the German authorities to issue orders to the Jewish population; Jews were ordered to wear visible insignia in the form of a Star of David (after September 1941, in the shape of a yellow circle); Jews had to surrender all gold and valuables; they were compelled to perform forced labor without pay; and they were forbidden to leave the village without permission. The Ukrainian police also repeatedly beat and robbed the Jews.

In the summer of 1941, the local Ukrainian militia conducted an Aktion in which about 50 Jewish youths from Kołki were taken ostensibly for work but then were shot outside the village.[3]

In October 1941, the German authorities established an open (unfenced) ghetto in the village. It held more than 2,000 Jews, not only local residents but also Jewish refugees from Poland and Jews brought in from nearby villages. Semyon Menyuk, who was transferred into the Kołki ghetto from Komarów, recalls that he could take only 4.5 kilograms (10 pounds) of possessions with him, and on arrival in Kołki, people were given only an hour to find a new place to stay. Rations in the ghetto were only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day, and even this stopped after a couple of weeks. Inmates then had to exchange their clothes with local inhabitants to get something to eat. The overcrowded living quarters (as many as six families living in each room) and unsanitary conditions caused infectious disease to spread inside the ghetto, resulting in a high mortality rate.[4]

Menyuk recalls two of the German officials in Kołki as Bartz and Georg: one was a Sonderführer (agricultural commandant) and the other probably a Gendarme. Together with police chief Sachkovski, these men had absolute power within the ghetto, sometimes entering it when drunk to shoot Jews with impunity.

In late July 1942, a Security Police/SD detachment from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto, shooting the majority of its inmates. The Jews were transported to the grave site on trucks. The mass shooting took place 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) west of the village along the Stir River, in a place called Belye Berega.[5]

Menyuk and his father survived this massacre, as they were kept alive to help sort the property remaining in the ghetto. A number of Jews also managed to hide and escape the liquidation. However, some of these Jews returned to the ghetto shortly afterwards, as they were unable to survive alone in the forests. The Germans also offered rewards, for example, of cigarettes or sugar, to peasants who captured Jews for them.[6]

A few weeks after the first Aktion, the SS, with the help of the Ukrainian police, carried out a second massacre in which more than 100 Jews were killed. This time Menyuk survived by jumping from the truck on the way to the pits. According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the occupiers and their accomplices murdered some 2,000 Jews in Kołki, accounting for more than 50 percent of the victims (3,949) of the "peaceful civilian population" under German occupation.[7]

According to one source, the Jews of Czartorysk (around 200) were murdered on August 24, 1942. It is more probable, however, that this Aktion was coordinated with (or was part of) the first massacre in Kołki, which took place in late July.[8]

Daniel Kats fled to the forests in the fall of 1941, where he joined forces with other partisans. Additional Jews from Kołki escaped to the forests at the time of the two massacres

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in the late summer and fall of 1942. A group of Jewish partisans from the Kołki region reportedly joined the Kovpak unit of Soviet partisans, which raided the Carpathian districts of Ukraine in the summer of 1943.

SOURCES A brief history of the Jewish community in Kołki and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 166–168. In addition, there is also a yizkor book for Kołki, compiled by Daniel Kats, *Fun ash aroysgerufn* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), which provides a literary picture of the town before the war. Its wartime section deals only with the activities of the Jewish partisans.

Documentation and the witness testimony regarding the murder of the Jews of Kołki can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2889); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-5); USHMM (RG-50.030*0159); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1312).

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trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, Oral History with Semyon Menyuk, October 25, 1990, p. 5.
3. It is not clear whether this Aktion was organized by the German authorities or by local Ukrainians acting on their own initiative.
4. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, pp. 4–5.
5. See DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to the Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in the Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942, which notes that the "special treatment" of the Jews in the Rayons of Kołki, Zuman, and Olyka was conducted from July 26 to 29, 1942. Other sources also give late August as the date of the ghetto liquidation.
6. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, p. 7; Kats, *Fun ash aroysgerufn*, p. 377.
7. GARF, 7021-55-5, p. 7.
8. See 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), p. 285; it is also not clear from this source whether a separate open ghetto existed in Czartorysk or the Jews were brought into the Kołki ghetto before they were killed; see also note 6 above.

KORZEC

Pre-1939: Korzec (Yiddish: Korits), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Korets, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Korez, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Korets', Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Korzec is located 66 kilometers (41 miles) east of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 4,120 Jews lived in Korzec. By late 1937, there were 4,895 Jews in the town out of a total population of 6,560.

Following the start of the war in September 1939, a number of Jewish refugees arrived from the west. Most Jews welcomed the arrival of the Red Army in 1939, as it offered them some security against the Germans. The new Soviet government eliminated private business in the town and established Soviet cooperatives. It also disbanded Jewish institutions and political parties, although some welfare work continued. Prior to the German arrival in July 1941, some 500 Jews managed to flee eastward.

Korzec was occupied by units of the German 6th Army following a heavy bombardment on July 7–8, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Korzec became a Rayon center within Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Beer.[1] There was a German Gendarmerie post in Korzec, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police. The anti-Jewish Aktions in the town were organized by a team of Security Police from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans applied the same anti-Jewish measures in Korzec as in other cities and towns of Ukraine: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of five men was created, which was made personally responsible for the implementation of all German orders. There was also a Jewish police force subordinated to the Judenrat. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first a Star of David armband and later a yellow circle); they were made to perform forced labor; and they were beaten frequently by the local Ukrainian police. Immediately after the arrival of the German forces, Ukrainian nationalist antisemites organized a pogrom in Korzec, during which several Jews were killed, synagogues were ransacked, Torah scrolls were burned, and Jewish homes were robbed.[2]

In the summer of 1941, two anti-Jewish Aktions were carried out in the town. During the first Aktion, on the fourth day of the occupation in July, the Germans shot approximately 120 Jewish intellectuals. They were arrested according to a list and shot 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town in a nearby forest.[3]

During the second Aktion in August 1941, Ukrainian nationalists led by Mitka Zavirukha ran wild and harassed the Jews. Zavirukha declared with great zeal that God had sent him to punish the Jews and eliminate them from the [Ukrainian] nation. On that day, SS men arrived and attacked Jewish houses, forcibly arresting Jewish men and taking them to an unknown destination.[4] In total some 350 Jewish men, including three members of the Judenrat, were taken and shot 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) northeast of Korzec in a forest near the village of Sukhovol' (in the Zhitomir oblast).[5] During the course of the Aktion, money, bond certificates, gold, and silver items were collected from 77 Jews and forwarded to Berlin by the Ortskommandant as "war booty." Among the items collected were four gold

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dental crowns taken from Goldar Gobulinik and Kopel Plosker.[6]

The Jews of the town suffered from a severe food shortage, as bread was distributed only to Ukrainians. Forced labor tasks performed by Jews during the winter of 1941–1942 included building shacks, digging underground tunnels, and excavating deep trenches. About 700 Jews were put to work at a sugar refinery. Many men were conscripted and sent to work in forced labor camps. This work was particularly arduous and dispiriting for the Jews, as they had been robbed of their warm clothes and were exposed to frost and snowstorms.

By the fall of 1941, the Jews were forced into an open ghetto. That is, they were made to live in one area of town and could leave this area only with special permission; however, the ghetto was not surrounded by a fence or physical boundary. Jews traded any clothing they had left for a little grain in order to bake matzot for Passover in April 1942.[7]

The third Aktion in Korzec took place on May 21, 1942, on the eve of the Jewish holiday of Shavuot. On this day, a team of SD men from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, as well as a platoon of the 1st Company, Police Battalion 33, roused families from their beds, shooting those who were too sick to walk. A group of about 200 young men and women were separated from the rest. The remainder, totaling some 2,500 Jews, including many women and children, were shot into previously dug pits in a forest near the village of Kazak, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) north of the town. Among those shot was the physician Dr. Hirshhorn, who decided to accompany his wife to the pits even though the Germans wanted to keep him alive for his skills.[8]

Following the Aktion, the German authorities ordered those Jews in hiding to gather in front of the synagogue. Then on May 22, 1942, a new enclosed ghetto was created on Synagogue Street. It contained about 1,500 inmates, including the 200 workers who had been temporarily spared, the Jews who had hidden, and some women and children brought in from nearby villages. The Jews were forbidden to leave the boundary of the ghetto.

In the meantime the houses of the Jews were robbed and plundered. Not one family had survived the massacre intact. Those remaining thought constantly of their lost loved ones and recited Kaddish for their souls. They all sensed that their days were numbered, too, anticipating the next attack.[9]

The ghetto existed for only four months, until September 25, 1942. Within the ghetto, Moshe Gildenman appealed to the Judenrat to take revenge on the Germans and escape to the forests. However, the Judenrat continued the practices of mediation and bribery in an effort to mitigate the fate of the community, meeting all the renewed German demands. An attempt to contact the Soviet partisans by nominating two youths, Rozenshteyn and Waynshelboym, was unfortunately betrayed. Both of them were arrested by the Ukrainian police and were killed while trying to escape from their escorts on the way to Równe.[10]

On September 24, 1942, it became known that pits were being dug nearby. On that day an SD squad arrived from Równe to surround the ghetto, together with the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. In response, the Judenrat member Moshe Krasnostavski deliberately set himself and his home on fire, and within a short time, the entire ghetto was ablaze, forcing the Germans and Ukrainians to retreat. Another Judenrat member, Yukel Marcus, also committed suicide, and in the confusion a number of people broke out of the ghetto and found temporary refuge in the cemetery and elsewhere.[11] The German forces and local police, however, rounded up most of the Jews and shot approximately 2,000 people in a forest near Kazak on September 25, 1942. At the time of the liquidation, a group of men led by Moshe Gildenman escaped to the forests to take up partisan resistance against the Germans. He was known as the partisan commander "Uncle Misha."

Altogether, according to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,090 civilians were killed in Rayon Korez in 1941–1944; virtually all of them were Jews.[12]

SOURCES Articles about the destruction of the Jewish population of Korzec can be found in the following publications: Eli'ezer Le'oni, ed., *Korits (Vohlin): Sefer zikaron li-kehilatenu she-'alah 'aleha ha-koret* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse-Korits be-Yisrael, 1959); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 171–175.

Documents of the ChGK and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Korzec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/260 and 2756); BA-BL (R 2104/23); DARO; GARF (7021-71-54); USHMM (RG-02.208M*28); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Andrew Koss
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. AŻIH, 301/260; Dov Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," in Le'oni, *Korits (Vohlin)*, pp. 338–347.

3. The dating is taken from the testimony of Nyuma Anapolsky in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), p. 5.

4. Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," pp. 338–347.

5. See Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 32, 34–35; K. Zakaluk, *Zhivy stablyat' pamyatnik zagiblit: Tsinogo blasnogo Zhittya* (Rivne: Uporyadnik Kirilo Kindrat, 1995), p. 98. According to the ChGK report, 250 Jews were shot on August 15, 1941, and another 80 on August 23, 1941 (GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 27 and reverse). Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, gives the number of 472 Jews murdered by the Germans in August.

6. BA-BL, R 2104/23, pp. 972–989. The receipts of the "War Booty Office" (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle) list carefully all the items collected and give the names of the 77 Jews, who were probably among those shot.

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7. Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," pp. 338–347.
8. Ibid., and GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 32–33.
9. Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," pp. 338–347.
10. Le'oni, *Korits (Vohlin)*, pp. 338–347, 402–407.
11. Ibid.
12. GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 1–3.

KOSTOPOL

Pre-1939: Kostopol, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kostopol', raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kostopol, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kostopil', raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Kostopol is located about 29 kilometers (18 miles) north-northeast of Równe. In the fall of 1939, under Soviet occupation, a number of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland settled in the town so that in mid-1941 approximately 4,500 Jews resided in Kostopol.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kostopol in early July 1941. During the first two weeks of the war, prior to the occupation of the town, only a small number of Jews was able to evacuate to the east, so over 4,000 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

In July and August of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town, establishing a local administration and also an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Kostopol became the center of a Rayon and also a Gebiet, which also included the Rayons of Stepan, Beresno, and Derashne. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Standartenführer Löhnert, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann.[1] In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was created in the town, and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police was subordinated to it. Among the local Ukrainian policemen, Peter Ogrodnik was particularly notable for his sadism.[2]

Soon after the German occupation, a pogrom took place in Kostopol during which local Ukrainians beat many Jews, killing a few of them, and plundered Jewish houses. On August 16, 1941, a squad of the Security Police and SD arriving from Równe carried out the first Aktion in Kostopol. The Security Police assembled 460 Jewish men and 20 Jewish women from among the most affluent members of the community, including the head of the Judenrat, Dawid Dajan. These people were transported out of town and then shot. However, their family members were informed that they had been sent to work camps and were deceived into sending them money, which the German authorities confiscated.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kostopol: a Judenrat was created, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols, and they were forbidden to leave the limits of the town without special permission. In addition, they were compelled to perform forced labor in local sawmills, at the train station, at the sewage treatment plant, and in local offices, during which the Jews, including some female workers, were beaten and otherwise abused.

On October 5, 1941, a ghetto was created in Kostopol.[4] Some 4,000 Jews who had been living in the town were given only three days to move into the ghetto. In addition, another 500 or so Jews from the surrounding villages were brought in, raising the total ghetto population to about 4,500. The overcrowding in the ghetto was such that 10 or 15 people had to live in each room. In fact, the ghetto was divided into three sections. The male Jews aged 16 to 60, who mostly had been brought in from other towns, were moved into one section known as the labor camp. This was located in the prayer houses, which were surrounded by barbed wire. The women, small children, and elderly were confined within the main ghetto. This was on the *shister gas* (Cobbler's Street), which before the war had housed only about 20 families. It was also surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence, which extended down to the pond. Then the specialist workers (mostly craftsmen), members of the Jewish Council, and the Jewish Police and their families (altogether 100 families, or about 500 people) were issued special passes and lived outside the ghetto along the fence near the gate; thus, they had the opportunity to maintain connections with the non-Jewish population, exchange goods, and acquire food. Some people also bought passes to live outside the ghetto, and women even paid to enter fictitious marriages to gain this privilege, although such arrangements often worked out badly, as the men took advantage of the women.[5]

In the fall of 1941, probably on November 10, a second Aktion was carried out in Kostopol: the families of the Jewish men killed during the first Aktion were offered the opportunity to join their menfolk in the supposed "labor camps." Once they had assembled, however, they were escorted to a site 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. A squad of the Security Police and SD (part of Einsatzkommando 5, based in Równe), assisted by local Ukrainian police and the 1st Company of Police Battalion 320, which arrived from Sarny, shot approximately 1,400 people there into pits that had been prepared in advance.[6]

In the Kostopol ghetto, the Jewish workers received a daily bread ration of just over 200 grams (7 ounces), while the women and children received only half this amount. The Judenrat also established a public kitchen, which fed the families of those who went out to work during the day. Conditions in the ghetto were very dirty, leading to outbreaks of various diseases, which the Judenrat feared might lead to the liquidation of the ghetto. Just before the enclosure of the ghetto, the Gebietskommissar demanded a large "contribution" from the Jews, saying it would be used to maintain the ghetto, but in fact none of it was used for this purpose. The Jews had to surrender any valuable items they possessed, and later, in the depth of winter, they had to give up their furs and other warm clothing.[7]

The payment for work by inmates of the ghetto was 5.60 rubles per day, of which 20 percent was deducted for a "Jewish tax" and another 25 percent as "income tax." Jews were also

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forbidden to eat any fat products, such as butter or lard. By May 1942, the Germans had concentrated all the young Jewish men from Gebiet Kostopol in the labor camp. This was probably intended to avoid any resistance at the time of the liquidation of the nearby ghettos.[8]

On August 26, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German and Ukrainian police forces, organized the liquidation of the Kostopol ghetto. Ukrainian and German policemen surrounded the ghetto. Then they escorted the ghetto's inhabitants to the nearby village of Chotenka, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the south, where they shot them into ditches. In total, about 4,000 Jews were murdered during this Aktion (some 2,500 from Kostopol and the rest that had been brought in from Małe Siedliszcze and Antonówka, where Jews had continued to live as farmers outside the ghetto up to this time).[9] A few Jews hid within the ghetto or managed to escape during the Aktion, but most of these people were soon caught by local Ukrainians and were handed over to the Germans, who shot them.[10]

Altogether, more than 13,000 Jews were murdered in Rayon Kostopol in 1941 and 1942.

In total, about 270 Jews from Kostopol survived the war, but most of them were people who successfully evacuated to the east in the summer of 1941. Only 15 or so of the Jews who endured the German occupation were still alive on the recapture of the town by the Red Army on January 31, 1944.

SOURCES The following published sources are of relevance for the history of the Kostopol ghetto: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 168–170 (an English translation of this article is available at www.jewishgen.org); Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 66, 196; the yizkor book edited by S. Brayer, *Ha-Mered be-Kostopol: Lo hiskamnu la-lekhet ke-tson la-tevah* (Tel Aviv: Yaron Golan, 1996); and the memoir of Fayge Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates: Oytentishe shilderungen fun der shoe tekufe* (Tel Aviv: Naylebn, 1966), which presents a rare female perspective on the ghetto.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kostopol can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1268); BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR-Z 210/67); DARO (R534-1-4); GARF (7021-71-55); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E-1844, M-1/Q-30, M-1/E-1616, M/11/B-98, O-3/848, O-3/2902, O-3/2904, O-16/1805, and M.31).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, p. 72.
3. GARF, 7021-71-55, p. 116, reverse side; another source gives only the number of 470 male Jewish victims.
4. AŻIH, 301/1268.
5. Ibid.; I.A. Volodarskaia, "Unichtozhenie evreev Zapadnoi Volyni 1941–1944 gg," in *Katastrofa i opir ukrains'koho evreistva (1941–1944). Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev: Instytut politychnykh i etnonatsional'nykh doslidzhen' NAN Ukrainy, 1999), p. 215; Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, pp. 64–71. This latter chapter includes more detailed descriptions of the locations of the various parts of the ghetto.
6. According to evidence given on May 12, 1960, by the former commander of the 1st Company, Police Battalion 320, Captain Alfred Weber, the Aktion took place on November 10, 1941: this source states that there were only 300 to 400 victims (see BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 210/67). According to GARF, 7021-71-55, pp. 23, 88, the Aktion took place at the beginning of December 1941, and there were some 2,300 Jewish victims (this figure appears to be too high).
7. AŻIH, 301/1268; Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, pp. 64–71.
8. AŻIH, 301/1268.
9. The settlement of Antonówka, a few kilometers to the south of Kostopol, had only about 20 Jewish residents in 1939 and should not be confused with the town of the same name close to Sarny (see separate entry in this volume); on the murder of the Jews of these two villages, see YVA, M.31 (award of the Righteous Among the Nations to Stanisław Jasinski and Emilia Słodkowska-Jasińska, February 28, 1985).
10. GARF, 7021-71-55, p. 22. AŻIH, 301/1268, dates the Aktion on August 22, 1942; another source gives the date of August 25.

KOWEL

Pre-1939: Kowel (Yiddish: Kovle), city, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kovel', raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kowel, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kovel', Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kowel is located about 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Łuck. By 1921, the Jewish population of the city had reached 12,700 (60 percent), remaining at about this level until 1939 (13,200 in 1937, nearly half the total population of 27,677). After 1939, the number of Jews increased, as many Jews from the German-occupied zone of Poland took refuge in Kowel. By mid-1941, including the refugees, there were about 15,000 Jews in the city.

German forces occupied the city on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the city, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kowel became the administrative center of Gebiet Kowel, which included the Rayons of Kowel, Ratno, Mazejewo, Sabolotje, Manewitschi, Sedlischtsche, Goloby, and Turisk. The Kowel Gebietskommissar until June 1942 was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Philipp Rapp.[1] In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews, and Erich Kassner became the Gebietskommissar.

In July and August 1941, an SD-Einsatztruppe detached from the Einsatzgruppe zur besonderen Verwendung (z.b.V.) was stationed in Kowel. One of the leaders of this detachment

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was SS-Obersturmführer Erwin Gay. From mid-July until early September 1941, the headquarters of the 314th Police Battalion (commanding officer: Major der Polizei Dressler) and its 3rd Company were also located in the city.[2] From October 1941, the German Gendarmerie post in Kowel took over command of the local squad of Ukrainian police. The head of the Ukrainian police until late March 1943 was Polizei-Hauptwachtmeister Fritz Manthei.[3]

In October 1942, a Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was created in the city; it was subordinated to the chief of the Security Police and SD (Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD, or KdS) in Równe. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kurt Eggers was in charge of the Kowel outpost.

As recalled in the Kowel yizkor books, Kassner, as Gebietskommissar, and Manthei, as head of the local squad of the Ukrainian police, were most directly involved in persecuting the Jews of Kowel and in facilitating their annihilation. Kassner, a sadist, and Manthei, a virulent and committed antisemite, sought out and relished opportunities to brutalize, humiliate, and murder Jews.[4]

Except for the absence of a guarded fence surrounding the Jewish parts of town, all relevant aspects of a Nazi-ruled ghetto were present during this period. Jews were not allowed to leave the city limits (roads were patrolled); they were not allowed out on the streets between 6:00 P.M. and 10:00 A.M.; houses occupied by Jews had to be marked by yellow boards; Jews were required to display a yellow Star of David on the front and back of their clothes (replacing the initial white armband with a blue Star of David); and a 12-person Judenrat and a Jewish police unit reporting to the Judenrat were created almost immediately. The first chairmen of the Judenrat were B. Moroz and I. Sandler.[5] Jews were also forced to pay the Germans large sums of money and to surrender their valuables. They were compelled to perform forced labor, during which the local Ukrainian police beat and otherwise abused them.[6]

Killings of Jews took place repeatedly from the very beginning of the German occupation, with the assistance of the Ukrainian police units. These were recruited from among Kowel residents and people from surrounding villages. Their leader was Dr. Progov (a Kowel resident, whose wife, according to the Kowel yizkor book, "distinguished herself with her murderous deeds against the Jews even more than her husband").[7] A few weeks after the arrival of the Germans, the head of Reb Velvele (the Trisker Rebbe) was cut off and displayed in the window of the Ukrainian cooperative.[8]

Very soon after the city was occupied, 60 to 80 Jews from the intelligentsia were arrested and later shot. The arrests and shootings continued during the following weeks. Altogether, about 1,000 Jews were killed in the summer of 1941. The shootings were carried out by the SD Einsatztruppe and the 3rd Company of the 314th Police Battalion, which were located in Kowel at this time. On August 31, 1941, this company shot 88 Jews in the city.[9]

In May 1942, two ghettos were created; according to one account, on May 27, 1942,[10] it was officially announced that between 12:00 P.M. and 5:00 P.M. the Jewish population had to complete its relocation to the two ghettos, which then were sealed. Gebietskommissar Kämpf was in charge of the operation, and he personally ensured that everything went according to plan. One ghetto was in the old city, where mostly Jews had lived before. The other ghetto was in the new city between the railroad and Warsaw Street, in the "Sand." Wooden fences, over 2 meters (6.6 feet) in height and covered with barbed wire, surrounded both ghettos. Jews could enter or leave the ghettos only through the gates. At first, the guards at these gates were German Gendarmes; their posts were later taken over by members of the Ukrainian police. After this, the German Gendarmes only supervised the Ukrainian policemen and occasionally carried out patrols through the ghetto themselves. Order within the ghetto was kept by a Jewish police force. In the new city ghetto, the Jewish craftsmen lived with their families (approximately 3,500 people). The remaining Jewish population, which (including those brought in from surrounding villages) consisted of more than 10,000 people, lived in the old city ghetto.[11]

On June 3–5, 1942, a team of Security Police from Łuck organized the first Aktion, assisted by the 1st Motorized Platoon of the Łuck Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. The victims were the residents of the old city ghetto, except for those few who were able to hide or escape, as well as the Judenrat (with the exception of its then chairman, Pommeranz) and the Jewish Police. The day before the Aktion, June 2, Pommeranz received an order to compile a list of those Jews living in the old city ghetto who were not to be deported and thus needed to move to the new city ghetto. The same evening, the Judenrat and Jewish Police received an order to arrive at 8:00 P.M. at the German Gendarmerie post on Łuck Street. They were ordered to go to the ghetto in the old city and announce to the Jews living there that they would be sent to work in the east. The Jewish residents thus had to gather on the streets immediately, with a small amount of baggage; those Jews who did not obey this order would be shot. The members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police, accompanied by the German Gendarmes and Ukrainian police, announced the order to the residents. As they went from house to house, armed German Gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen stood on the ghetto streets and later also checked that all the Jews had left their houses. Men, women, and children had to form lines on the streets and were then taken to the railroad station under guard. Those who tried to hide or escape, as well as the elderly, ill, and children, were shot on the spot; approximately 300 Jews were killed in this manner. (A work party of Jews from the new city ghetto buried the victims in a pit in the Jewish cemetery. Later, peasants from the surrounding area dug up the bodies of these Jews and removed rings, gold watches, gold teeth, and their clothing, leaving many naked corpses scattered throughout the cemetery.)[12] From the station, Jews were taken in a freight train to the shooting place at a sandpit near Bachów, 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) north of Kowel. After their arrival, the Jews had to undress: men had to undress completely, and women had to undress down to their underwear. They were then forced to get into the pit in groups and

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to lie down on their stomachs, at which point they were shot in the back of the head. The freight train took the clothing of the victims to the Kowel railway station, where, after the clothing was unloaded, the train was filled with new victims. Thus, during the mass shootings, which lasted three days, about 9,000 Jews were killed (men, women, and children); each day, approximately 3,000 people were killed.[13] However, more than 3,500 people, comprising mainly the craftsmen and their families, were excluded from the Aktion, while almost 1,000 Jews went into hiding in the city, and about 1,000 others escaped to nearby villages or into the forests.

On June 9, 1942, a few days after the liquidation of the old city ghetto, the German authorities imposed a "contribution" of 1 million rubles (soon increased to 1.5 million rubles) on the remaining Jews. This sum had to be paid by June 15. Besides this monetary penalty, Jews also had to surrender any gold, jewelry, or precious stones. Somehow the new Judenrat managed to meet these exorbitant demands, contributing 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of gold in addition to the required money.

After the liquidation of the old city ghetto, shootings of small groups of Jews regularly took place in the new city ghetto. In July 1942, Gebietskommissar Kassner personally shot 10 Jews near the Judenrat building because a search revealed that they were hiding money and foreign currency.[14]

On August 19, 1942, the ghetto in the new city was also liquidated: about 6,500 Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery, and 150 Gypsies were shot together with the Jews.[15] A team of Security Police and SD from Łuck carried out the shooting, with the active participation of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. Approximately 1,000 Jews managed to escape the initial liquidation, but most were soon captured by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie, which regularly searched the ghetto and the surrounding area for hidden Jews. Those they found were mostly brought to the Great Synagogue, where they were subsequently left for days without food and water before being removed to the Jewish cemetery and shot. Periodically, policemen would take out groups of young Jewish girls and rape them before returning them to the synagogue to await their deaths.[16] In the days of their captivity in the synagogue, many people wrote wills, requests for vengeance, and pleas for life on the walls of the synagogue. Many of these inscriptions, in Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish, were copied by survivors and are listed in the Kowel yizkor book.[17]

The last shooting took place on October 6, 1942, at the Roman Catholic cemetery, where graves were found, after the liberation of the city, containing the bodies of more than 2,000 people.[18] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, altogether in 1941–1942, about 18,000 Jews were killed in Kowel, including the Jews from the surrounding villages.[19]

At the beginning of May 1942, two emissaries from the underground movement in Warsaw, Frumka Płotnicka and Tema Sznajdermann, succeeded in entering Kowel. On their return to Warsaw, they reported on resistance groups in the Kowel ghetto who had smuggled out arms from warehouses and passed them on to Soviet partisans active in the area. The hostile attitude of the partisan unit's commander (Nasyekin) foiled the resistance groups' efforts to leave the ghetto and go into the forests, and only a few succeeded in doing so.[20] Liuba Lederhendler, a native of Kowel born in 1921, managed to survive the liquidation of the ghetto and hide in the forests surrounding Kowel. She posed as a Christian and served as a courier for the partisan units in the area, which brought her into contact with Jewish partisans hiding in the forests. Two weeks before the entry of the Red Army into Kowel, the home she was living in was blown up by Russian shelling, and Liuba, forced to leave, was recognized by a Pole, denounced to the Gestapo, and subsequently shot.[21]

On September 28, 1966, Erich Kassner was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court in Oldenburg, West Germany. Erwin Gay was sentenced to 8 years and 6 months of imprisonment in 1967 in Darmstadt, and after a retrial in 1970, he was sentenced to 7 years and 8 months of imprisonment. On September 28, 1966, Fritz Manthei was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court in Oldenburg (case 2 Ks 1/64) in West Germany. Two former members of the Ukrainian police in Kowel were convicted: V. Lapchuk and P. Belogrud. When questioned, they testified that the Ukrainian police in Kowel not only participated in the annihilation of the Jews in Kowel but also drove to Ratno, Jezierzany, Kupiczów, and Powórsk to take part in the shooting of Jews there.

SOURCES Firsthand accounts of the Kowel ghetto can be found in the city's two yizkor books: Betsalel Baler, ed., *Pinkes Kovel* (Buenos Aires: Aroysgegebn durkhn landsleyt fareyn fun Kovel un umgegnt in Argentine, 1951); and Eli'ezer Le'oni-Tsuperain, ed., *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron li-kehilatenu she-'alah 'aleh ha-koret* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kovel be-Yisrael, 1957). A short article on the Jewish community of Kowel can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 158–165. Additional information on Kowel during the wartime period can be found in Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Naukowe PWN, 2000), pp. 916–918; Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland during the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Pub. House; New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), pp. 387–399; Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." (Oneg Shabbat)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 33.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jewish population in Kowel can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1644, 2152); BA-L (Verdict of LG-Old, 2 Ks 1/64); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-13); USHMM (RG-50.030*0188); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Schalkowsky
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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2. See the Judgement of LG-Trau on May 26, 1982 (5 Ks 11, Js 9437/78).

3. On September 28, 1966, Manthei was sentenced to life imprisonment by LG-Old (case 2 Ks 1/64) in West Germany.

4. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, pp. 85, 92; Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 447, 453–458.

5. Ia. Khonigsman, *Katastrofa evreev Zapadnoi Ukrainy* (L'vov, 1998), p. 152. See Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 83.

6. Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, p. 411.

7. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 83.

8. Ibid., p. 84.

9. Telegram no. 230 sent by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, September 1, 1941, 09.30; see USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, Kommandostab des RFSS, Karton 2.

10. The sources differ on this date. The anonymous source published in Sakowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, pp. 916–918, gives the date of May 27. Another source, Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 33, gives the date of May 17. Other sources give the date of May 21.

11. Sakowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, pp. 916–918.

12. See Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 418–422.

13. Verdict of LG-Old, September 28, 1966 (2 Ks1/64), in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 638; GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 217, 222, and reverse.

14. Verdict of LG-Old, September 28, 1966 (2 Ks1/64), in *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 638.

15. GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 222–223 and reverse. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 93, cites the August 19 date.

16. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, pp. 94, 98–99.

17. Ibid, pp. 485–498.

18. GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 213 and reverse.

19. Ibid., pp. 215, 217.

20. See Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 446–447.

21. Ibid., p. 522.

KOŻANGRÓDEK

Pre-1939: Kożangródek (Yiddish: Koz'anhorodok), town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kozhan-Gorodok, Luninets raion, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Koshangrudek, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kazhan-Haradok, Luninets raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kożangródek is a town located 5 kilometers (3 miles) west of Łachwa. In 1921 the Jewish population was 783.

The Red Army occupied Kożangródek on September 17, 1939, to the relief of the local Jews. In early July 1941, the Soviets fled, and the Germans captured the town. The Germans established a ghetto (probably around March 1942) in which approximately 950 Jews were incarcerated. The ghetto was liquidated in a single Aktion on the night of September 2–3, 1942, at the same time as the Łachwa ghetto. The German Gendarmerie and local police drove the Jews from the ghetto to a killing site near the Jewish cemetery. The Aktion was probably coordinated by SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhem Rasp, the commander of the Security Police and SD office in Pińsk. Some 40 men from the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 69, stationed in Łachwa, together with a similar number from the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 306, assisted by cordoning off the ghetto and the killing site. According to Soviet sources, the Germans and their collaborators shot a total of 937 Jews (including 325 women and 301 children), who were buried in a large mass grave 12 meters long and 4 meters wide (39 by 13 feet).[1]

It appears that there was only one survivor of the ghetto, Hershel Vilk. He recalled that many Jews tried to escape at the time of the Aktion, but the Germans and their collaborators managed to catch the others. The Red Army drove the German occupying forces out of Kożangródek in July 1944. By the end of the war, most Jewish houses were damaged or destroyed. No attempt was made to rebuild the Jewish community.[2]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Łuniniec and Kożangródek, edited by Yosef Ze'evi and others, *Yizkor Kehilot Luninyets—Koz'anhorodok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Luninyets ve-Koz'anhorodok be-Yisrael, 1952), includes a section on Kożangródek, but there are no accounts by survivors. There is also a short article on the Jewish community in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 310. The ghetto in Kożangródek is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 130. See also Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 718–719.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59); GARF (7021-90-31); NARB (861-1-11); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. NARB, 861-1-11, p. 4; GARF, 7021-90-31, pp. 2 and reverse; see also Stephen Pallavicini, *The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie* (Sydney University, 2003), chapter 6, which gives the number of only 500 victims of the Aktion, presumably from German investigative sources. Other sources date the Aktion on August 18, 1942.

2. Moyshe Tsipershteyn, "Der letste kapitl," in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor Kehilot Luninyets—Koz'anhorodok*, pp. 223–226, here p. 224.

KOZIN

Pre-1939: Kozin, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kosin, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kozin, Radyvyliv raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Kozin is located about 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Dubno. The 1921 census recorded 550 Jewish inhabitants in

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Kozin. In 1931, there were 599, and in mid-1941, there were probably around 650 Jews living in Kozin.[1]

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kozin at the end of June 1941. A military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village in July and August 1941. The Ortskommandantur appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited a local Ukrainian police force.

A few days after the Germans' arrival, they ordered all the Jewish men to assemble, and local Ukrainians identified alleged Soviet collaborators, who were then shot. A few weeks later, the German-appointed administration carried out atrocities against the Jews. They set fire to the synagogue and its Torah scrolls, and 20 Jews were murdered.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kozin: Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later, a yellow circular patch); they were required to perform forced labor with little or no compensation; and they were forbidden to leave the village limits.

In September, a German civil administration took over. Kozin became the center of Rayon Kosin in Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was a man named Brocks, and from the spring of 1942 the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant Eberhardt.[3] There was a Gendarmerie post in Kozin, which took over responsibility for the Ukrainian police (renamed Schutzmannschaft).

On May 23, 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto[4] that held Jews brought in from surrounding villages as well as the Jews of Kozin. The ghetto consisted of about 30 small houses. One week later, on May 30, the Germans carried out the first Aktion in the nearby village of Hranowka, just to the west of Kozin. From the ghetto they selected 372 Jews considered unfit for work,[5] and these people were shot by a detachment of the Sipo and SD from Równe, with the assistance of the 1st Company, 33rd Reserve Police Battalion.[6] Skilled workers and their families were exempted from this Aktion, and some Jews evaded the Aktion by hiding. Once the Aktion was over, many of those who had hidden returned to the ghetto under the illusion that those who were working were protected.[7]

On October 6, 1942, the German authorities liquidated the Kozin ghetto,[8] shooting some 700 Jews in the village of Hranowka.[9] Assisted by the Ukrainian police and members of the German Gendarmerie, a Sipo and SD detachment from Równe carried out the mass shooting. On the eve of this Aktion, several dozen Jews succeeded in fleeing the ghetto, but many of them were subsequently caught by the Ukrainian police and shot. All told, during the period from 1941 to 1944, the German occupiers and their collaborators killed 1,288 inhabitants among the civilian population of the Kozin raion, including 1,029 Jews.[10] Jewish victims accounted for 79.9 percent of those killed.

Approximately 30 Jews were saved by Czech and Polish farmers who hid them. The Red Army drove the Germans out of Kozin in March 1944.

SOURCES A short article on the fate of the Jewish population of Kozin was published in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities*, *Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 165–166.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kozin can be found in these archives: AŻIH; DARO; GARF (7021-71-53); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 33456 and 45524); and YVA (M-1/E/947, O-3/1302, 4152).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 362.
2. "Kozin," in Spector *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. AŻIH (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html); Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
5. AŻIH (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html).
6. See the report of the HSSPF in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, in TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
7. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
8. According to AŻIH data (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html).
9. GARF, 7021-71-53, p. 2.
10. Ibid.

KRASILOV

Pre-1941: Krasilov, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Krasilow, Rayon center, Gebiet Antoniny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Krasyliv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Krasilov is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) southeast of Równe. According to the census of 1939, 1,250 Jews lived in Krasilov (17.2 percent of the total). There were an additional 1,442 Jews living in the villages of what was then the Krasilov raion, including the village of Kul'chitsy.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east or were conscripted into the Red Army. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Krasilov at the start of the occupation.

On July 8, 1941, forces of the German 6th Army occupied Krasilov. In July and August 1941, a German military administration took control of the town. The military authorities appointed a mayor and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force.

In September 1941, Krasilov was placed under German civil administration and included in Gebiet Antoniny. Regierungsassessor Harald Schorer became the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny until 1943, when he was succeeded by Gerhard

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Friedrich, who had served previously as his deputy.[1] A German Gendarmerie post with four Gendarmes was established in the town; it supervised the local Ukrainian police.

In the summer and autumn of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Krasilov. Soon after the arrival of the German military authorities, Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings in the form of the Star of David, and later the Gebietskommissar ordered them to sew yellow patches onto the back and front of their clothing. In addition, they had to perform forced labor and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town.

In or around October 1941, Mikhail Grinchuk, the head of the local Ukrainian administration in Krasilov, signed a public notice prepared by the Gebietskommissar informing all the Jews that they would have to live in a ghetto. Jews from the surrounding area were brought into Krasilov by the local police and were placed initially in three long one-story buildings next to where the market was located after World War II.[2] About two weeks after the announcement, Gerhard Friedrich, the deputy of the Gebietskommissar, arrived in Krasilov and organized the creation of the ghetto, personally choosing the section of town that was to be surrounded with barbed wire. The ghetto, consisting of about 25 houses, was located adjacent to the buildings that initially held the new arrivals. The Gendarmerie and local police assisted Grinchuk in obtaining barbed wire for the ghetto.[3]

All the Jewish residents of Krasilov had moved into the cramped space of the ghetto by January 1, 1942, with the exception of the Jewish craftsmen (shoemakers, glaziers, plumbers) and their families, who now lived in three buildings outside the fence. The perimeter of the ghetto was guarded day and night by two to four Ukrainian policemen. Jews were officially prohibited from visiting the market, and no rations were provided. The worst aspect was the lack of access to water in the ghetto. However, some Jews were able to trade items for food with the local population and also to obtain water after making arrangements with the guards.[4] The local non-Jewish inhabitants of Krasilov became aware that Jews in the ghetto were dying, frequently from starvation or disease.

The Jews living in the ghetto were assigned forced labor tasks by the local administration, such as repairing roads or working in the sugar refinery, which was supervised by the Ukrainian police.

On April 25 or 26, 1942, the most respected and educated Jew in the ghetto, Moisha Hammerschmid, was summoned to the Gendarmerie post. On his return he bore the scars of beatings and torture and fainted into the arms of his fellow Jews. When he came round, he started to scream in Yiddish that everyone should try to get to safety wherever they could, as they all faced death. He then explained that the Gendarmerie had ordered all the ghetto inhabitants to assemble on the square next to the fence on the morning of May 1, as they were going to be resettled. They could take with them only property up to a weight of 16 kilograms (35 pounds) for adults and 8 kilograms (17.6 pounds) for children.

On May 1 and 2, 1942, most of the Jewish population of the ghetto was resettled into a "labor camp" in a stable in the village of Orlintsy, close to Antoniny. At the end of May, the Germans also began to transfer the Jewish craftsmen to Orlintsy. While escorting a group of 44 Jews on foot to Orlintsy, Ukrainian police on horseback shot 8 Jews who fell behind the column, owing to weakness. In Orlintsy at this time, some 100 Jews from various locations in Gebiet Antoniny were being held. From the labor camp, selected Jews were forced daily to drag heavy stones in a cart behind them for several kilometers. Subsequently, most Jews from the Orlintsy camp were taken to Manivtsy to be killed. The Jewish survivor Moysey Katz managed to escape back to the Krasilov ghetto shortly after his transfer to Orlintsy at the end of May.[5]

In Krasilov, Katz continued to live in the buildings for specialist workers, while some elderly Jews and children remained in the ghetto, as they were unfit for work, together with a few adults who had somehow avoided the transfers.

In July 1942, the ghetto in Krasilov was cleared. The Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police drove the Jews out of the ghetto and escorted them on foot to the village of Manivtsy. Those who were unfit were loaded onto carts. In Manivtsy, they were held for a few days and then shot along with other Jews from Gebiet Antoniny.[6] The mass murder was organized by a detachment from the Security Police and SD outpost in Starokonstantinov. The Ukrainian police guarded the victims before they were shot and cordoned off the killing site during the shooting.[7]

The remaining 300 or so Jewish craftsmen with their families in Krasilov were then moved from the neighboring buildings into the ghetto, which was also reduced in size and now surrounded with two rings of barbed wire. On about September 10 or 12, 1942, the guard on the ghetto was strengthened, and about 30 Jews managed to flee at night, anticipating a final Aktion. The remaining craftsmen from the ghetto were also shot in Manivtsy. Many of those who escaped were subsequently also caught and shot.[8]

After the last Jews had been removed from the Krasilov ghetto, any remaining property of value was taken away by the Gendarmerie to Antoniny. The local population plundered the empty houses. With the permission of the Gebietskommissar, the local Ukrainian administration sold off some of the houses for local residents to live in, while others were dismantled either for firewood or as building material. Remaining items of lesser value, such as old furniture and crockery, were also sold to the local population. The proceeds from these sales, along with other local taxes, were booked to the account of the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny.[9]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Krasilov can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (R863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-793, 800); and YVA (M-33). BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 442/67: Gebietskommissariat Antoniny) contains materials on the crimes committed by officials of the German police and civil administration in the Krasilov raion. In these files, there are some detailed

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descriptions of the persecution and massacres of the Jewish population.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
2. Descriptions of the ghetto are all based on postoccupation testimonies.
3. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 199–203, statement of defendant Mikhail A. Grinchuk, March 30, 1947; see also vol. 1, p. 221, statement of Yakov M. Omelyaniuk, December 21, 1972; vol. 1, pp. 275–276, statement of Moysey M. Katz, December 22, 1972.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 275–277, statement of Katz.
5. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 277–279, statement of Katz. See also Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
6. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95.
7. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 280–281, statement of Katz.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 199–203, statement of Grinchuk.

KRYMNO

Pre-1939: Krymno village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zabolot'e raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Sabolotje, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stara Vyzhivka raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Krymno is located about 53 kilometers (33 miles) northwest of Kowel. In mid-1941, approximately 500 Jews (about 70 families) resided in the Zabolot'e raion, primarily in Krymno.

German forces occupied the village on June 22, 1941. Until early September 1941, the village was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), and then command was transferred to a German civil administration. Rayon Sabolotje was part of Gebiet Kowel. The first Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, but in June 1942 he was replaced by Erich Kassner. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp.[1] He was head of the Gendarmerie posts located in the former Soviet raion centers and of the Ukrainian auxiliary police. One of the Gendarmerie posts was located in Zabłocie (the center of Rayon Sabolotje), and in Krymno there was also a post of the Ukrainian auxiliary police.

In May 1942, on the orders of the Gebietskommissar, a ghetto was created in Krymno, into which Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes drove approximately 400 people from the villages of Rayon Sabolotje. Ukrainian policemen guarded the ghetto and repeatedly beat the Jews. The residents of the ghetto were forbidden to leave or to communicate with local non-Jews. Each resident of the ghetto received only a small portion of bread per day, as a result of a terrible shortage of food inside the ghetto.

On September 5, 1942, a ditch was dug near the village measuring 20 meters by 4 meters by 2 meters (65.6 by 13.1 by 6.6 feet). On September 6, Ukrainian policemen, led by the chief of the Ukrainian district police, N.G. Dufanets, as well as German Gendarmes from Zabłocie: Sitzler, Kaminski, and Wagner, shot all the residents of the ghetto (at least 386 people) in this ditch, on the orders of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Rapp. Among those killed were Mindell Leizer and his wife, mother-in-law, and three children; Shana Goldman and his family of four; Borukh Roytinstein and his family of five; and many others.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, there remained a labor camp in Zabłocie in which Jewish artisans were kept with their families. On January 9, 1943, the camp was liquidated: Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes shot 101 Jews.[2]

On August 28, 1980, the Volyn' Regional Court handed down a death sentence to the former head of the Ukrainian police in Rayon Sabolotje, Dufanets, as well as to two former Ukrainian policemen in Krymno, A.L. Bubela and F.Ye. Rybachuk, who played an active role in the murder of the Jews of the Krymno ghetto. Kyrylo Zvarich, another local policeman who escaped to Britain after the war, died peacefully in Bolton in 1986 despite repeated Soviet requests for his extradition.[3]

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jewish population of Krymno can be found in the following archives: DASBU-Lu; DAVO; and GARF (7021-55-3). There are no publications specifically focused on the Krymno ghetto; more general publications containing information on the ghetto are cited in the notes.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; verdict of LG-Old, 2 Ks 1/64 (case against Erich Kassner and Fritz Manthei) on September 28, 1966.
2. Verdict of the Volyn Regional Court in the Case of Traitors of the Homeland N.G. Dufanets, A.L. Bubela, and F.Ye. Rybachuk, published in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine 1941–1944. Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987), pp. 345–352; P. Shafeta, *Stroku davnosti ne isnue* (Kiev, 1984), pp. 68–78, 128–134.
3. David Cesarani, *Justice Delayed: How Britain Became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals* (London: William Heinemann, 1992), pp. 195–196.

KRZEMIENIEC

Pre-1939: Krzemieniec (Yiddish: Kremenets), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kremenets, raion center, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kremenez, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kremenets', Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Krzemieniec is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) south-southeast of Łuck. In 1931, 7,256 Jews lived there (26.5 per-

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Three young Luftwaffe personnel publicly humiliate an elderly Jew in the streets of Krzemieniec, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #09527, COURTESY OF IPN

cent of the population). By 1941, the Jewish population exceeded 12,000, including more than 4,000 refugees. After the start of the German invasion, several hundred young Jews were able to flee into the Soviet Union.

The Germans occupied the town on July 3, 1941.[1] During July and August 1941, a German military administration temporarily governed the town; in September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The town became the administrative center of Gebiet Kremenez, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec was Regierungsrat Müller.[2] A Ukrainian local council and police force were created in Krzemieniec. The Ukrainian police, renamed the Schutzmannschaft, was subordinate to the German Gendarmerie post consisting of several German Gendarmes.

According to a report dated July 20, 1941, by Einsatzgruppe C based in Zhitomir, the Soviets had killed 100 to 150 Ukrainians just before their retreat from Krzemieniec. Some of these people were apparently thrown into a cauldron of boiling water, as evidenced by the fact that the corpses, when exhumed, had no skin. The German Einsatzgruppe report states that on July 3, 1941, "the Ukrainians killed 130 Jews with clubs as a form of revenge."[3] The account of B. Shvarts indicates that the pogrom lasted for several days. He reports that Jewish stores were robbed, and Jews were badly beaten and thrown in jail. The SS and "Gendarmerie" (probably "Feldgendarmerie" of the Wehrmacht) assisted the Ukrainians, who arrived in groups from the surrounding villages to beat and kill Jews. Shvarts writes that a group of Jews bribed the German commandant to stop the murders; he estimates that about 800 Jews died during the pogrom.[4]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Krzemieniec: a Judenrat was created, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first a white armband with a Star of David on the right arm, and then a yellow patch sewn on the shoulder, a little below the collar), and they were compelled to perform forced labor during which they were beaten and otherwise abused. It was forbidden for Jews to use the sidewalks, and they had to take off their hats when passing a German.

On one occasion, a Jewish child who had tried to buy something in the marketplace was caught and forced to dance on a table and then lick a German's spit off the table. On another occasion, German officials sent the beadle home and stole everything valuable from the synagogue. They then brought in barrels of kerosene and other flammable material and set the synagogue on fire. Only its stone walls were left standing. Afterwards, the Gestapo came to the Judenrat to "investigate" who had burned down the synagogue. They wrote an official report claiming that the Jews had burned it down themselves. Gebietskommissar Müller decided to pull down the walls of the burned-out synagogue and sow the place where it stood with grass. During the destruction of the walls, one wall fell and crushed some people.[5]

On July 23, 1941, the German Security Police arrested and killed members of the Jewish "intelligentsia" (several hundred people).[6] According to Shvarts, the Gestapo arrived in Krzemieniec and ordered the Judenrat to collect people with an academic status for forced labor. Those gathered (mostly intelligentsia and religious leaders) were taken away to be shot: 800 people were killed, destroying the fabric of the Jewish community's leadership.[7]

Soon after their arrival, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first chairman was Dr. Benjamin Katz, and other members included Dr. Buzi Landesberg and Dr. Lione Grinberg. The Judenrat consisted of well-respected individuals from the town as well as refugees from the west who knew German.[8] After Katz was murdered for his refusal to collaborate with the Nazis, Bronfeld became the Judenrat chairman (in the summer of 1942). After Bronfeld was killed by the Nazis, Dr. Mandel became chairman. The Judenrat

The burning of a synagogue in Krzemieniec, 1941.
USHMM WS #09528, COURTESY OF IPN

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Jews wearing circular badges walk through town during a deportation from the Krzemieniec ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #09524 COURTESY OF IPN

was responsible for supplying Jews for forced labor and for distributing the daily bread ration of 75 grams (2.6 ounces) per person.

The head of the Jewish Police was Dr. Mandel from Kraków, who spoke German well. Two of the Jewish policemen acted as German agents: Bronfeld, a Czech Jew (who later became Judenrat chairman), and a Jew from Łódź, Itsi Diamant. Diamant was connected to an international band of thieves and swindlers. He was shot when diamonds were discovered in his house. Before the establishment of the ghetto, the Jewish Police were responsible for collecting contributions and for ensuring that people went to work as instructed. The police would go from house to house, collecting people for forced labor. The workers were fed a half-liter (16.9 ounces) of soup and 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per day. Cleanliness was very important and enforced by the Jewish Police, as was the 7:00 P.M. curfew. The police helped smuggle food into the ghetto at night because they were allowed past the ghetto guards.[9]

On March 1, 1942, the remaining Jews (about 8,000 people) were driven into a ghetto.[10] The ghetto was located in the west part of town. It was 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) long and 100 meters (328 feet) wide. It was initially set up at the end of January 1942 and sealed off from the rest of the town on March 1. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence 3 meters (9.8 feet) high. Although Jews were allowed to bring in their belongings, the ghetto was so overcrowded that there was nowhere to put them, and much had to be left behind.[11]

Some 10 to 12 people died of hunger every day, owing to the meager daily bread allotment. Gebietskommissar Müller issued some 500 death sentences based on false accusations of alleged "crimes." The German authorities demanded a "contribution" of 25 tons of grain. Women and men were forced to have short hair. Jews had to dismantle the Jewish cemetery because the Germans needed the stones for their own construction projects. Müller ordered the Judenrat to set up a brothel for Jewish youths aged 16 to 19. Every youth was ordered to visit the brothel and received a special note acknowledging his visit. This order was revoked for youths whose parents could afford to pay off the Germans. In August 1941, Jews had to "contribute" more than 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold and silver to Müller.

A standard day in the ghetto proceeded in the following way: first, people stood in line in the morning at one of the three wells for water. After cleaning and sweeping the streets, people went to the kitchen for soup and to distribution points for bread. Sometimes people fought for bread when there was not enough, and the police had to intervene. The youths were taken to their workplaces; people walked in columns, with a policeman at the head. On the way back from work, people were searched and beaten if the Germans caught them smuggling anything. The hospital was not assigned any food, so workers would sometimes bring some back for the sick. There was an illegal market in the ghetto.[12]

Once, a drunken German entered the ghetto. All the adults ran away, leaving only the children. The German gave them all candy and embraced and kissed them. Then he cried and lamented, "Poor Jewish children! Why does that damned Hitler persecute you?" The ghetto guards could sometimes be bribed to let wagons of food into the ghetto.

When the Jews in the Krzemieniec ghetto heard about killing Aktions in other towns, they began to look for ways to escape death. Some people escaped from the ghetto; others built hiding places underground (bunkers). The bunkers were so small, however, that people were unable to stay in them for an entire Aktion, and many ended up coming out. Others were able to build bunkers that had electricity and sewage facilities. In mid-1942, there were about 8,500 Jews in the ghetto.[13]

One week before the final Aktion (in August 1942), the German forces made announcements in the city, inciting the local population against the Jews. On Saturday, August 9, 1942, the workers received an order to report to the trains after work to load grain onto wagons. They worked half the night, which ensured that they would be even more exhausted than usual and unable to resist when the Aktion was carried out. During the night of August 9–10, loud shooting broke out in the ghetto. The ghetto fence was torn down, and Jews were dragged out of their houses. Some people were caught in the crossfire and died in the ghetto; some people escaped to their hiding places. About 60 Gendarmes and a force of Ukrainian Schutzmänner, mainly from the locally based battalion, entered the ghetto. The Nazis claimed that the shooting throughout the night was carried out by Jews who had initiated an uprising.

The Judenrat was ordered to gather all those capable of work at the gate. The Gendarmes and the Security Police performed a selection to determine who would be removed from the ghetto. People were lined up at the gates in two long lines, and the Ukrainians stood between the two lines. The security forces led people in groups of 400 from the gate to Belaia Krinitsa under heavy guard. Those who tried to escape were shot. According to one account, 1,500 able-bodied prisoners were dispatched to perform forced labor in Belaia Krinitsa,[14] while another account gives the number as 1,200 Jewish craftsmen.[15]

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The first victims of the Aktion (which took place on the following day) were the patients in the hospital and the poor, who occupied a former hotel. They were gathered in the synagogue square and taken from there to the old barracks behind the city in wagons or on foot. The victims were beaten and forced to undress and lie down in the ditches. Local Christians watched as the victims were shot. The German police and their collaborators returned to the ghetto to look for people hiding in bunkers. The cries of infants often gave people away. Sometimes the children were suffocated or poisoned by their desperate parents. Some people committed suicide with their families to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy.[16] The Aktion was carried out by a team of Security Police and SD with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including the 102nd Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft battalion, based in the town before its transfer to antipartisan operations in Belorussia. About 5,000 Jews from the ghetto and half the Jews in Belaia Krinitsa were killed.[17]

On August 14, 1942, 1,500 more Jews were shot, making a total of 6,402 people.[18] A German report dated August 15 states that Jews from the small nearby ghetto in Bereżce were brought in trucks to Krzemieniec and killed along with the local Jews. The victims were 2,322 men, 2,925 women, and 1,155 children.[19] On August 16, 1942, about 400 Jews from Belaia Krinitsa were killed together with Jews captured in the ghetto and transported to the killing site in two cars. Some 200 craftsmen were brought from Belaia Krinitsa to the prison in Krzemieniec. On August 20, 1942, a team of Security Police and SD shot 1,210 more Jews (848 women and children and 362 men). During the night of September 2, 1942, Jews hiding in the ghetto set it on fire to cover their escape. Most of them were captured and shot (several hundred people).[20]

Another account states that the Germans set the ghetto on fire to kill the Jews remaining in hiding. Firemen were brought in to make sure the fire did not spread outside the ghetto. The people escaping the fire from the bunkers were killed by the firemen, Germans, and Ukrainians.[21] Additionally, 120 Jewish craftsmen from the prison were shot on September 2. Later the remaining craftsmen were killed.[22]

Sixteen-year-old R. Kravets witnessed the slaughter on August 10, 1942, and recorded the following in his diary: "Behind the town there is an old entrenchment, about a kilometer [0.6 mile] in length . . . that is where the execution took place. The removal of the Jews from the ghetto began at approximately 3:00 A.M. and lasted until late in the night." He writes that people were loaded into a truck in layers: the first people on the bottom of the truck, the next set on top of the first, and so on. There was absolute silence; no one talked or screamed or cried. Trucks returned, filled with clothing. The drunken Ukrainian policemen pocketed the victims' watches and hid clothing in secure places in the forest to pick up later for themselves. At the site of the killings, the victims were unloaded from the truck, forced to undress, and led one by one to the entrenchment.

The entrenchment was filled with human bodies, covered with chlorine. People were forced to lie down on the corpses and were shot by two Gestapo men. Some Jews resisted, not wanting to undress or get into the ditch. These people were shot on the spot and thrown into the pit. When it seemed full, a policeman covered it with some earth, and the people were led to the adjacent ditch. The Ukrainian policemen were constantly given alcohol to keep them drunk. "People were completely apathetic—they just wanted it to end, and quickly: this is a result of the famine and beatings."[23]

It appears that only a handful of Jews from the ghetto survived.[24]

SOURCES Several firsthand accounts of events in the ghetto can be found in the yizkor book, which contains material in Hebrew and Yiddish, edited by Abraham Stein, *Pinkas Kremenets: Sefer Zikkaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun 'ole Kremenits be-Yisrael, 1954). There is also some material concerning survivors from Krzemieniec in M. Goldenberg et al., eds., *Kol yotsai Kremenits be-Yisrael v'batfutsot* (Booklet 11) (Tel Aviv: Organization of Kremenets Emigrants, 1974); see www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/kremenets1/kremenets1.html.

Documents on the annihilation of the Jews of Krzemieniec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1393); BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67); GARF (7021-75-3); IPN; and YVA (JM/324 and JM/10598).

Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Another source indicates that the Germans entered the town on July 4; see B. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology and the Destruction of Kremenets," in Stein, *Pinkas Kremenets*, pp. 416–435, here p. 416.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Übersicht über die besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 28, July 20, 1941. According to another source, 300 to 500 Jews were killed during the pogrom organized by local Ukrainian antisemites; see GARF, 7021-75-6, pp. 13 reverse, 20, and 49.
4. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 418.
5. Ibid., pp. 419–422.
6. GARF, 7021-75-3, p. 14.
7. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 420. According to Shvarts, the Aktion took place in August.
8. Ibid., p. 418.
9. Ibid., pp. 423–426.
10. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 173–174. Kruglov notes that the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report gives the figure of some 13,000 Jews enclosed in the ghetto. However, in light of subsequent reports on the fate of the ghetto's Jews, this number is almost certainly too high.
11. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 421.
12. Ibid., pp. 423–425.
13. Ibid., p. 428.
14. Ibid., pp. 431–433.
15. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.

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16. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 434.
17. Evidence of the participation of the Ukrainian police battalion can be found in BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, pp. 311–324, J.K.K. on February 14, 1969, and M.D.K. on February 19, 1969.
18. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
19. IPN, Zbiór Zespołów Szczatkowych Jednostek SS i Policji—Sygnatura 77.
20. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
21. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 435. This account also indicates that the Germans tried to spread rumors that the people hiding in the ghetto had started the fire, but the Ukrainians did not believe this, as they had seen the Nazis setting the ghetto on fire and forbidding anyone to put it out.
22. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
23. R. Kravchenko-Berezhnoi, *Moi XX vek (Stop-kadry)* (Apatity, 1998), pp. 118–119. See also A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 396–397.
24. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 435.

KUL'CHINY

Pre-1941: Kul'chiny, village, Krasilov raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kultschiny, Rayon Krasilow, Gebiet Antoniny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kul'chyny, Krasyliv raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Kul'chiny is located 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) south-southeast of Równe. In the 1930s, the village was the center of a Jewish rural sel'sovet. As of 1931, 1,060 Jews lived in Kul'chiny. As a result of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the movement of Jews to other regions during the early 1930s, the Jewish population decreased by several hundred persons.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews (about 20 families) were able to evacuate to the east, and some Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army. About 400 Jews (including some 40 craftsmen) remained in Kul'chiny at the start of the occupation.[1]

In early July 1941, troops of the German 6th Army occupied Kul'chiny. In July and August 1941, the occupying German military authorities appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kul'chiny became part of Rayon Krasilow in Gebiet Antoniny, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsassessor Harald Schorer became the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Gebiet Antoniny, which included Kul'chiny, were organized in 1942 by officials of the Security Police outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Starokonstantinov, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf,[2] assisted by the chief of the Gendarmerie, Karl Otto Paul.[3] The head of the Ukrainian police in Antoniny was named Galitzky.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kul'chiny. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings, first in the shape of the Star of David, later patches in the shape of a yellow circle, sewn onto their clothes. In addition, they were required to perform arduous manual labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to arbitrary robbery and humiliation by the Ukrainian police.

In late 1941 or early 1942, Gebietskommissar Schorer issued an order posted in public places to establish ghettos in Bazaliia, Krasilov, and Kul'chiny. The Jews of the Gebiet were ordered to move to one of these places, where they would be confined to a specific quarter (ghetto).[4] Shortly afterwards, a ghetto was established in Kul'chiny, consisting of about 25 houses. The Jews were made to erect the barbed-wire fence themselves. The Jewish houses outside the ghetto area remained empty or were pulled down to make room for the fence or for other purposes. Initially there was no permanent guard around the ghetto, but the Jews were afraid to go into the village, as this was prohibited. According to one account, some Jews escaped from the ghetto, and those who were caught were shot by the German security forces. The Jews were also forbidden to converse with the local Ukrainian population.[5]

From time to time, the Germans and local police came to Kul'chiny and escorted groups of Jews to perform forced labor, such as road work in Antoniny or other places. The Jews received no rations but lived on whatever they could get from the local Ukrainian population. The Germans and local police humiliated the ghetto inhabitants in every conceivable way. When they were forced to dismantle their houses and load the materials onto carts for transport to Antoniny, Jews (even young Jewish girls) were forced to take the place of the horses that ordinarily pulled the carts. The precise number of Jews in the ghetto is not known, but it was about 400 or 500, probably including some brought in from nearby villages such as Kuz'min.[6]

Sometime around the end of May 1942, part of the Jewish population from the ghetto was resettled into a labor camp based in a stable in the village of Orlintsy, close to Antoniny, where they worked repairing roads and performing other tasks.[7]

In July 1942, the ghetto in Kul'chiny was liquidated. Members of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police from Gebiet Antoniny surrounded the ghetto and escorted the roughly 60 remaining Jews to the village of Manivtsy. Those unable to walk were loaded onto carts. In Manivtsy, many of the Jews of the Gebiet were collected before being taken out and shot, including those from the Orlintsy camp. Initially the Jews from Kul'chiny were held overnight in a stable in Manivtsy, and on the following day, once the grave was ready, the Jews were transported in trucks to a nearby wood.[8] As they were being unloaded, a local resident of Manivtsy recognized the Jewish teacher Solomyonnaya from Kul'chiny, who used to teach his son. The woman was pulling her hair out and shouted to a local policeman that she was a teacher; she tried to show him a document, but the policeman

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knocked her to the ground with a blow to the head from his rifle butt.[9]

A German SD man shot the Jews into a pit roughly 20 meters long by 4 meters wide (65.6 by 13.1 feet). Two Jews who attempted to flee were shot dead as they ran. There were probably several such mass shootings organized here by the Security Police and SD unit based in Starokonstantinov as successive groups of Jews arrived in Manivtsy. The Ukrainian police were responsible for escorting the victims before the shootings and for cordoning off the killing site.[10] About 200 Jewish craftsmen from the Krasilov ghetto, together with some other Jews still held at Manivtsy, were shot on the grounds of the estate in Manivtsy in September 1942.[11]

After the Jews had been removed from the Kul'chiny ghetto, the Gebietskommissar took over responsibility for the empty houses. Most were dismantled, and the materials were taken to Antoniny to be used by German officials as firewood. The local Ukrainian authorities sold only a few houses for local residents to live in.[12]

There were very few survivors of the Kul'chiny ghetto.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Kul'chiny is located in the following archives: BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 442/67); DAKhO (R863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-793); VHF (# 30137); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 315–316, statement of Mikhail I. Moskaliuk, March 21, 1973.
2. Graf died in 1953.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Concluding Report, March 18, 1971, and Instruction (Verfügung), June 18, 1974. Schorer perished in 1943, and Paul died in 1969.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 368–374, statement of Pyotr Tomchuk, December 18, 1972. Tomchuk dates the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1942.
5. GARF, 7021-64-793, pp. 95, 98; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 209, statement of Yakov Y. Kondratiuk, December 19, 1972; and p. 217, statement of Moskaliuk, March 21, 1973.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 217, statement of Domna Moskaliuk.
7. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95.
8. Ibid.; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Denis Paska (resident of Manivtsy), March 14, 1973; vol. 1, pp. 256–261, statement of Pyotr A. Doshchuk, January 19, 1973 (former local policeman in Gebiet Antoniny); vol. 1, pp. 287–299, statement of Vasily S. Lysink, February 1, 1973 (former local policeman from Antoniny).
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 214, statement of Nikolay S. Kravchuk, March 15, 1973.
10. Ibid., Concluding Report, March 18, 1971, and Instruction, June 18, 1974; vol. 1, pp. 256–261, statement of Doshchuk.
11. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Paska.
12. Ibid., pp. 199–203, statement of Mikhail A. Grinchuk in his own case, March 30, 1947.

KUPEL'

Pre-1941: Kupel', village, Volochisk raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kupel, Rayon Wolotschisk, Gebiet Proskurow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volochisk raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Kupel' is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,828 Jews living in the village (43.2 percent of the total population). In the years 1927–1941, the number of Jews in the village was almost halved as a result of emigration and the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Kupel' on July 5, 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country, and men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. Around 800 to 900 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The Ortskommandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Kupel' became part of Gebiet Proskurow (Gebietskommissar: Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck), which in turn belonged to Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

At the start of the occupation, it was above all the rabbi of Kupel', 55-year-old Itzhak Meir Glaser, who was tortured and subjected to violations of dignity. He managed to escape and hide. Then the Germans took 51 hostages and declared that they would be executed unless the rabbi showed up. To save these people, Glaser voluntarily came out of hiding. Nevertheless, most of the hostages perished: they had been confined within a very small space, such that they were forced to lie on top of each other; the doors and windows of this tiny room were tightly closed, and as a result almost everyone, except those in the very top layer, suffocated during the night. The corpses were buried in a pit near the monument to Lenin, and sometime later, when the smell of putrefaction became noticeable, they were reburied in the Jewish cemetery. The rabbi was murdered and buried with the hostages.[1]

In the summer of 1941 a "Jewish quarter" (an open ghetto) was established in the village. Mikhail Furman and his family, who arrived from the nearby village of Klininy shortly after the arrival of the Germans, lived there in a two-bedroom house together with two other families. He recalled that everyone in the ghetto had to wear a yellow star, and they were forbidden to go outside without wearing it—or they would be killed on the spot. The Jews were also required to perform various kinds of forced labor. Every day the local police would come around and demand any gold or valuable items from the Jews. If they did not surrender their possessions right away, they were shot.

There was not much to eat in the ghetto, and ghetto residents often went hungry. However, there was a market

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where they could buy or barter items for food. At the market, some Ukrainians still gave them food, even if they had no means to pay for it. The efforts of these Ukrainians saved them, as the Jewish Council (Judenrat) had requisitioned their remaining property to meet German contributions.[2]

The Kupel' ghetto was liquidated in August 1942 when about 600 Jews were resettled to Volochisk. On September 11, 1942, the Jewish New Year, they were murdered there, along with the other Jews gathered in that town. Some of the Jews managed to escape at the time of the roundup and were not resettled to Volochisk. The Ukrainian police regularly conducted raids in search of the Jews in hiding, and all those who were captured and brought to Kupel' were shot in the Jewish cemetery.[3]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jewish community of Kupel' during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: "Kupel," 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), p. 690; T. Perlshtein, "Kupel: In Memory of My Shtetl and the Dear Ones Who Died There" (unpub. memoirs, Oakland, 1996); and "Rav Itzhak Meir Glaser & Gitl Perelman," available at www.geocities.com/kuzja14/death_of_jews_of_kupel.doc.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Kupel' can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (R863-2-39); GARF (7021-64-795); VHF (# 39625); and YVA (M-52/179).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. DAKhO, R863-2-39, p. 74; see also the letter of Kupel' native M. Adler to Bertha Glaser (the rabbi's daughter; at that time she was in the Kemerovo oblast', involved in Zionist activity) dated June 4, 1944 originally at www.geocities.com. These events, it seems, took place on the second day of the village's occupation, that is, on July 6, 1941, and at the same time, according to ChGK documents, 100 hostages were taken, of which 89 perished (GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 139). VHF, # 39625, testimony of Mikhail Furman, also mentions 50 or 60 Jews murdered in Kupel' at the start of the occupation.
2. VHF, # 39625.
3. GARF, 7021-64-795, pp. 139 and reverse. In all, it seems 172 Jews were captured and shot.

ŁACHWA

Pre-1939: Łachwa, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lakhva, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lachwa, Rayon Luninez, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lakhva, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łachwa lies on the Smierc River, 80 kilometers (50 miles) east of Pińsk. In the late 1930s, Łachwa had a total population of about 3,800. Approximately 2,300 Jews were living in Łachwa on the eve of World War II. In September 1939, approximately 350 Jews who had managed to escape from Poland found refuge in Łachwa.[1]

The first German troops reached Łachwa on July 7–8, 1941. A Judenrat was set up, headed by Dov Lopatin, who had been the chair of the Zionist organization in Łachwa before the war. Jews were compelled to wear an armband bearing the Star of David and were conscripted for forced labor.[2]

The ghetto in Łachwa was established on April 4, 1942.[3] It consisted of 45 one-story houses. About 2,350 people were forced into the ghetto, which, as in Pińsk, amounted to roughly 1 square meter (10.8 square feet) per person.[4] The ghetto was located on the river and was divided by a road that split it into a larger and a smaller part. Jews from the surrounding villages were also confined there. The ghetto was fenced in and guarded by the police force recruited from local Ukrainian and Belorussian residents. The meager food allowance for Jews in the ghetto (200 grams [7 ounces] of bread per day) drove Jews to seek food outside the ghetto. Leaving the ghetto without permission was punishable by death.

In August and September 1941, news of massacres in the surrounding towns spread in Łachwa. Beginning in January 1942, Jewish youth organized underground groups, with the first group of 5 youths coming together under the leadership of Isaac Roszczyn, the head of the Revisionist Betar youth group. Soon five more groups of 5 formed, bringing the total of underground members to 30. Other members of the resistance included Asher Hafets, Hersz Migdalowicz, Icie Slucki, the brothers Fajnberg, Lejzor Romanowski, and Lopatkin.[5] The groups established contact with partisans in the area and with the Judenrat to secure funding and weapons, although antisemitism among local partisan groups limited the effectiveness of such contacts. While efforts to secure firearms were largely unsuccessful, members did manage to acquire axes, knives, and iron bars. Some firearms and grenades, which had been purchased, were hidden in the village of Liubka Lachowska. The Judenrat and the youth movement cooperated closely. The Judenrat also had offered money to purchase arms. Some members of the youth movement were also members of the Jewish Police who worked with both the Judenrat and the underground movement.

The liquidation of the Łachwa ghetto, which lay in the administrative area of the Łuniniec Security Police (Sipo) outpost (Aussendienststelle), began on September 2, 1942. SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp and his assistant Petsch led the Aktion; SS men Patik, Balbach, and Dohmen were among the hands-on executioners.[6] All these men were part of the Sipo outpost in Pińsk. Support was given by the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 306 and by the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 69. Wehrmacht forces stationed in Łuniniec cordoned off the ghetto. The Judenrat was told to assemble all the Jews on the streets.

During the previous month, August 1942, the Jews in the Łachwa ghetto received news of the fate of the Mikaszewicze ghetto.[7] At the time this information arrived, some local

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farmers had already excavated large pits in the vicinity of the town on the banks of the Smierc River. The pits were dug at night, and the victims knew full well that a mass grave had been prepared.[8]

Knowledge of the impending liquidation prompted different responses within the Jewish population. In general there was a feeling of helplessness and confusion within the community. Roszczyn and other members of his organization began to prepare for armed resistance. Although Roszczyn wanted to break out of the ghetto the night before, Lopatin asked him for time so that he could learn more about the Germans' intentions. The Judenrat raised the issue of the continued existence of the ghetto with the Germans at two levels, first, with Ebner of the Gebietskommissariat, who informed the Judenrat that the same fate awaited the Łachwa ghetto if its inhabitants attempted to escape. He demanded and received from the Judenrat a list of the names of the ghetto inhabitants. Second, the chairman of the Judenrat, Lopatin, made inquiries with the Wehrmacht and was told that "the Jewish population has an important task ahead of them" and that the pits were purely for military purposes. Lopatin was summoned to Ebner just prior to the ghetto liquidation. Ebner waived all pretense and informed him that the ghetto was to be liquidated and, in an attempt to obtain cooperation, proposed a deal whereby the doctor, the members of the Judenrat, and 30 artisans of Lopatin's choosing would be spared. Lopatin declined the offer and refused to cooperate with the Germans, choosing instead to initiate the uprising that Roszczyn had demanded.

When the liquidation Aktion commenced, trucks were parked on the street dividing the ghetto. The smaller part of the ghetto was to be liquidated first. Immediately after the Sipo forces entered the ghetto, Lopatin set fire to the Judenrat headquarters, which was the signal to begin the uprising. Other buildings in the ghetto were then set alight, and the Jews tried to escape while the ghetto was burning. Thus the Łachwa Judenrat made a conscious decision to forego the illusion of salvation and to share the fate of the Jewish population. The Sipo forces retaliated with machine gun and rifle fire[9] in an attempt to herd the Jews already assembled onto the trucks. Members of the underground attacked German forces, using axes, stones, and cleavers. Roszczyn killed a Gestapo officer with an ax and jumped into the river but was shot in the head.[10] Lopatin, who had joined the fighters, was injured in the hand but managed to flee to the forest. The Jews had some hand grenades, which they used against the Germans.[11] Chajm Chajfec was able to get the gun of a dead Gendarme and returned fire on the Germans. The resistance managed to kill six German and eight Belorussian policemen and injure some others. Approximately 1,000 Jews broke out of the ghetto, but hundreds were killed by German machine-gun fire, and only 600 managed to reach the Pripjet River. Others died in the flames, which enveloped the ghetto, and those who did not escape in the flight from the ghetto were brought to the pits and shot. Kopel Kolpanitzky recalled his flight from the ghetto: "The machine guns on the other side of the river opened fire along the length of Rinkowa Street, wounding fleeing Jews and killing them. . . . I also ran quickly, as the people who ran in front of me were shot and killed, their bodies falling next to me and their blood sprayed on my body." Many of the 600 Jews who escaped into the forests tried to join the partisans, but at least 120 died or were captured before contact could be made.[12] In the first few days after the escape, many were hunted down by the Germans and killed or handed over by local farmers.[13] Some did succeed in joining the partisans. In the ghetto, the shooting was over by early afternoon. At least 300 were murdered at the pits. Another 1,500 Jews were killed during the uprising. At the end of the war, only 90 of the escapees from the Łachwa ghetto were still alive.

The Łachwa Judenrat acknowledged the reality of the imminent murder of the Jews and rebelled. It is interesting that such rebellions mostly took place in the smaller towns. This can perhaps be explained by the more tightly knit community and less-stringent control by the Germans, which meant that the Jews had more opportunity to resist than in the larger towns. In some other ghettos, better contacts with people outside enabled more of the young Jews to arm themselves.

SOURCES Published sources include the Łachwa yizkor book: H.A. Mikhaeli, Y. Lichtshtein, Y. Moravtsik, and H. Shklar, eds., *Rishonim la-mered: Lahva* (Tel Aviv: Entsyklopedyah shel Galuyot, 1957). Also useful are the memoirs of Kopel Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-hayim: sipuro shel nitsol geto Lahva* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1999), now also available in English as *Sentenced to Life: The Story of a Survivor of the Lahwah Ghetto*, trans. Harold Jacobson (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007). Another relevant publication used for this entry is Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 261–262.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/286, 2441, and 3087); BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59); Sta. Braunschweig; USHMM (RG-50.030*0260); VHF; and YVA (O-3/475, 481, 487-90, and 496).

Stephen Pallavicini and Avinoam Patt

NOTES

1. Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-hayim*, p. 34.
2. Michaeli et al., *Rishonim la-mered*, pp. 44–45.
3. Izak Lichtenberg, AŻIH, 301/2441; also Leja Romanowska, 301/286. Mikhaeli notes in *Rishonim la-mered* that the Jews were forced into the ghetto on April 4, 1942 (14 Adar, 5702), the eve of the holiday of Passover; see p. 54.
4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 16, p. 4449, and vol. 19, p. 4711.
5. Leja Romanowska, AŻIH, 301/286.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Otto Scholl, April 4, 1963, 2538.
7. Ibid., statement of Leon Slutzky, 9637. See also Mikhaeli et al., *Rishonim la-mered*, pp. 58–59.
8. AŻIH, 301/3087.
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Bakalczuk, February 5, 1972, 6792.
10. Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-hayim*, p. 61.

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11. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Scholl, April 4, 1963, 2538.

12. Mojżesz Romanowski says that, in addition, 150 Jews were murdered by the partisans.

13. Kolpanitzky managed to hide in the pig shed of a local farmer before joining a group in the forest; see his *Nigzar le-hayim*, pp. 65–66. See also USHMM, RG-50.030*0260.

ŁANOWCE

Pre-1939: Łanowce, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lanovtsy, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lanowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lanivtsi, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Łanowce is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Krzemieniec. At the end of 1937, the number of Jews in Łanowce stood at 760.[1] In the fall of 1939, several hundred Jewish refugees from western and central Poland arrived in Łanowce, but during 1940 some of these people were deported to the interior of the USSR.

After the German attack on the USSR on June 22, 1941, several Jewish families managed to evacuate to the east. However, most Jews did not want to leave or were unable to flee because of the rapid advance of the German troops. Therefore, the majority of the town's Jews came under German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Łanowce on July 3, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Łanowce became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. Regierungsrat Fritz Müller was the Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec.[2] The German commandant soon named the Ukrainian Jakov Sutski as the town's headman (sołtys) and organized a local Ukrainian police force. In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police was renamed the Schutzmannschaft and subordinated to the post of the German Gendarmerie established in the town, which consisted of several German Gendarmes. The senior German official in Łanowce was a man named Richter, who had a reputation among the Jews as a brutal sadist.[3]

Soon after the occupation of the town by German troops, a group of Ukrainian antisemites organized a pogrom that left 60 Jews dead, Jewish girls raped, and Jewish homes looted. Local Ukrainians also used this opportunity to settle their own personal scores.[4] A few days later, 10 respected Jews were arrested and held as hostages in prison, where they were also starved. Persons alleged to have cooperated with the Soviets were also arrested. According to local Ukrainians, the prisoners were later escorted to the nearby village of Białozórka, where they were murdered. One Jewish survivor recalls that during these initial days the Ukrainian headman announced that "Jews were forbidden to have children and that the punishment would be for the man to be castrated and the woman made barren."[5]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Łanowce. Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later replaced by a yellow patch sewn onto their chest and back). They had to surrender all gold and valuable items, and they were made to perform forced labor. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to transmit their orders to the Jewish population and to ensure their prompt enforcement. The active members of the Judenrat were Yerukham Forman (the son of Ben Avraham Mash'hes) and Abramov, a refugee from Katowice.[6]

On February 28, 1942, the German authorities ordered the Jews to construct a ghetto fence between 2 and 4 meters (6.6 and 13.1 feet) high, made of wooden planks. The work took several days to complete under the supervision of the Ukrainian police. Within two or three days of this initial order, all the Jews of Łanowce were forced into the designated ghetto area, together with the Jews from Białozórka, other nearby villages, and also some Jews from the towns of Krzemieniec and Katrynburg. In total, there were about 2,000 inhabitants of the ghetto. The Jews were permitted to take into the ghetto only what they could carry in their arms. At this time there was much theft and looting by the Germans and Ukrainians, who took valuables and furniture for themselves. The ghetto was in a small area around Targowa and Ogrodowa Streets, incorporating the Bet Midrash but only part of the large synagogue (which had been converted into a granary). Most of the houses vacated by the Jews remained unoccupied. Conditions were very crowded in the ghetto, with five or six families (about 25 people) sharing an apartment, but people tried to find room for the additional occupants as best they could.[7]

Almost from the first day, the Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger, and a number of people starved to death. Many of those who died were buried in mass graves inside the ghetto area. To ameliorate the hunger, the Jewish Council organized a soup kitchen for the needy, and the ghetto was able to obtain some food by bartering items with local peasants.

Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto only to perform forced labor. The Judenrat had to organize a certain number of laborers each day to work outside the ghetto. The Jewish Police, headed by Raphael Krepman, assisted them, using force if necessary to assemble the contingent demanded by the Germans. Those who performed forced labor were paid in the form of a bread ration, but people also used the outside work details as an opportunity to barter for extra food. On returning to the ghetto, Jews were searched by the Ukrainian police to ensure that they were not smuggling anything. Some policemen, however, were susceptible to bribes. In the spring of 1942, the Germans demanded that 20 youths be sent to Równe for forced labor. On one occasion the Germans demanded that the Judenrat supply a number of pretty Jewish girls. The community raised a large bribe to get this demand revoked, anticipating that the girls would be defiled.[8] In the depressed atmosphere of the ghetto, religious life also declined, mainly out of fear. After 10 Jews were arrested and

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shot for saying Kaddish, only a few, mostly older Jews continued to pray publicly, although others continued behind closed doors.[9]

The German police liquidated the ghetto in mid-August 1942. First the ghetto was sealed off and surrounded by German and Ukrainian police. No Jews were permitted to leave for work for about four days before the Aktion. At this time people in the ghetto heard rumors that large pits were being prepared and became increasingly fearful, but few managed to escape. Then on August 14, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including members of the Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 102 based in Krzemieniec,[10] assisted by dogs, rounded up the Jews and escorted them to the two mass graves in the new Jewish cemetery. Here the Jews were forced to undress. The men were shot first into one mass grave and then the women and children into the other. The whole Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Równe.[11]

According to a Security Police report, 1,833 Jews (589 men, 783 women, and 461 children) were shot in Łanowce.[12] A small group of Jews hid and managed to escape the shooting. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police later captured most of them and shot them at the new Jewish cemetery.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report estimated the overall Jewish losses somewhat higher. It stated that the occupiers and their accomplices murdered in total 2,535 people (2,143 of them being Jews) in Rayon Lanowzy during the occupation. According to this estimate, Jews comprised 84.5 percent of all the victims.[13] Among the few Jews who survived was Moshe Rosenberg, who evaded the searches of the Ukrainian militia with the aid of local "Stundists" (Baptists) who were favorably disposed towards the Jews.[14] The Red Army recaptured the town from the Germans in early 1944.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Haim Rabin, *Lanovits: Sefer zikaron le-kedoshei lanovits she-nispu be-shoat ha natsim*, *1941–1942* (Israel: Association of Former Residents of Lanowce, 1970), includes several personal accounts by survivors of the ghetto and others who fled to the east. A short article on the Jewish community in Łanowce can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 102–103.

Documents on the ghetto and the extermination of the Jews in Łanowce can be found in the following archives: DATO; GARF (7021-75-211); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 362.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432. Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Meir Beker, "Kh' bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits (a kind derzeylt)," in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp. 329–338, here p. 329; Moshe Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp. 313–328, here p. 316. It is not clear whether Richter was an official of the civil administration or the senior Gendarme in the town. He was not traced by postwar German investigations into crimes in the Krzemieniec district.
4. Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," p. 314.
5. Ibid., pp. 315–316; Beker, "Kh' bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits," p. 329.
6. Beker, "Kh' bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits," p. 331.
7. Ibid., pp. 329–330; Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," pp. 316–317. In 1921, there were 869 Jews living in Białozórka. Krzemieniec and Katrynburg both had their own ghettos (see the respective entries in this volume), so these were probably relatives returning to join their families.
8. Beker, "Kh' bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits," pp. 330–331.
9. Ibid., pp. 332–333.
10. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, p. 469.
11. Ibid., pp. 334–335; Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," pp. 324–326.
12. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 3, transcription of a Security Police report from Untersturmführer Selm, of the Rowno SD, August 15, 1942, concerning the "special treatment of the Jews." According to the materials of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-75-211, p. 7), the shooting of the Jews in Łanowce took place on August 2, 1942; 2,143 people were shot.
13. GARF, 7021-75-211.
14. Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," pp. 327–328. On the help given by Baptists to save a Jewish child, see Shalom Segal, "How My Daughter Was Saved," in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp. 95–97.

LETICHEV

Pre-1941: Letichev, town, Proskurov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Letischew, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Letychiv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Letichev is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) to the east of Proskurov. In 1939, the Jewish population of Letichev was 1,946 (36.4 percent of the total).

The German army reached the Letichev area during the first week of July 1941. The XLIX Mountain Corps, the 4th Mountain Division, and the 97th Light Division were involved in the capture of the town. From July 8 to July 17, major battles took place. Letichev itself was a Soviet defensive strongpoint along the main route between the cities of Proskurov and Vinnitsa, and it held out until July 17.[1] Celia Michelson reported that during the first few days of the occupation, the Germans rounded up Jewish children in a church. They forced these children, her brother Mutty Burshteyn included, to carry hot asphalt with their bare hands.[2] Shortly after capturing Letichev, Pinkhas Michels and Froim Burshteyn reported that the Germans summoned the Letichev rabbi and about 25 young and prominent Jews. These people were shot in a mass grave in Zavolk on the outskirts of Letichev.[3]

On September 20, 1942,[4] the Germans and their collaborators shot about 3,000 people in a mass grave in Zaletichevka,

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on the outskirts of Letichev. In November 1942, approximately 4,000 people were shot at the same site, effectively eliminating the Letichev ghetto. In November 1943, the slave labor camp at the church was liquidated, and 200 people were shot within the camp. Including non-Jews, approximately 7,200 people were massacred in the Letichev raion.[5]

The Nazi official responsible for the massacre is reported to be Leutnant Gasha. The local Gendarme was named Peterman. A Ukrainian policeman named Sobchik was reported to have commanded some of the killings.[6]

The Gebietskommissar for Gebiet Letischew, according to documentation, was Regierungsrat Hammer.[7] According to Vladimir Goykher, who worked for German administrators making official stamps, the Gebietskommissar was named Frieber.[8] Another German, by the name of Koch (apparently Reichskommissar Erich Koch's brother), was a high-ranking administrator involved with agriculture.[9] A Ukrainian policeman by the name of Ivan Kupriyan was active in Letichev and was particularly cruel.[10]

The castle and Catholic church complex was established early in the German occupation as a prison camp, probably occupied at first by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). This fortresslike complex had thick masonry walls with two rows of barbed wire on top and was well suited for the purpose.[11] The church had a well.

On September 22, 1941, Germans rounded up Jews in the community and established a ghetto in the central part of town. This was the main Jewish ghetto. It was surrounded by barbed wire and had a main gate. During the first week in the ghetto, the Germans and their allied Hungarian troops did not guard the ghetto. On the first Sunday in the ghetto, Frieber made an address to all the Jews. Afterwards, Jews were required to wear a yellow circle with a Star of David. The gate to the ghetto was guarded.[12]

At that time, the population of the ghetto had swelled to about 7,500, owing to the clearing out of nearby towns and villages. The population of the ghetto was mostly local Jews. These prisoners suffered greatly because of disease, starvation, and violent acts by the guards. Ukrainian peasants were given passes to enter the ghetto to obtain goods and services from Jewish craftsmen, for which they paid in currency and food. Later, the German administration ordered that Jews should train Ukrainians in various trades in preparation for their replacement.[13]

The prison camp was a separate facility, located only a few hundred meters from the ghetto. Jews from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and more distant parts of Podolia were interned there in a population that ranged from 200 to 1,500 prisoners. It was guarded by Lithuanian policemen. Most of the prisoners worked at hard labor on a road-building project, starting in the spring of 1942. At first, the prisoners worked side by side with ghetto work crews; later, they had more difficult labor and were kept separated. The prison camp was emptied every day. Those too sick to leave were shot. Jews were brought in from the south periodically as replacements. The prisoners were fed 200 to 300 grams (7 to 10.6 ounces) of bread a day and some soup. Conditions in the prison camp were appalling. Lithuanian guards killed people at the slightest provocation. Burials were conducted next to the kitchen.[14]

The winter of 1941–1942 was a particularly difficult time in the ghetto. Disease was rampant. Inmates stripped houses of their wood to burn as fuel. In the spring of 1942, work commenced on the road-building project, and many people from the ghetto were also requisitioned. Unlike their counterparts in the prison camp, the ghetto Jews were paid for their work.[15]

The elder of the ghetto was named Mendel. By all accounts he was an honorable person who did his best for the Jews.[16] The elder of the prison camp was Nachman. He was a young man in his thirties, supposedly a lawyer from Vinnitsa, who apparently took advantage of the women prisoners. His assistant was Moshe, a strict disciplinarian.[17]

Starting in April 1942, the ghetto and prison camp in Letichev were controlled by the Organisation Todt (OT) for the purpose of constructing the main highway between Proskurov and Vinnitsa (the location of Hitler's Werewolf bunker). The administration of the road-building project was called Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV. The Bauabschnittsleiter (section leader) who supervised work crews in Letichev was named Otto Fach.[18] According to Goykher, the OT officers in Letichev included Franz, Hainy Keller, Feltzman, Herman Meyer, Immy Ertle, and Karl.

Ghetto workers received 117 to 124 grams (4.1 to 4.4 ounces) of bread a day, and their families received 64 grams (2.3 ounces). They were paid 225 to 564 rubles a month or 30 rubles per day for day labor. Work consisted of quarrying stone, shoveling sand, and pouring asphalt. In the winter, crews were assigned to clearing snow to keep the roadway open for military traffic.[19]

The local OT unit mobilized out of the Letichev area around October–November 1942 and relocated to the main battlefront near Donetsk.

In August 1942, the Nazis quarantined the ghetto and the prison camp for several days. Local policemen disappeared, and German gate sentries doubled. A motorcade arrived with high-ranking Nazis to inspect both the ghetto and the prison camp. Jews were required to remain inside their quarters. Moshe Rekhtman remembered the visit but did not know who the Nazis were. Goykher climbed up into the attic of his house to watch; this gave him an excellent view. He later asked Mendel, the ghetto elder, who the dignitaries were. Goykher reports that Mendel told him one was Reichskommissar Erich Koch.

By late summer 1942, the ghetto was split into two. Skilled laborers were assigned to Ghetto 2, the rest to Ghetto 1. In September, Ghetto 1 was liquidated over a two-day period. The Jews were marched out of the ghetto in large groups towards a mass grave in Zaletichevka, on the edge of town. Over the next two days, Germans and their collaborators tore apart Ghetto 1, looking for goods and for hidden Jews. Afterwards, Frieber assembled all the Jews in Ghetto 2 and demanded that everyone who should have been assigned to Ghetto 1 step forward. About 40 did so, and they were marched off to be shot. Ghetto 2 was commanded by an official named Koch to train

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Ukrainians in different skills and crafts.[20] Two months later, this ghetto, too, was liquidated.

The Germans apparently used gas vans to kill a small number of prisoners from the prison camp around September 1942. They loaded the vans with the sick or weak inmates and drove around to gas them. They would then dump the bodies in the forest. This occurred on at least three different occasions.[21]

Unusual for this region, the prison camp survived for almost a year after most of the Jews in Letichev were killed.[22] Perhaps this was because of the strategic nature of the road, which required constant maintenance. There are no known survivors from the period after January 1943.[23]

There was no known resistance in the area. The survivors escaped during work details or through the relatively light security surrounding the ghetto. Most sought sanctuary in nearby Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The relatively long life of the prison camp and ghetto enabled a number of people to survive the occupation.

Survivors include Vladimir Goykher, who served as an orderly for OT officers and was mobilized from Letichev with them to the front. He escaped across the front line. Moshe Rekhtman escaped from a prison work detail and fled to Transnistria. Boris Levin was interned in the prison camp after the ghettos were liquidated. In January 1943, he escaped from a group execution of prisoners and fled to Transnistria. Moishe Einhorn and Rose Huberman spent some time in the Letichev prison camp but escaped together from the Proskurov ghetto to Transnistria. Abraham Shmeis, a prisoner in the camp, escaped in the fall of 1942 to Transnistria. Another prisoner in the camp, Manya Laster, also escaped to Transnistria.

There were three large-scale war crimes trials conducted by the West German government relating to OT activities on the Durchgangstrasse IV, which included the Letichev road construction project. The first took place in Lübeck in 1965. Those indicted included SS officers Franz Christoffel and Oskar Friese.[24] Otto Fach was tried in Bremen in 1970.[25] The third trial took place in Dortmund in 1971. It centered on the execution of the Jews in 1942, including those in Letichev. The defendants are not specified in the published record.[26] In all three trials, the defendants were found not guilty due to "lack of evidence," partly because eyewitness evidence could not be obtained from people who lived in the Soviet Union.[27]

SOURCES In the book by David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000), chapter 16 on the Holocaust includes English translations of the archival testimonies from Jewish survivors cited in this article. Vladimir Goykher also published his own memoir, *Tragedy of the Letichev Ghetto* (New York, 1992).

Relevant documentation, mainly from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports and other postwar investigations, can be found in the following archives: BA-L; DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-92); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2; and Acc.1997.A.0305); and YVA (e.g., O-3/7064 and 1266).

David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

NOTES

1. Newspaper *Za Chest' Rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
2. YVA, O-3/7064, Manya Laster testimony.
3. Ibid. Also from a letter by Pinkhas Michelson, Bnei-Brak, Israel, dated May 29, 1994. Leonid Rapoport also confirms this account. Among those executed were Velvel Michelson and a relative of Leonid Rapoport.
4. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
5. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-64-92, p. 2. Also see DAKhO, Fond 363, case 50, p. 7; case 38, pp. 115–118; case 39, p. 76: "About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmelnitsky Oblast at the time of the Fascist occupation."
6. Lev Goldenberg testimony, 1995, PADC. Goldenberg claimed that Sobchik was never caught.
7. "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Generalbezirke und Kreisgebiete in der Ukraine," Reichskommissar, February 15, 1942, Rowno.
8. Goykher, *Tragedy*. See also USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0305, Moshe Rekhtman testimony, 1995.
9. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
10. Ibid., confirmed by Rekhtman. Kupriyan was rumored to have survived the war and fled to Australia.
11. Rekhtman testimony.
12. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
13. Ibid.
14. Testimonies of Rekhtman and Moishe Einhorn—see 1981 edition of the Yiddish-language periodical *Sovietish Heimland*. See also YVA, O-3/1266, Abraham Shmeis testimony.
15. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
16. Ibid.
17. YVA, O-3/7064.
18. BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 20/63, see pp. 2854, 2953, and 3351–3352. Another German witness alleged that Fach conducted a selection at the Jewish forced labor camp in Letichev in the fall of 1942.
19. "Handbook of the Organisation Todt," a recently declassified U.S. military intelligence report available at the U.S. Army Military History Institute; Goykher, *Tragedy*, confirmed by many others.
20. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
21. Rekhtman testimony.
22. DAKhO, Fond 363, case 50, p. 7; case 38, pp. 115–118; case 39, p. 76, indicate that the prison camp was liquidated in late 1943.
23. The last known survivor was Boris Levin.
24. Sta. Lübeck, 2 AR 711/65 (BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 20/63).
25. Sta. Bremen, 29 Js 120/70 (BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 886/70).
26. Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 10/71 (BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 440/67).
27. Karl Sauer, "Am Jom Kippur wüteten Erschiessungskommandos," *Die Tat*, December 7, 1974. See also Herman Kaienburg, "Jüdische Arbeitslager an der 'Strasse der SS,'" in *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20.und 21.Jahrhunderts 11. Jahrgang*, Januar 1996, Heft 1 (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 13–39.

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LIAKHOVTSI

Pre-1941: Liakhovtsi, village and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lachowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Isjasslaw, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Bilohir'ia, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Liakhovtsi is located 51 kilometers (31.7 miles) east-southeast of Krzemieniec. According to the 1939 census, 908 Jews were living in the village of Liakhovtsi (51.5 percent of the total population). An additional 331 Jews lived in what were then the villages of the Liakhovtsi raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 3, 1941. In the intervening two weeks from the start of the German invasion, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 700 Jews remained in Liakhovtsi under the German occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. The German commandant chose a village elder and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village became a Rayon center in Gebiet Isjasslaw. SA-Oberführer Knochenhauer was the Gebietskommissar.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Judenrat was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing markings: initially armbands bearing the Star of David, and then later a yellow circle. Jews were not permitted to leave the borders of the village.

In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Liakhovtsi. Hundreds of Jews were also resettled there from the nearby small towns of Iampol' and Kornitsa. (In 1939 the Jewish population of Iampol' was 1,058; in 1923 the Jewish population of Kornitsa was 322.) Two streets, which included about 50 mostly older houses with mud floors, were assigned for this purpose. The ghetto area was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian police with dogs. The Germans were rarely visible to the inhabitants of the ghetto, who were escorted by the local police to the fields of a nearby kolkhoz to harvest potatoes and sugar beets.[2]

During the winter of 1941–1942, there was great cold and hunger in the ghetto. Some Jews were able to smuggle food into the ghetto illegally when they returned from work outside, which helped their families to survive. In addition, a few Jews who had non-Jewish friends outside the ghetto had left some of their possessions with them when the ghetto was formed. Some of these non-Jews in turn brought food to the ghetto and threw it over the fence.[3]

At the end of 1941 and the start of 1942, the first shootings were carried out in the village. More than 160 persons were killed.[4]

On July 27, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto in Liakhovtsi.[5] About 2,300 people were shot in the meadow near the village of Trostianka.[6] The mass shooting was probably carried out by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from an outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Starokonstantinov, with the aid of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

There were very few survivors from the ghetto. Ida Kritman managed to escape one week before the ghetto liquidation, with the aid of a school friend who bribed a local policeman by giving him a new bicycle. Kritman remained in hiding in sheds, attics, haystacks, and pits until the Red Army and the partisans drove out the Germans and their collaborators in early March 1944.[7]

SOURCES Publications concerning the ghetto in Liakhovtsi include Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 147–148.

Documents relating to the persecution and murder of the Jews of Liakhovtsi can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-801); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Ida Kritman, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 147–148.
3. Ibid.
4. GARF, 7021-64-801, p. 356.
5. Testimony of Ida Kritman. According to another source, the shooting took place in June 1942; GARF 7021-64-801, p. 373.
6. GARF, 7021-64-801, pp. 354, 373. It is possible that this figure for the number of victims is too high.
7. Testimony of Ida Kritman.

ŁOKACZE

Pre-1939: Łokacze (Yiddish: Lokatsh), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lokachi, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lokatschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Gorochow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lokachi, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Łokacze is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the west of Łuck. According to the 1921 census, the Jewish population of Łokacze was 1,265. The total population of the town in 1937 was 1,790 inhabitants.

Units of the German army entered the town on June 23, 1941. Shortly after their arrival, the German military authorities appointed a Judenrat, headed by Moshe Pechornik and a man named Shainer. Expropriation, forced labor, abuse, and killing soon followed.

By August 1941, a permanent Gebietskommissar, Härter, had been appointed for Gebiet Gorochow to replace the temporary military authorities. Łokacze became a Rayon center within Gebiet Gorochow. The commander of the Gendar-

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merie in Horochów was Krause, who was represented by a Wachtmeister in charge of the Gendarmerie post in Łokacze.[1]

At the beginning of November 1941, the Jews of Łokacze were forced to move into a ghetto, concentrated around one of the synagogues. As a result, about half of the Jewish houses were confiscated. The ghetto itself initially remained open. Jews from other small towns and villages nearby (including Świniuchy, Kopytów, Błudów, and Markowicze) also were forced into the ghetto. These Jews had to leave almost all their property behind, apart from bedding and a few potatoes, as almost no wagons were made available for the move. In addition to the 1,400 Jews already residing in Łokacze, another 800 were brought in from outside. This resulted in terrible overcrowding: some people moved into rooms without windows or had to live in stables.[2]

Shortly after the establishment of the ghetto, all the Jews were registered, including about 200 craftsmen who received a special status. On this basis, the Judenrat issued ration cards for an allowance of 140 grams (5 ounces) of bread per day. All Jews aged between 18 and 55 were placed on a schedule for forced labor. About 150 men were requested daily, mainly working as personal servants for those in power in the town. After a time, forced labor was divided into more arduous tasks out of town, such as loading grain sacks and transportation work, while those remaining in Łokacze conducted street sweeping, road repairs, and tree cutting. Favoritism shown by the Judenrat in the allocation of work caused great bitterness.[3]

A special area adjoining the ghetto was established for the Jewish craftsmen. The craftsmen also received larger rations—250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread—and were able to demand "gifts," mostly in the form of produce from local peasants, in return for their work. This in turn provided a vital source of extra supplies that could be traded within the ghetto. In the winter, firewood was in short supply as this was difficult to smuggle into the ghetto. As the Germans also carefully restricted access to mills in the area, some Jews built improvised hand mills to grind flour or prepare vegetable oil inside the ghetto.[4]

On December 20, 1941, posters were put up demanding that Jews surrender all furs, sweaters, stockings, and gloves. These items were then collected by the Judenrat and handed over to the Gendarmerie. Owing to the lack of medicine, the death toll from scabies and other diseases in the ghetto began to rise.

On January 5, 1942, the town authorities informed the Judenrat that it would have to supply laborers to build a fence around the ghetto. Shortly after this, the ghetto enjoyed a brief respite, as the local Gendarmerie chief went home on leave for 15 days, and his replacement was much more lenient. The stand-in permitted some Jews to go to the villages to obtain supplies, and he even reprimanded the Ukrainian police for beating Jews. Even the construction of the fence was briefly halted during this period.

In January, the Jewish Council in Łokacze received instructions from the Gebietskommissar to collect a poll tax of 20 rubles from all ghetto inhabitants. Michael Diment recorded in his contemporary diary: "[T]he Judenrat and the [Jewish] militia with an additional 15 Jewish musclemen called on those who had not contributed. . . . They broke into homes, shouting: 'Give us the money!' . . . All valuables found were confiscated; they also took food and flour. . . . Everyone was very angry at the way the Judenrat handled the situation. They were very bitter, but the money had to be turned over."[5]

By February the construction of the ghetto fence was completed. It was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and wrapped in barbed wire. The enclosure of the ghetto made trade with the local peasants much more difficult, and the punishment for leaving the ghetto without permission also became more severe. Whereas initially the Judenrat had been able to ameliorate punishments by bribing the local police chief, now the Ukrainian police began to shoot on sight Jews caught outside the ghetto or even while they were working. For example, a Jew named Matis was shot for leaving the ghetto on March 16, which instantly caused black market prices in the ghetto to rise by 50 percent.[6]

On April 16, 1942, the Gendarmerie requested 30 Jews from the Judenrat to bury a group of 114 Gypsies that they had shot. News of this terrible massacre had a terrifying effect on the ghetto.[7] On April 22, the Judenrat received a demand from the Gebietskommissar to produce 523 people for work by April 25. With bribes, the Judenrat managed to bargain down the number required so that on the appointed day only 200 had to leave. However, again the Judenrat was criticized, as favoritism clearly influenced the selection of those affected. The work conditions in the labor camp at Wynice were very harsh, as the workers received only the food that was sent to them from the ghetto.[8]

The town authorities also required 250 Jewish workers every day for road repair, street sweeping, and peat digging. Jews were frequently beaten and humiliated by the local Ukrainian police while performing these duties. The German authorities also ordered the dismantling of Jewish homes outside the ghetto to make use of the wood.[9]

Inside the ghetto, the Jews at least felt safe from their Ukrainian tormentors, who were not permitted to enter the ghetto. At the beginning of July, the Jewish militia scoured the ghetto searching for grain and even destroyed any hidden flour mills they found. The Judenrat had received a demand to produce 7 tons of grain and with the aid of bribes ultimately got away with surrendering only 1.6 tons. After this, flour was in very short supply. On July 10, a group of Jewish workers was sent to the Jewish cemetery to break up the tombstones and level the graves. The stone was used for paving roads.[10]

In mid-July 1942, the Germans conducted another detailed registration exercise that resulted in several additional groups of Jews being sent away from the ghetto to work. Most of the remaining craftsmen were transferred to Horochów, leaving only 36 in the craftsmen section, and of the 750 laborers registered, some 200 were sent in four detachments to various work sites away from Łokacze. Mothers feared they would never see their children again. Another 250 Jews were

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assigned to peat-digging gangs, leaving the ghetto each day and returning in the evening.[11]

On one occasion, a Ukrainian farmer told the peat workers from Łokacze that Jews in other communities were being systematically murdered. The news was greeted in the ghetto with some disbelief but also concern. People argued: "the Germans need our labor, and we must continue to prove our value to them." In response, the Judenrat requested that the spreading of such demoralizing rumors should cease. The debate about these disturbing reports continued, as news came in by late August of the massacre of entire communities in neighboring towns, such as Łuck, Kowel, and Torczyn.[12]

The end came on September 9, 1942, two days before the start of the Jewish High Holidays. The German Gendarmerie and the local police first isolated the ghetto. Many Jews went into hiding or tried to flee, and some even burned their last possessions to prevent their falling into the hands of the murderers. The ghetto was emptied, and its inhabitants were driven into an open field, where they were shot and thrown into a large pit that had been prepared in advance. The Ukrainian police continued to hunt down those Jews hiding in the ghetto and in the surrounding forests for weeks after the Aktion. In total, probably about 1,500 Jews from the Łokacze ghetto were murdered, as several hundred had been transferred to other work camps or the Horochów ghetto before the Aktion.[13]

SOURCES There is a very detailed account of events in the Łokacze ghetto in English, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), based on the contemporary diary of the author, Michael Diment, which he was able to preserve. Some additional information on the town and the fate of its population can be found in the yizkor book in Hebrew and Yiddish edited by Eliezer Verba and Shimon Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehilat Lokats' (Polin)/Gedenk bukh far di shtetl Lokatsh* (Jerusalem: Le-ha'sig etsel Sh. Matlovski, 1993).

Documents relating to the persecution and destruction of the Jews in the area around Łokacze can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-55-2); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 14); VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean and Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. ChGK report for Gorokhov, GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 20a.
2. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 38–45; see also *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228.
3. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 45–50.
4. Ibid., pp. 54–57.
5. Ibid., pp. 64–65.
6. Ibid., pp. 62–72.
7. Ibid., pp. 76–78.
8. Ibid., pp. 78–84; on the selection of forced laborers to work in the peat bogs, see also Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehilat Lokats'*, pp. 43–45.
9. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 94–95.
10. Ibid., pp. 96–99.
11. Ibid., pp. 100–105.
12. Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehilat Lokats'*, p. 48.
13. 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) gives the figure of 1,350 victims and dates the Aktion on September 13, 1942. Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehilat Lokats'*, p. 21, give the figure of 3,000 Jewish victims, but this is almost certainly too high. A memorial erected in Baltimore in 1983 also dates the liquidation of the ghetto on September 9.

LUBIESZÓW

Pre-1939: Lubieszów, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liubeshov, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljubeschow, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Liubeshiv, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Lubieszów is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) east–northeast of Kamień Koszyrski on the Stokhod River. By 1936, the Jewish population of Lubieszów stood at about 1,500. This number probably increased by a few hundred during the Soviet occupation from September 1939 until the end of June 1941, as a number of refugees arrived from the west.[1]

At the beginning of July 1941, the first German forces entered the settlement, though a permanent German military presence probably was not established until the end of July 1941. Shortly after the start of the occupation, local antisemitic Ukrainian nationalists seized power and carried out a pogrom. Many Jews were robbed, and a number were killed. Local Jews also organized a self-defense force.[2]

At the end of July 1941, a squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment arrived in the town. On the next day they arrested 43 male Jews, including Rabbi Yitzhak Aron Weingarten, and locked them in a cellar, accusing them of having collaborated with the Communists. One of the arrestees, Gershon Shniadower, succeeded in escaping and killed a Ukrainian guard in the process. Shortly afterwards the cavalry forces took the remaining 42 Jews outside the town and shot them.[3]

In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Lubieszów became part of Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Fritz Michaelis was the Gebietskommissar in Kamień Koszyrski.[4] A Ukrainian local administration was formed in Lubieszów. A Ukrainian police unit headed by a man named Wieromiejczyk served under the command of the German Gendarmerie post, which consisted of several German Gendarmes, and was based in the former monastery building.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a number of discriminatory measures against

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the Jews: they forced them to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David (subsequently replaced by yellow patches on their clothes); Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits; and they were subjected to beatings by the Ukrainian police. In the fall of 1941, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Lubieszów, which had to transmit and take responsibility for the implementation of all the orders and regulations issued by the German authorities with regard to the Jewish population. From the start of the occupation, Jews were made to perform forced labor. Among the tasks performed were washing and cleaning and also loading wood at the railway station. Ukrainians and Germans watched over the Jews while they worked.[5] Between July 1941 and February 1942, the Jewish community was subjected to a series of demands for monetary contributions amounting to some 30,000 rubles.[6]

In April or May 1942,[7] the Gebietskommissar ordered the creation of a ghetto into which all the Jews of the town and also the surrounding villages of Rayon Ljubeschow were relocated. For example, the Jews from Pniewno were brought into the Lubieszów ghetto at this time. Around 2,000 Jews were confined within the ghetto.[8] The exact size of the fenced area was 450 meters (1,476 feet) long and 300 meters (984 feet) wide. Jews lived 20 per room within the ghetto.[9]

On August 10, 1942, the Germans conducted an Aktion in which most of the Jews from the ghetto were shot.[10] Apparently it was the Sipo/SD detachment from Brześć that carried out the Aktion, assisted by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. About 1,700 Jews were shot. Some 280 were murdered inside the ghetto itself; about 500 or 600 people were shot near the village of Wólka-Lubieszowska. The Germans took 1,100 people into the synagogue and made them undress there. Of these Jews, about 230 people were able to escape, but 870 of them were shot.[11] After this Aktion, about 70 craftsmen remained alive, and they were soon joined by most of the 230 escaped Jews, whom the Ukrainian police had rounded up. These people were moved back into the ghetto at the end of the Aktion.[12] Among the tasks these surviving Jews performed were collecting and burying the bodies of many of the Jews who had been shot and searching them at the same time for any valuables, which were also surrendered to the Germans.

The ghetto was liquidated at the beginning of November 1942. On the eve of the liquidation, the German and Ukrainian police tightened the guard around the ghetto and repaired any holes found in the barbed-wire fence.[13] During this last Aktion, one of the Jews, Machmendler, threw himself at Michaelis, the Gebietskommissar, and managed to wound him in the throat with a knife.[14] Of the roughly 300 Jews in the ghetto before the final liquidation, only about 10 survived.[15] Among the few survivors was Sara Szulman, who hid with her family in a concealed bunker within the ghetto and escaped during the night three days after the Aktion.[16]

In the postwar period, at the site where the Jews were shot in August 1942, the bodies were exhumed, and the remains of the victims were reburied in a new cemetery.

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Lubieszów and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A.A. Stein et al., eds., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kamin Koshirsky and Surroundings in Israel, 1965); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 108–109.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Lubieszów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/549); BA-L (B 162/6338); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-11); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2283).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/549, estimates that about 2,000 Jews lived in Lubieszów just prior to the German invasion in 1941.
2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 66; BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200; AŻIH, 301/549.
3. AŻIH, 301/549, testimony of Gershon Shniadower, July 20, 1945. Shniadower is probably the most reliable witness, as he was among those arrested but managed to escape. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200; also Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, pp. 329–330. This last source indicates that there were 70 victims of the Aktion, dating it incorrectly at the time of Purim. All three sources mention the death of the rabbi.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
5. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200.
6. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 96.
7. Ibid., p. 366, gives the date of May 1942. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 199, dates the establishment of the ghetto as around Easter. According to another source (GARF, 7021-5-11, p. 111), the ghetto was established in February 1942.
8. Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, pp. 179–184, 741. The ChGK materials indicate that there were 2,500 people in the ghetto (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 11). However, this number appears to be too high.
9. YVA, O-5/2-4 (JM/267), testimony of David Epstein; see also Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, pp. 122, 129.
10. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 199. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111, dates the Aktion on August 15, 1942.
11. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 113. DAVO, R66-1-4, p. 118, gives the figure of 1,760 Jewish victims. Other sources give different figures.
12. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111.
13. BA-L, B 162/6338, pp. 201–202.
14. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 112, 350.
15. Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, p. 741.
16. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 202.

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LUBOML

Pre-1939: Luboml (Yiddish: Libivne), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liuboml', raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Luboml, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Liuboml', raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Luboml is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) west of Kowel. At the end of 1937, 3,162 Jews lived in the town.[1]

German forces occupied the town on June 23, 1941. In July and August of 1941, the town was run initially by a German military administration (Ortskommandantur). In the first days of the occupation, the military authorities put up posters in the town requesting Ukrainians to report for police duty in return for wages and food. They also ordered Jews to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David, imposed a curfew on them from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M., and demanded that Jews surrender all gold objects and other valuables on pain of death. The town commandant also ordered the Jews to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The chairman was Kalman Kopelzon. The Judenrat created a Jewish police force and a labor department headed by Eliyohu Hershenhorn.[2]

During the summer of 1941, German security forces, assisted by the Ukrainian police, conducted a series of Aktions against the Jews of Luboml in which up to 900 Jews were murdered. On July 2, 1941, the Nazis shot 5 Jews they selected after ordering Jews to gather in front of the cinema.[3] In a second Aktion conducted on July 22, 1941, units of the 1st Company of the 314th German Police Battalion stationed in Luboml, assisted by the Ukrainian police, rounded up and shot about 300 Jews.[4] Another large Aktion started on August 21, 1941, and went on for several days. On this occasion, most men went into hiding except for those issued special work permits. However, the Germans also rounded up women and girls. The Jewish Council tried to obtain the release of those arrested by offering bribes, but only a few were released. It is probable that about 400 Jews were murdered at this time.[5]

Survivors pose in front of a monument they are constructing in memory of Holocaust victims in Luboml, late 1944.
USHMM WS #61732, COURTESY OF NATHAN SOBEL

From the beginning of September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Luboml became the administrative center of Gebiet Luboml. Besides the Luboml Rayon, Rayons Schazk and Golowno also formed part of the Gebiet, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Uhde was appointed the Gebietskommissar in Luboml, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Kurz.[6] The German occupying authorities also established a local Ukrainian administration in the town and a unit of Ukrainian police that was subordinated directly to the German Gendarmerie post based in Luboml. Sergei Kowalczuk was the Rayon commandant of the Ukrainian police.[7]

After the initial Aktions, the German authorities ordered Jews to surrender all livestock to the German army. At this time, Jews who lived on streets that also had non-Jewish homes were forced to move to purely Jewish streets, which caused considerable overcrowding. The civil administration then took over the vacated Jewish houses. Jews aged between 12 and 60 were also subjected to forced labor. Those working received small rations of bread while those not working received even less. However, these regulations and rations were constantly changed. As a result of the shortage of food, Jews suffered from malnutrition, and some later starved to death. In late September 1941, the Gebietskommissar ordered that Jews should now wear yellow circles on their clothes instead of armbands. The German authorities also demanded a "contribution" of 250,000 rubles, 30 pieces of gold, and 30 pairs of leather boots to be produced by the next morning—failure, they threatened, would result in another Aktion.

On December 6, 1941, on the order of Gebietskommissar Uhde, a ghetto was created in Luboml. The ghetto was located around Kusnitcher (November 11), Ribne, and Koshtshelna Streets. It was not surrounded by a fence but was guarded by several sentries (Ukrainian police) who ensured that nobody left. In the ghetto, 12 to 15 people had to share each room. The Jewish craftsmen issued with red work cards lived in a separate "ghetto" along Koleova, Chelm, and Ludmir Streets.[8]

During Passover in early April 1942, the Jews bribed Gebietskommissar Uhde to be able to bake matzot. Those leaving the ghetto without permission or breaching other German regulations faced a summary death penalty. During the existence of the ghetto, several small groups of Jews were shot for

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such violations. For example, 6 Jews were shot in July 1942, and 20 in August 1942, not far from the village of Sciba.[9] Jews leaving the ghetto to work also traded small items, such as tobacco or matches, for food.

Two small armed underground groups were formed in the ghetto in 1942. They manufactured false documents giving permission to leave the ghetto, procured weapons, organized escapes, and planned armed resistance. Both groups fled to the partisans around the time of the liquidation Aktion, but only a few members of the resistance organization are known to have survived.[10]

On October 1, 1942, the Germans commenced the liquidation of the ghetto.[11] A few months before, Jews had been used to dig four large pits about 3.5 kilometers (2.2 miles) outside the town, near the village of Borki. When the Aktion started, Ukrainian police came in from surrounding towns such as Szack and Kowel, and together with the German Gendarmerie they rounded up the Jews at the marketplace and escorted them to the pits. The Germans ordered the Jews to undress and gathered up the clothes. The naked Jews were forced to stand in groups around the edge of the pit and then were shot.[12]

The Germans and their collaborators shot some 3,000 to 4,000 Jews in the process.[13] Many Jews hid in the ghetto in prepared hiding places. The Ukrainian police tore out floors and destroyed walls in the search for hidden Jews. Local peasants also sneaked into the empty ghetto to loot Jewish property. Despite these searches, some Jews evaded detection and managed to escape to the surrounding countryside. Over the following months, however, most were denounced by the local population or captured by the German and Ukrainian police. By the time the Red Army liberated the area in 1944, only about 35 Jews from Luboml (apart from those who managed to emigrate or flee before the arrival of the Germans in 1941) were still alive.

SOURCES Publications on the destruction of the Jewish population of the town include the following: Berl Kagan, *Luboml: The Memorial Book of a Vanished Shtetl* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1997), which is an English translation, edited by Nathan Sobel, of the yizkor book edited by B. Kagan and Y. Hetman, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Luboml* (Tel Aviv: Luboml Memorial Book Committee, 1975); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 103–108.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Luboml can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; DAVO; GARF (7021-55-7); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 362.

2. N. Sobel, "Chronology of Destruction," pp. 247–253, here p. 247, and Chayim Rozenblit(z'l), "Behind the Barbed Wire of Death," pp. 254–260, here p. 254, both in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*.

3. Rocha Gutman (Sandlboym), "Rescued from the Big Fire," in ibid., pp. 285–289, here p. 285; Rozenblit(z'l), "Behind the Barbed Wire of Death," pp. 254–256.

4. Sta. Traunstein, LG-Trau, 5 Ks 11 and Js 9437/78, Verdict, May 26, 1982. According to ChGK materials (GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 with reverse side, 168 with reverse side), on July 22 about 400 Jews were shot in Luboml. This figure is also given by Sobol, "Chronology of Destruction," in Sobol, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*, pp. 247–253, here p. 247.

5. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side, gives the figure of 53 deaths; Rozenblit(z'l), "Behind the Barbed Wire of Death," pp. 254–256, indicates that many more than that were killed, estimating about 900 deaths before the establishment of the ghetto; Sobol, "Chronology of Destruction," p. 247, indicates some 500 Jews murdered at this time.

6. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

7. After the war Kowalczuk migrated to the United States and was the subject of a denaturalization case in the 1980s conducted by the U.S. Office of Special Investigations.

8. Rozenblit(z'l), "Behind the Barbed Wire of Death," p. 256, and Sobol, "Chronology of Destruction," p. 248, both give this date; Gutman, "Rescued from the Big Fire," p. 286, dates the establishment of the ghetto after the high holidays in the fall of 1941. Rochl Leichter, "Witness to the Destruction of Luboml," in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorid Book*, pp. 276–278, notes that the ghetto was not surrounded by a fence.

9. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side.

10. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, pp. 215, 219, 229; Sobol, "Chronology of Destruction," p. 249.

11. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side, 181 and reverse side.

12. M. Lifshitz, "The Journey from Spiritual Destruction to Total Annihilation," in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*, pp. 244–245.

13. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 96, 155 with reverse sides, 168 with reverse side, 181 with reverse side, 194. According to the ChGK reports, 4,073 Jews were killed in Luboml in 1941–1942. Leichter, "Witness to the Destruction of Luboml," pp. 276–278, indicates more than 7,000 Jewish victims in Luboml altogether, but this is most probably too high.

ŁUCK

Pre-1939: Łuck, city, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lutsk, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Luzk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Luts'k, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Łuck is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) west of Równe between two branches of the Styr River in southern Volhynia in what is today northwestern Ukraine. From 1921, Łuck was the capital of the Volhynian province of the independent Polish Republic. After 1928 provincial governor Henryk Józewski offered the Jews in Łuck participation in national

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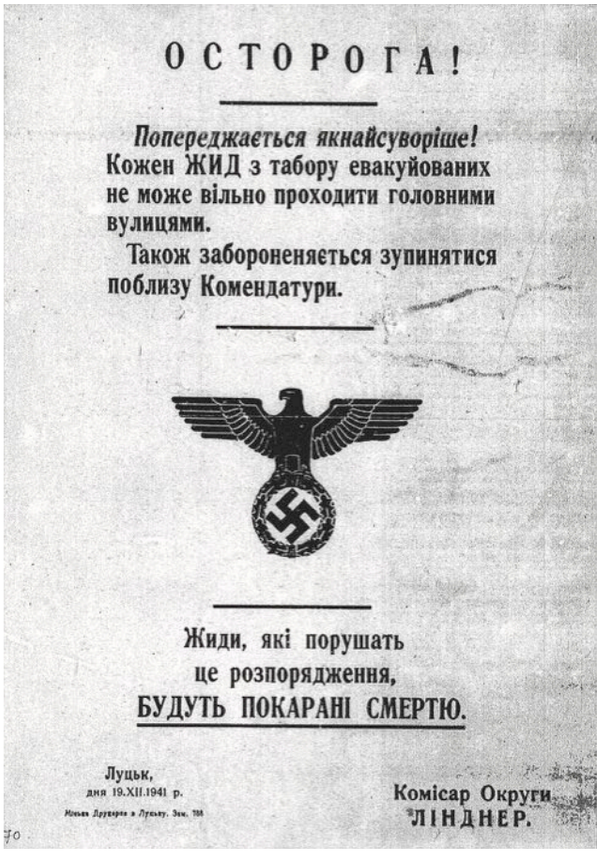
politics through a nonparty bloc. In 1936, the Bund organized a strike to protest antisemitism. In 1931, Jews comprised about half of the city's population of 35,600; by the end of the decade the percentage was probably closer to 40 percent, roughly equal to the Polish population. The rest were Ukrainians, with a sprinkling of Czechs and Germans.

After the German attack on Poland of September 1, 1939, several thousand Jews from western and central Poland fled to Łuck. After the Red Army invaded Poland from the east on September 17, the Soviets made Łuck the center of the Volhynian oblast'. During the period of the German-Soviet division of Poland, Poles in Łuck were the primary target of Soviet repression. Some Jews were drafted into the Red Army, others, mainly refugees, were deported to Kazakhstan or Siberia. Some 19,500 Jews were living in Łuck in 1941 when Germany invaded the Soviet Union.


ОСТОРОГА!

Попереджається якнайсуворіше!
Кожен ЖИД з табору евакуйованих не може вільно проходити головними вулицями.
Також забороненяється зупинятися поблизу Комендатури.

Жиди, які порушать це розпорядження,
БУДУТЬ ПОКАРАНІ СМЕРТЮ.

Луцьк,
дня 19.XII.1941 р.

Комісар Округи
ЛІНДНЕР.

Ukrainian sign from Łuck, December 19, 1941:
"Caution!
Warning to the highest degree!
Any JEW evacuated from the camp may not freely pass the main streets.
Likewise it is forbidden to stop near the Kommandantur.
Jews who violate this order will be punished by death.
Luts'k
19.XII.1941
Gebietskommissar"
USHMMA/RG-31.023

The Wehrmacht reached the city on June 26, 1941. By this time much of Łuck had caught fire due to heavy German bombardments, and many shops were plundered. Very few people were able to flee the city in time.[1] The Germans discovered that the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) had murdered some 2,800 prisoners in Łuck. Most of the victims were Ukrainians. Paul Blobel, the commander of Sonderkommando 4a, arrived in Łuck in early July 1941. On July 2, notices appeared in the city summoning Jewish males of the ages 16 to 60 to appear the following day in the courtyard of the Lubart Castle with shovels to repair drainage systems. Instead, they were forced to dig a long trench, which was to become their own mass grave. Over four hours they were shot in groups of 10 to 30 by members of Sonderkommando 4a, Order Police, and army volunteers. Einsatzgruppe C reported the Aktion as a reprisal for the NKVD mass murder, among the victims of which were thought to be 10 German soldiers. The report recorded that 1,160 Jews were murdered in early July, in addition to 300 that had been shot on June 30.[2] During the first weeks, Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks, they were only permitted to shop in the marketplace between the hours of 10:00 A.M. and noon, and they were beaten by Ukrainian policemen at every opportunity.[3]

Within the German civil administration of Reichskommissariat Ukraine, Łuck was the center of Gebiet Luzk, headed by Gebietskommissar Heinrich Lindner. He ordered the Jews of Łuck to choose their own representatives. The Judenrat was thus composed of interwar social and political activists: the head was Fryszberg; other members were Lejzor Dal, Rozenkranc, Korczebny, Henig, Hoffman, Rawicz, and one woman, Ojchmanowa. At some point Fryszberg, Rozenkranc, and Rawicz were beaten by the Germans while being forced to recite that "a German officer never beats anyone." Dal and Rozenkranc resigned from the Judenrat. As of August 1941, all Jews had to wear a white armband, replaced in September by two yellow patches, one to be worn on the chest, the other on the back.[4] In October 1941 Jewish skilled laborers were taken to an SS workshop on Krasne Street. About 450 people of various professions worked there under miserable conditions.[5]

At the end of November 1941, the Gebietskommissar issued an order for the establishment of a ghetto in an old part of the city, where Jews had lived before. On December 11, 1941, the Jewish population was marched, under the eyes of their Polish and Ukrainian neighbors, to a ghetto between the two branches of the Styr River. Jews were allowed to take only what they could carry, often a child. The terrain was marshy, and the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian militiamen shot many stragglers. Jewish Police carried some of the children. On December 12, these Jews were joined by the Jews of the nearby suburb of Krasne.[6] Not everyone managed to find suitable housing; the homeless were moved into schools, synagogues, and former stores and warehouses.[7]

Henceforth the Judenrat supplied daily labor brigades to perform jobs outside the ghetto. Each morning, workers were escorted through the gate of the walled ghetto by the Jewish Police. Jewish women also had to work, many of them as ser-

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vants for German officials. Jews who had regular employment were issued identity cards, which in part protected them from being assigned to other forced labor tasks.[8] The ghetto was guarded internally by the Jewish Police and externally by the Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes.

In the ghetto, Jews suffered from cold, hunger, and overcrowding. Łuck was warmed by wood rather than coal, and there was no wood inside the ghetto. Food rations were 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread for workers, 75 grams (2.6 ounces) for nonworkers, and 30 grams (1 ounce) for children. People soon swelled from starvation. About 30 to 40 people had to share a single room. Due to these conditions, typhus spread (despite attempts to check it with medication). Each day the dead were removed from the ghetto by horse-drawn wagon.[9] Due to the fear of typhus spreading to the non-Jewish population, notices were posted around the ghetto banning members of the Wehrmacht from entering.[10]

In the ghetto there was an orphanage, a public kitchen, and an old age home run by the Judenrat. During the initial five months of 1942, the Germans demanded regular "contributions" of money, valuables, furniture, warm clothing, and other items, holding hostages as guarantees of delivery.[11] Raising taxes to pay these fines made the Judenrat unpopular, but they knew they had little choice, as their own lives were on the line. Ojchmanowa of the Judenrat was killed as a hostage.

By the summer of 1942, the Jews in the ghetto had become aware of the mass shootings of Jews in other nearby towns and started to look for an escape route from the ghetto. Dr. T. Kunitsa-Goldshteyn recalled that

> a group of youths tried to join the partisans, but every attempt to establish contact with them led nowhere. Those who escaped to the forests never returned. . . . Many people who had no chance of getting on the list of the "fortunate" [categorized as skilled workers] and did not have enough money to buy Aryan papers or take refuge with Poles dug out bunkers and hiding places inside the ghetto. These people planned to defend themselves to the bitter end. But their arms consisted of no more than axes or bottles of sulfuric acid. It was difficult even to acquire that much—it cost a large amount of money. Thus began the hunt for false Aryan papers. They were very expensive and could only be purchased with gold pieces. In addition, the documents were not a free pass out of the ghetto. It was very important to have "good looks"—i.e., to resemble the Aryan type. Women dyed their hair so it would resemble that of non-Jewish women.[12]

The Łuck ghetto was liquidated on August 19–23, 1942, by the German civilian authorities and police, with the help of Ukrainian policemen. First the Jewish Police was ordered to find all Jews in hiding, and Jewish men were sent to Hirka Polanka, 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the southwest. There they dug a trench 150 meters long and 6 meters wide (about 492 by 20 feet), with steps leading down into it. The Germans told them to dig well, laughingly explaining they were preparing the graves of their wives and daughters.[13] The men were taken to the courtyard of Lubart Castle and shot the next day. Then the women and children were taken to Hirka Polanka. The first group kneeled naked in front of the pits and fell or were pushed in after being shot. Succeeding groups had to lie facedown on the corpses. Younger children were thrown into the pits alive. Around 14,000 people in total were killed during the main part of the Aktion. However, up to another 4,000 or so Jews were pulled out of bunkers or uncovered around the city by Ukrainian policemen over the ensuing days and weeks and then shot as well.[14] On December 12, 1942, the Germans killed the 500 or so laborers of the workshop. During this Aktion, the Jews offered resistance, shooting at the SA man Glück, who was the assistant of the Gebietskommissar.[15]

The number of survivors appears to be few: Shoshana Yakubovitsch was rescued by Witold Fomienko in nearby Podhajce; Fanye Pasht, by another Ukrainian peasant named Lavrov;[16] Yoshke Liberman, by his German wife; the convert Bronisława Szczerbińska, by her sister who identified her, at Hirka Polanka, as a "Polish Catholic." A few Łuck Jews survived in the ranks of the Soviet partisans. A few Volhynian Jews probably fled to Łuck in 1943, along with Poles with whom they had been hiding, to escape Ukrainian nationalist partisans. By then German authority had weakened, and some Jews may have survived in hiding in Łuck to see the arrival of the Red Army in February 1944.

SOURCES The following publications contain useful information regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Łuck: C.F. Rüter and D.W. De Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 694; *Sefer Lutsk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Lutsk be-Yisrael, 1961); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkiv: Tarbut Laam, 2005); R. Metel'nits'kii, *Deiaki storinki ievreis'koi zabudovy Luts'ka* (Kiev: Dukh i Litera, 2001); and Timothy Snyder, "The Life and Death of West Volhynian Jews, 1921–1945," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, and Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), pp. 77–113.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN (Urząd Województwa Wołynskiego, 979/85/9, "Strajk pracowników Żydów"; KPZU, 165/VII-1 t. 10 24, "Zvit z zhovtnevoi konferentsii OK KPZU"); AŻIH (301/1982, 301/2565, 301/4000, 301/4941, 301/5657); BA-DH (ZA VI 322, A. 3, Heinrich Lindner); DAVO; GARF (7021-71-7); NARA; USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1446).

Timothy Snyder and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 399.
2. NARA, T-175, reel 232, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 24, July 16, 1941.
3. AŻIH, 301/4941, testimony of Jankiel Baran; *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 401.

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4. AŻIH, 301/4941; USHMM, RG-31.017M (DARO), reel 2, Amtsblatt des Gebietskommissars in Rowno, April 1, 1942: Bekanntmachung, Generalkommissar Schoene, September 6, 1941.
5. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 441.
6. Ibid., pp. 398, 401, 418; YVA, M-1/E/1446, testimony of Fanya Pasht; AŻIH, 301/4941.
7. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 420.
8. YVA, M-1/E/1446; *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 418.
9. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 401; YVA, M-1/E/1446.
10. See the photograph reproduced in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 81.
11. *Sefer Lutsk*, pp. 398, 402.
12. Ibid., p. 422.
13. Ibid., p. 402.
14. GARF, 7021-71-7, pp. 29–30, estimates some 20,000 victims. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 30, estimates that the actual number was probably closer to 15,000. *Sefer Lutsk*, pp. 441–42, estimates 14,000 killed in the main Aktion and 4,000 subsequently.
15. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 399.
16. YVA, M-1/E/1446.

LUDWIPOL

Pre-1939: Ludwipol, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liudvipol', Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ludwipol, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Sosnove, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Ludwipol is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) northeast of Równe, on the Słucz River. In 1941, according to one source, there were as many as 3,000 Jews living in the town, including refugees from central and western Poland. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a few Jewish families managed to evacuate to the east, but the vast majority of Jews either did not or could not leave and so remained trapped under German occupation.[1]

On July 6, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied Ludwipol. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Ludwipol became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kostopol, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SA-Standartenführer Löhnert became the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[2]

A Ukrainian local authority was also formed in Ludwipol. From September 1941 onward, the Ukrainian police unit was subordinated to the local post of the German Gendarmerie.

Just after the occupation of the town by the German army, local Ukrainians channeled their antisemitic mood into a pogrom in which a number of Jews were robbed and assaulted.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces instituted a series of antisemitic measures in Ludwipol. Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, and they were compelled to surrender all money and valuable items and to perform hard physical labor. They were also prohibited from going beyond the borders of the town and were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the Ukrainian police. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed in Ludwipol through which the German authorities passed on their orders and instructions to the Jewish population.

A ghetto was formed in Ludwipol in October 1941; Jews from the surrounding villages were also concentrated there. Altogether there were about 1,500 Jews in the ghetto.[3] On September 26, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto. On that day, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe shot more than 1,000 Jews with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the local Ukrainian police.[4] Initially, some 300 to 400 Jews were able to escape. Most, however, were ultimately captured and shot by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

Of those who escaped successfully, crossing the Słucz River, a number managed to survive in camps protected by the growing Soviet partisan movement. Among the survivors from Ludwipol was Mordechai Kleinman who as a 12-year-old boy fled to work on a Polish farm in the countryside when the ghetto was set up. Eventually he had to leave, as his employer was afraid of being denounced by Ukrainian neighbors. Mordechai then served in the Medvedev Soviet partisan unit, which included as many as 150 Jews. A partisan detachment led by Alter Fiklin burned the police station and stole German food supplies in 1943. When the Red Army liberated the town on January 10, 1944, about 40 Jewish survivors emerged from the forests.[5]

SOURCES Relevant information on the Jewish community of Ludwipol can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 109–111; Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 66, 199, 366; 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), p. 761.

Documents on the persecution and extermination of Jews in Ludwipol can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/75, 1268, 2189, 2883, and 3298); DARO; GARF (7021-71-57); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2883.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/1268, gives October 5, 1941, as the date for the establishment of ghettos in all the Rayon towns of Gebiet Kostopol, including Ludwipol.

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4. According to ChGK materials, during the period of the occupation, 1,297 people were murdered. GARF, 7021-71-57, p. 1.

5. AŻIH, 301/75, testimony of Mordechai Kleinman.

ŁUNINIEC

Pre-1939: Łuniniec, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Luninets, raion center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Luninez, Rayon center, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Luninets, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łuniniec is located approximately 55 kilometers (34 miles) east-northeast of Pińsk. On the eve of World War II, there were more than 2,000 Jews living in the town, above 20 percent of the overall population.

The Red Army seized Łuniniec in September 1939, shortly after the outbreak of war. The Soviet troops retreated near the end of June 1941, and during the first days of July, forces of the Wehrmacht occupied the town. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans killed all the Jewish doctors. They also ordered all Jews to wear yellow patches on their clothing—one patch on the chest and one on the back—and forbade them to walk on the sidewalks. The Germans then made the Jews form a Judenrat, which consisted of four men. The Judenrat was responsible for providing the Germans with Jewish goods and laborers on demand. Jews were not compensated for their labor. In addition, a non-Jew had to get special permission from the authorities to employ a Jewish artisan.[1]

On August 10, 1941, a special German unit arrived in Łuniniec to carry out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. In all likelihood this was the 4th Squadron of the 2nd Regiment of the 1st SS-Cavalry Brigade.[2] They gathered together all the Jewish men aged 14 and older, announcing on placards that they were going to be taken to work, then took them outside the town and shot them in pits that had been dug in advance. They allowed a handful of tailors and cobblers to live. Although the Germans went from house to house looking for Jews, several managed to hide successfully. Many of the men who survived, and some of the women, were sent to the forced labor camp in Hancewicze during the winter of 1941–1942. Meanwhile, the Germans continued to confiscate Jewish property.[3]

In the first days of March 1942, a ghetto was formally established in Łuniniec. There had never been a Jewish quarter or neighborhood in Łuniniec, so many Jews and even some Christians were forced to relocate. The remaining Jewish populations of the surrounding villages—including Łunin, Wólka, Działowicze, and Bostyń—were concentrated in the ghetto. It was surrounded by barbed wire, and the local police guarded it. There was tremendous overcrowding in the barracks-like buildings. The daily ration was 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person. Artisans, who were allowed to leave the ghetto to perform work, were carefully searched upon returning. If they were caught trying to smuggle food back into the ghetto, the police would beat them severely. To prevent the spread of lice and disease, the Germans shaved the heads of Jewish children. They also called for the formation of a new Judenrat to direct Jewish forced labor.[4]

In May 1942, a Security Police and SD Aussendienststelle (outpost) was set up in Pińsk, under the command of SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhem Rasp. Rasp's office in turn set up branch offices in the outlying Rayon capitals, including one in Łuniniec under the command of Otto Scholl. In June 1942, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin issued a special order to Rasp to liquidate all the Jews under his jurisdiction.[5] The second anti-Jewish Aktion in Łuniniec took place on September 4, 1942. Scholl and his men, with the help of the Gendarmerie, the local police, and Reserve Police Battalion 306, rounded up the Jews and brought them to pits outside the town. Rasp himself appeared with a small detachment of his men and auxiliary police. A unit of Reserve Police Battalion 69 and members of the Organisation Todt (OT) also participated, at the request of the Security Police. About 2,800 Jews were killed in this massacre. Some 100 craftsmen were permitted to remain alive, but they were killed in a subsequent Aktion in October 1942.[6]

Just prior to the mass shooting, Susi Grunberg-Gelbard wrote a letter to her husband, dated September 1, 1942, describing the situation she faced in the ghetto:

> I am sitting perhaps for the last time in this room, in which we were so happy, and write you a few parting words. I feel that you are still alive and hope that these lines come into your hands. The graves are prepared; sooner or later, probably tonight, the inevitable will happen. I don't want to die, but I will die like a "man," if I don't succeed in escaping. What I will do with the child is still not decided. The noose is so tightly closed that one cannot escape.[7]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Łuniniec and Kożangródek, edited by Yosef Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor Kehilot Luninyets—Koz'anhorodok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Luninyets ve-Koz'anhorodok be-Yisrael, 1952), has several useful survivor testimonies. There is also a short article on the Jewish community in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 263–264.

The investigative records and verdict from the trial in Braunschweig, concluded in 1964, of several members of the SS-Cavalry Brigade contain key information on the first Aktion. The verdict has been published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 570. Information on the second Aktion can be found in BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59) and also in the records of LG-Bo [see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005) vol. 34, Lfd. Nr. 741].

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community in Łuniniec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3042, 3087); GARF; NARB; and YVA.

Andrew Koss

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NOTES

1. A.P., "Kilyon ha-yishuv ha-Yehudi," in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor*, p. 66. Also in *Yizkor* see Lipe Yosilevski, "Der Untergang," pp. 178–179, 181; and Rivka Yosilevski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," pp. 67–68.

2. The verdict of the trial of leading perpetrators of the SS-Cavalry Brigade (LG-Braun, April 20, 1964) describes a shooting Aktion and states it is very probable that the place concerned was Łuniniec and that the 4th Squadron carried out the shooting. The details of the Aktion fit closely with descriptions of the massacre in Łuniniec from other sources. In any event, it was almost certainly a unit of the 2nd Regiment that was responsible for the shootings. LG-Braun, 2 Ks 1/63, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, Lfd. Nr. 570a, 20:54–55.

3. Ibid.; Yosilveski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," pp. 68–69; Khayem Rubinraut, "Luninyets in di letste 25 yor," in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor*, p. 120; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," pp. 179–181; see also AŻIH, 301/3087 (Mikolaj Sierzan).

4. Yosilevski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," p. 69; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," p. 180.

5. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2, p. 868, testimony of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961.

6. Ibid.; BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2, Ghetto Vernichtung in Raum Pinsk, p. 1100; A.P., "Kilyon ha-yishuv ha-Yehudi," p. 66; Rubinraut, "Luninyets," p. 120; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," p. 180.

7. AŻIH, 301/3042. This document is in German but may be a transcript or translation of the original. It is presumed that Susi Grunberg-Gelbard was murdered with the other Jews of Łuniniec on September 4, 1942.

MACIEJÓW

Pre-1939: Maciejów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Matsiov, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mazejewo, Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Matseiv, Turiis'k raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Maciejów is located about 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) west of Kowel. According to the 1921 census, 2,206 Jews lived in Maciejów. Based on a natural growth rate of 9 or 10 people per 1,000 annually, it is estimated that approximately 2,600 Jews were living there in mid-1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town in late June 1941. Within a few days, the German occupation forces established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) from among the wealthier Jews. The Jewish Council informed the male Jews where and when to report for work every day. Among the initial work tasks Jews performed was clearing the roads of small mines left behind by the Soviets as they retreated.[1]

In July and August, the town was administered by a German military commandant, then from early September 1941, by a civil administration. Maciejów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel. The Gebietskommissar in Kowel was Arno Kämpf until June 1942, while the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant Philipp Rapp of the German Gendarmerie.[2] Kämpf was arrested in June 1942, and Erich Kassner succeeded him as Gebietskommissar.

The Germans also set up a local Ukrainian administration and a Ukrainian police force, which was subordinated to a local German Gendarmerie post of several Gendarmes. In the summer of 1942, the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft Battalion 103, recruited from the region's inhabitants, was also stationed in the town, primarily on railway protection duties.[3]

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the first anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Maciejów. The German authorities ordered Jews to wear yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes. Jews were instructed to surrender all valuables via the Judenrat. The German authorities also threatened that if any valuables were subsequently found in a Jewish home, the people who lived there would be shot. In addition, the Germans demanded large monetary "contributions," and on one occasion they burned the Torah scrolls from the synagogue and beat the old men.[4]

In the summer of 1941, the first killing Aktions were carried out in Maciejów. These Aktions were organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Kowel together with parts of the 1st and 4th Platoons, 1st Company, Police Battalion 314 (Order Police from Vienna), assisted by the local Ukrainian police. The two Order Police platoons were in Maciejów from mid-July until early September 1941.

The first Aktion took place on July 18, 1941. The Germans collected about 400 Jewish men on the pretext of registration and took them to the former nunnery that served as a German headquarters. Here a form of "selection" took place, and those with useful skills were put to one side, while the larger group was attacked with dogs, beaten, and then shot behind the nunnery. Men of the Security Police and SD squad and the Order Police shot 325 Jews. According to survivor Jacob Biber, in the course of a subsequent Aktion about one month later, 300 Jewish women were arrested and shot in the same place. On another occasion the Germans also beat and murdered the rabbi of the town, apparently when their demands for money could no longer be fulfilled.[5]

In August 1941, the Germans and their collaborators declared a virtual "open season" on the Jews. The German police battalion and especially the local Ukrainian police (Miliz) rounded up hundreds of Jews, whom they then shot in the lime mines close to the town. Many Jews hid or fled to the surrounding countryside, but the local police still hunted them down, boasting about how many Jews they had killed. Apparently the Germans had offered a reward for every Jew discovered. The local population also plundered the abandoned Jewish houses. At least one Jew, the blacksmith Manashe, offered resistance, grabbing a rifle from his Ukrainian police escorts and battling his pursuers in a rye field before he was overpowered. After several weeks of this killing spree, the German police battalion left the town in early September, and the newly established civil administration ordered that the killing of Jews be stopped temporarily.[6]

The first Judenrat had been completely eliminated during the massacres, and a new one was appointed. It made a report

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to the newly arrived German commandant, whose office was also based in the nunnery, about a German soldier who had stabbed and robbed the Jewish photographer Lichtenstein. To set an example, the new commandant court-martialed the soldier and sentenced him to death. News of this event caused even the Ukrainian police to reduce their harassment of the Jews. A number of Jews then emerged from hiding and were even joined by refugees from nearby towns, including Kowel.[7]

In the fall of 1941 the remaining Jews were made to perform forced labor without pay. Among the tasks assigned to the men were working in the sawmill, cleaning the streets, and loading freight cars, while women also worked as cleaners for the Germans. After mid-November, the trains passing through increasingly carried wounded German soldiers rather than Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and this also changed the attitude of the Ukrainian overseers, who became somewhat more amenable.[8]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, at the end of 1941, a ghetto was created in Maciejów into which Jews from the surrounding villages were resettled. In late May or early June 1942, the 1st Motorized Gendarmerie Platoon from Łuck, together with the local police battalion of Ukrainians, carried out an Aktion against "bandits," the official word for partisans but often applied as a euphemism for Jews. In the course of this operation, four "bandits" were killed, three or four wounded, and one arrested.[9] At about this time, 200 young Jews were shot, presumably for providing alleged assistance to the "bandits" (partisans).

In mid-September 1942, word spread that the ghetto would soon be liquidated, and most Jews scattered to prepared hiding places. A detachment of Security Police and SD men arriving from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police, rounded up all the Jews they could apprehend in the ghetto and shot them in the lime pits on the edge of town. The number of victims of this Aktion is unclear, but it probably lies between 1,500 and 2,500.[10] Most of those who hid initially were denounced or captured by the local police over the following days and months.

Very few Jews managed to survive the German occupation in and around Maciejów. Including several who had escaped into Russia, only about 10 survivors came back to the town after its liberation by the Red Army on July 18, 1944.[11] Those who did survive, such as Jacob Biber, relied heavily on their good pre-war relations with individual local peasants and had to change their hiding places often, owing to the generally hostile atmosphere in the area. Jacob and his wife also lost their infant son, Shalom, when surprised in the woods by Ukrainian policemen.[12] From March 1943, many Ukrainian policemen deserted and established their own Ukrainian nationalist (Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or UPA) partisan formations, but most remained antisemitic and killed any Jews they encountered. It was not until 1944 that the emergence of strong Soviet partisan units in the area offered a potential refuge for the few surviving Jews.

SOURCES Information about the persecution of the Jewish population of Maciejów can be found in the memoir written by Jacob Biber, *Survivors: A Personal Story of the Holocaust* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 1986). There is also a personal testimony by his wife, Eva, in the same author's anthology of survivor accounts, *A Triumph of the Spirit: Ten Stories of Holocaust Survivors* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 1994), pp. 97–122. A brief history of the Jewish community is available in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 137–139. Additional information can be found in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 366.

Documents about the persecution of the Jews of Maciejów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; DAVO (R66-4-15); GARF (7021-55-9); TsDAVO; and YVA.

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trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 42–43.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-BL, R 19/266, report on the strength of the Schutzmannschaft as of July 1, 1942.
4. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 49–51.
5. LG-Trau, verdict of May 26, 1982 (forthcoming in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, case no. 878); Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 43–50.
6. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 52–66.
7. Ibid., pp. 64–67.
8. Ibid., pp. 70–72.
9. See the report of the Higher SS and Police Leader in Ukraine, BdS Ukraine, June 1–30, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 42.
10. The figure is derived from the number of Jews in Maciejów before the war, an estimate of the number of Jews killed before September 1942, and allowing for the number of Jews resettled to Maciejów from surrounding towns and villages. According to material from the ChGK (January 24, 1945), around 4,000 Jews and Ukrainians were killed in the Maciejów raion during the occupation; see GARF, 7021-55-9, p. 3. This figure is probably an overestimate. Martin Gilbert gives the figure of 1,500 for the number of Jews killed in "August 1942"; see Gilbert, *Endlösung. Die Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Juden. Ein Atlas* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982), p. 115.
11. "Eva Cherniak Biber" [survivor account] published in Biber, *A Triumph of the Spirit*, pp. 97–122, here p. 118.
12. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 88–89.

MAŁORYTA

Pre-1939: Małoryta, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Malorita, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Maloryta, Rayon center, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Malaryta, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Małoryta is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Brest. Just before the German invasion of the Soviet Union,

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some 4,000 people lived in Małoryta, of which more than 1,000 were Jewish.

German forces occupied Małoryta on the first day of the invasion, June 22, 1941. A number of buildings in the town were damaged in the initial German bombardment. A few days after the Germans arrived, they announced they needed volunteers to join the police. A Ukrainian police unit was set up, and the police station was located in a private house, which had previously belonged to a Jewish person but was confiscated in 1939 by the Soviets. It was situated on the street that the Germans called Dorfstrasse, which was later called Sovetskaia. There were about 30 people in the Ukrainian police. Yarmoshuk was the commandant; he had also used the surname of Kwiatkowski under Polish rule, as before the war the Ukrainians were not allowed to serve in the Polish police. He was sacked from the Polish police when this deception was uncovered. Another policeman was Filipp Samosiuk. The policemen wore uniforms similar to the greatcoats worn by Soviet soldiers, made of a dark gray material.[1]

In the fall of 1941, a German civil administration took over responsibility for the region from the military authorities. Małoryta became a Rayon center in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, subordinated to the Gebietskommissar (Brest-Land) Curt Rolle. In the fall, a training school for the local police was established in Małoryta, to which policemen from the entire Gebiet were sent to be trained as noncommissioned officers (NCOs). The local German agricultural leader (Landwirtschaftsführer) in Małoryta was Wilhelm Zinn, and the village head (sołtys) was Konrad Strunec, who had also held this position under Polish rule.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans set up a Jewish ghetto, and all the Jews of Rayon Maloryta were moved into it. The Ukrainians who used to live in houses within the ghetto area were resettled to former Jewish-owned houses outside the ghetto. The ghetto consisted of about 50 houses in the northwestern part of town, surrounded by barbed wire. It was guarded by the local police, though not very closely. Despite official prohibitions and beatings from the local police, the Jews were still able to barter items for food with the local population. The extreme overcrowding resulted in very dirty, unsanitary conditions in the ghetto, and a number of people died.[2] The Jewish population of Rayon Maloryta was reported by the German authorities to be 1,210 in early 1942.[3]

According to a German report from March 1942, artisan workshops had been established for blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and other craftsmen in Małoryta in order for "Aryans" to be trained, presumably by Jewish specialists.[4] Some able-bodied Jews from the ghetto were assigned to forced labor under arduous conditions on road construction projects and other work at various sites in the Gebiet, where many died from the inadequate food and poor conditions.[5]

The ghetto was liquidated in July or August 1942, probably by a detachment of the Security Police, assisted by men from the Police Company Nuremberg, the German Gendarmerie, and the local Ukrainian police. The massacre of the Jews was carried out over at least two days. First the remaining male Jews were taken in groups to the ditches prepared on Pieszczatka Hill, which was about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from the ghetto in a northwesterly direction, where they were shot. A few men tried to escape, but the escorting guards shot them as they fled.[6] The women and children were held overnight at an assembly point, and then the Germans and their collaborators escorted them to the mass graves in groups of 40 or 50 during the next morning. The victims had to remove their outer clothing and their shoes before being shot in three mass graves. The remaining Jewish property in the ghetto was plundered by the Germans and the local policemen. Among those who participated in the Aktion was the Ukrainian nationalist Markowski, who had been head of the Maloryta Rayon a short time before.[7]

According to the monthly report of the Gebietskommissar dated August 22, 1942, the Jews in Małoryta had been "evacuated" during the previous month; approximately 1,000 people being affected.[8]

SOURCES Captured German documents on the fate of the Jews of Małoryta can be found in BA-BL (R 94). Materials from the various ChGK reports can be found in GABO (514-1-258, p. 38); GARF (7021-83-25, pp. 64–74); TsGAMORF (32-11302-244, pp. 151–160); USHMM; and YVA. Interviews conducted in the 1990s by Britain's New Scotland Yard War Crimes Unit (WCU) in preparing for the trial of Andrei Sawoniuk, a policeman from the nearby town of Domaczów, also contain some information on the fate of the Jews in Małoryta. These records are now located in the NA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. NA, WCU, Sawoniuk investigation, statement of Vladimir Kharczuk, February 1997.

2. Ibid; GARF, 7021-83-25, p. 64; USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, p. 157.

3. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., R 94/6, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, Labor Office, July 6, 1942.

6. NA, WCU, Sawoniuk investigation, statement of Vladimir Kharczuk, February 1997; USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, p. 157, and 233/2374/58, pp. 152–155. Both these sources date the Aktion in June 1942 and name Major Rose of the Gestapo arriving from Lutsk [*sic*] as being in charge. This was probably, however, Major of the Gendarmerie Rohse, who was at that time based in Brest-Litowsk.

7. USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, pp. 157 and reverse.

8. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, August 22, 1942. According to 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), p. 789, "883 Jews (including some from neighboring villages) were executed by SD troops and Ukrainian police in Maloryta on July 7, 1942"; unfortunately, it is not clear on what source this information is based. GARF, 7021-83-25, p. 64, gives the figure of 2,500 Jewish victims from the ghetto, but this is certainly too high.

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MANIEWICZE

Pre-1939: Maniewicze (Yiddish: Manievich), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Manevichi, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Manewitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Prylisne, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

The town of Maniewicze is located 59 kilometers (37 miles) east-northeast of Kowel. According to the 1921 census, there were 462 Jews living there.[1] Following the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, Maniewicze was occupied by the Soviets. Its Jewish population was swelled by several hundred refugees from the German zone of occupation, primarily Jews from Terespol, a town near Brest, reaching a total of almost 2,000 people.[2]

The Soviet army and local authorities evacuated Maniewicze in the direction of Kiev on June 25, 1941; the German army entered the town on June 28. In the intervening days, peasants from neighboring villages conducted extensive looting in the town. Some local Jews tried to leave with the escaping Soviets, but many stayed behind. The Lorber family, for example, could not leave, as the head of the family remained undecided and soon found that escape was no longer practical.[3]

The Germans ordered the creation of a Judenrat in July 1941, headed by a refugee lawyer, Dr. Frucht. The local Ukrainian police commander was Mikolai Slipchuk, formerly a teacher in a nearby school for deaf children. His assistant was Andrei Pestrak.

The first killing Aktion, directed mainly against the Jewish intelligentsia, was organized by the Germans on August 25, 1941, when 327 Jews, mostly men, many of whom were heads of families, were arrested and allegedly taken to a work camp; but in fact they were killed that day.[4]

Local Jews were allowed to remain in their homes but were restricted to the area of the town, and a curfew was imposed after dark. They were allocated 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person per day, distributed by the Judenrat. Jews suffered from hunger. Some Jewish artisans went to nearby villages secretly to work and obtain food for their families. Seven Jewish children were murdered by the chief of police Slipchuk when caught returning from a village in search of food.

The Judenrat organization included a Jewish police force. Comments by survivors indicate that the head of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police behaved properly and tried to alleviate the suffering of the community members. Suffering from cold and hunger was worst during the winter of 1941–1942. Comments by survivors regarding the local population are mixed. Some neighbors, both Poles and Ukrainians, helped with food, goods, and information. Others ignored previous good relations and allowed friends to suffer.

According to some accounts, an "open ghetto" was formed in Maniewicze in the spring of 1942 between the police station and the railway station. Some Jews were brought there from neighboring villages. It was not closed off and was guarded only ineffectively by the Ukrainian police.[5] The Germans maintained a skeleton staff of Gendarmes in the town to support the Organisation Todt (OT) civil engineering corps. Several "Todtniks" were tenants in Jewish homes; the homes were comfortable, and the Jews understood German. The Nazis set up a self-financing scheme to cover the costs of administering the ghetto. The Maniewicze Judenrat was forced to collect and "contribute" the funds, a practice employed throughout Volhynia.

Maniewicze Jews were not permitted to leave the area of the ghetto, and the Ukrainian police had the power to shoot violators on sight. Nevertheless, it was possible to escape under cover of darkness if one was careful. Faye Merin Porter (the coauthor's mother) escaped the night before the second Aktion but left behind her two young daughters, sister, and mother. She hid in a barn and later entered the forest, where she was reunited with her husband, Yisroel Puchtik (Porter).

Jewish men worked in the local parquet-flooring factory and in the loading of railroad ties. Women worked at "Polska Góra," to which they commuted by a local train. Their task was the repair and maintenance of the rail line. These women were employed by the OT, the German government contract firm dealing with large-scale military construction projects. German officials of the OT helped these women by providing them secretly with food rations. They also warned them in time of the impending liquidation of the ghetto.[6]

As a result of these warnings, 70 Jews were able to escape to the nearby forest on September 3 and 4, 1942, at the end of the work shift at the parquet factory. Some hid with a local Polish forest ranger named Słowik. This group met up with another group of young Jews from Lishnivka, a neighboring village in the forests.

One such Jew was Dov Lorber, 27, who first escaped from Maniewicze to Lishnivka, the village where his father was born. Another man from Gródek, who was warned early on, was Yisroel Puchtik. He also avoided the first Aktion. Eventually they and others joined a partisan group led by a local Ukrainian leader, Nikolai Konishchuk, aka "Kruk," the former Communist head of the village of Gryva. Kruk readily agreed to accept these young Jews in his partisan unit. Older Jews, women, and children were also accepted into a "family camp" within the forest. Another group under "Maks," a Polish commander, a major named Joseph Sobesiak, operated in the same area. Eventually several hundred Jews survived as partisans in this family camp guarded by the two partisan groups, later commanded by Soviet Colonel Anton Brinski. They later came under the command of Major General Vasily Begma and were part of the Rovno Division.

Food and other provisions were commandeered from neighboring villages under partisan control. Military supplies were dropped periodically by parachute. The Soviet army liberated the area in February 1944.

A few days before the second and last Aktion, the town's Jews were forced to move to an enclosed ghetto area in Maniewicze. The Germans liquidated the ghetto on September 5, 1942. As many as 300 Jews from the nearby village of

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Trojanowka were brought into the Maniewicze ghetto just prior to this, on September 3.[7] On the eve of the liquidation, German and Ukrainian police guards, including some brought in from Kowel and Powursk, surrounded the ghetto. Then some 2,000 Jews slowly marched through the town and were escorted to a site in the direction of Czerewucha. Here they were made to strip naked and then slaughtered in four mass graves near the Christian cemetery in a wooded area called *ferdishe mogiles* (Horse Graves). The Germans gathered watches, gold teeth, and other valuables in a silk bag at the killing site. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, there was a total of 1,840 "primarily" Jewish victims, of whom the children were buried alive.[8]

Andrei Pestrak was under investigation by the British War Crimes Inquiry when he died in the United Kingdom in the late 1980s.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Yehuda Merin, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Manyevits'*, *Horodok*, *Troyanovkah*, *Lishnivkah u-Povursk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Manyevits', Horodok, Troyanovkah, Lishnivkah u-Povursk veha-sevivah ba-Erets, 2002), contains a number of relevant testimonies. The International Association of Volhynian Jews also publishes its own journal, *Yalkut Volyn*, in Givatayim, Israel. This magazine includes an article on "Maniewicze" by Yehuda Merin in vol. 45 (1989), p. 17.

On partisan activity in the area, see Jack Nusan Porter and Yehuda Merin, eds., *Jewish Partisans: A Documentary of Jewish Resistance in the Soviet Union during World War II*, 2 vols. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982; repr., Newton, MA: Spencer, 2002). Another relevant publication is the collection in Hebrew edited by Nathan Livne, *Tall as Pine Trees: Jewish Partisans in Volhynian Forests* (Tel Aviv, 1980). Finally, there is a self-published article by Joseph M. Voss (with the assistance of Dr. Levis Kochin), "Nekamah mit sekhel," which is the transcript of a lecture and memorial to the life of Dov Lorber, given at the Congregation Bikur Cholim, Seattle, WA, on February 12, 1997.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Maniewicze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/926); GARF (7021-55-8); MA (A.103); NA (Home Office War Crimes Inquiry); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-3/1332, 2367).

Jack Nusan Porter and Yehudah Merin

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228. In 1921 in the nearby village of Trojanowka, there were 212 Jews, and in Poworsk, 37.

2. 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), p. 790, gives the figure of 1,900 Jews under Soviet rule in 1939–1941.

3. Information from Dov Lorber, who later became a Jewish partisan commander in the region. For his testimony, see YVA, O-3/2367.

4. AŻIH, 301/926, testimony of Samuel Melchior; GARF, 7021-55-8.

5. Interview with Vasili Nesterovich Kulchitski conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 27, 1989. See also interview with Sevastian Stanislavovich Solubchuk by Hetherington on January 28, 1989. These records are currently located in the NA.

6. See Tzvi (Vora) Verba, "Deeds of a Child," in Porter and Merin, *Jewish Partisans*, 2:115–122; his testimony can be found in file YVA, O-3/1332.

7. Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 317; interview with Arhip Anyisomich Mifanik conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 27, 1989; interview of Isaac Kirzner and Ben Finkel by William Chalmers on September 8, 1988; interviews in the NA. See also V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003), p. 33; and AŻIH, 301/926.

8. The ChGK report, GARF, 7021-55-8. See also the interview with Aleksei Stepanovich Slipchuk conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 26, 1989, NA.

MEDZHIBOZH

Pre-1941: Medzhibozh, town and raion center, Proskurov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Medshibosh, Rayon center, Gebiet Letischew, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Medzhybizh, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Medzhibozh is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) east of Proskurov, at the confluence of the Southern Bug and Buzhok Rivers. Just prior to the German invasion, the Jewish population of Medzhibozh was approximately 5,000.[1]

The German army occupied Medzhibozh on July 8, 1941.[2] On the first day of the occupation, the Germans forced Jewish men to shovel sand. Others were required to lie facedown in the mud so that officers could walk across their backs as a bridge. Others were required to sing, grovel in the grass, and dance for photographers.[3]

Within a few days, SS men came and formed a ghetto in the main part of town. The Jews were driven to one of the worst streets of the town—Bath Street—with 15 to 20 people squeezed into each room of a number of small houses. There was also considerable plundering of Jewish property during the move, as the Gestapo allowed only a short time for the move to be completed. Everything that was left behind was lost. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Those who went too close to the fence were severely punished. The German captain in charge was Willy Kepke.[4] The head Ukrainian local policeman was named Pavlovsky. Another local policeman was named Blonsky.[5]

The elder of the ghetto was Moishe Viener.[6] Work consisted of clearing snow in the winter. In the spring of 1942, work details were involved in hauling stones (in a quarry 14

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kilometers [9 miles] outside of town) and road construction.[7] Workers at the quarry not only had to walk all the way there and back but also received terrible beatings. On April 14, 1942, 200 men were transferred from the ghetto to work at the front as slave laborers. What remained of Jewish property was consumed by contributions, taxes, bribes, and robbery. Food rations got smaller and averaged 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. Some Jews left the ghetto to beg or barter remaining items for food. By 1942, the Jewish inhabitants of the ghetto began to die of starvation. Initially people were taken out on a cart to be buried in the cemetery. Local inhabitants who observed these frequent processions became aware of the high rate of mortality in the ghetto. However, once the authorities began demanding money for this, they were buried in a yard.[8] Several weeks before the mass shooting in September, the Ashkenazi synagogue was razed to the ground, and fragments of the Sefer Torah were scattered to the winds.

On September 21, 1942,[9] more than 1,000 people were shot at a mass grave near Rusanovtsy, on the western outskirts of Medzhibozh at a ravine leading to the Southern Bug River. By November 2, 1942, the ghetto was completely liquidated. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports, the Germans and their collaborators massacred 2,558 to 2,588 people in total, in three trenches at the mass killing site.[10]

In the predawn hours of September 21, a truck unloaded 50 SS men at the gate of the ghetto. Fearing another pogrom (there were several perpetrated during the month of August), many people hid in bunkers they had prepared. People were so anxious that they slept in their clothes. At dawn, more than 1,000 people were driven to the mass killing site and shot. By noon, the killings were completed. SS soldiers tore apart the ghetto looking for valuables and hidden Jews. That afternoon, approximately 250 Jews were found and brought to barracks in the castle. About 80 were selected for a work detail the next morning; the rest were shot. Throughout the next three days, more Jews were discovered in the ghetto and brought to the barracks. During their time in the barracks, workers were fed 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread a day. The work detail was transferred to the prison camp at Letichev.[11]

There was no known resistance in the area. Moishe Einhorn and Rose Huberman spent some time in the Medzhibozh ghetto and were part of the work detail transferred to Letichev after the first mass killing. They escaped from Letichev and sought refuge in Proskurov. Later, they escaped together from the Proskurov ghetto to Transnistria.[12] Huberman returned to live the rest of her life in Medzhibozh.[13] Thirteen-year old Bronya Zats ran from the mass killing site during the executions. She swam across the Southern Bug River, and presumably the Nazis thought she had drowned. She was helped by Ukrainian farmers, and her identity was hidden throughout the rest of the occupation.[14] These three are the only survivors of the ghetto on whom documentation could be found. Apparently some Jews may also have survived by passing as Ukrainians and being sent to Germany as forced laborers in the mines.[15]

A Ukrainian policeman named Blonsky was arrested in Medzhibozh and sentenced to 25 years in prison by the Soviet authorities after the war.[16] Pavlovsky was rumored to have fled to Canada.

SOURCES Translations of many of the relevant testimonies used for this article can be found in David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000), chap. 16, "Holocaust."

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-92); USHMM; and YIU (no. 618).

David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

NOTES

1. Computed by adding 9 percent to the 1926 figures, accounting for population growth.
2. Newspaper *Za Chest' Rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
3. Testimony of Moshe Einhorn, from the 1981 edition of the Yiddish-language periodical *Sovietish Heimland*, published in translation in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 683–696. The photographs could not be located.
4. Ibid.; YIU, Témoin no. 618.
5. Tevye Goldberg, interviewed by Yuliy Lifshits, Jewish Preservation Committee of Ukraine, 1998. Translated in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 805–810.
6. Einhorn testimony.
7. I. Goland and V. Dymshits, "Report of a Trip to Staray Sinyava and Pilyava: An Interview with Bronya Khalfina July 31, 1989," in V. Dymshits, *The History of Jews in Ukraine and Byelorussia*, *Expeditions*, *Monuments*, *Finds* (St. Petersburg: Petersburg Jewish University, History and Ethnography, Series Issue 2, 1994). Translated in part by Chapin and Weinstock in *The Road*, pp. 697–698. Note: Bronya Zats Khalfin was very sick at the time of the interview, and her thoughts are somewhat incoherent. A better source may be Hershel Polianker, "In Medzhibozh," *Sovietish Heimland*, no. 1 (1982): 148–158.
8. Einhorn testimony; Khalfin testimony; YIU, Témoin no. 618.
9. Einhorn testimony.
10. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-64-92, p. 2. See also DAKhO, Fond 363, case 39, p. 78, "About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmelnitsky Oblast' at the time of the Fascist occupation." Summary translations in English are available in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 746–750.
11. Einhorn testimony.
12. Ibid.
13. Sonya and Charles Bick visited her in Medzhibozh on July 26, 1990.
14. Khalfin testimony.
15. Ibid.
16. Goldberg testimony.

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MIĘDZYRZECZ

Pre-1939: Międzyrzecz, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Velikie Mezhirichi, initially, raion center, Rovno oblast', then, village, Korets raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Meshiritschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Velyki Mezhyrichi, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Międzyrzecz is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) east of Równe. According to the 1921 population census, 1,743 Jews lived in the village. By the middle of 1941, allowing for a population growth of 0.9 percent per annum, there would have been approximately 2,108 Jews living there.[1]

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (the Ortskommandantur in Korzec) governed the village, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Międzyrzecz (renamed Meshiritschi) became a Rayon center in Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Beer.[2] There was a German Gendarmerie post in Międzyrzecz, as well as a Ukrainian police squadron.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, an antisemitic mood prevailed in the village, and Ukrainian nationalists organized a pogrom. Many Jewish homes were looted, and a number of Jews were assaulted.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Judenrat was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David.[4] They were ordered to perform heavy labor, mostly without pay. Jews could not leave the borders of the settlement. They were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local Ukrainian police.

According to Isaiah Trunk, the chairman of the Jewish Council, Abraham Shvetz, committed suicide after the Germans ordered him to deliver more than 100 young and healthy Jews, ostensibly for labor in Kiev. Reports from local non-Jews indicate that these Jews were subsequently killed in a mass grave.[5]

On May 22, 1942, an SD detachment arrived from Równe and directed an Aktion against the Jews in the village, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police. Around 1,000 Jews were killed.[6] The 37 members of the 1st Company of the 33rd Police Reserve Battalion also took part in the Aktion.[7]

Shortly after this Aktion, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Międzyrzecz. All the Jews who had survived the Aktion on May 22, and also a number from surrounding villages, were forcibly resettled into an area composed of a few empty dwellings on only two streets. The ghetto probably remained unfenced, but it was closely guarded by the Ukrainian police, so it was impossible for the Jews to leave.[8] According to Trunk, there was a youth resistance group in the ghetto, which planned to escape to the forests, but when they consulted the new chairman of the Judenrat, Isaiah Rubinstein, he replied: "Believe me, I too would have escaped together with you, but how can one abandon the ghetto? You may escape, but next day the Germans will kill everyone, including your families." Thus the German policy of threatening reprisals, if any Jew went missing, held back the youth of the Międzyrzecz ghetto from executing their escape plans.[9]

On September 26, 1942 (the Sukkot holiday), the ghetto was liquidated. The SD unit from Równe together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police shot around 800 or 900 Jews altogether.[10] Only a few Jews managed to evade the initial roundup and ensuing searches. Some of them found refuge with local peasants and managed to survive until the end of the German occupation in early 1944.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Międzyrzecz can be found in the following publications: "Miedzyrzec," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 127–130; B.H. Ayalon-Baranick, *Mezeritch gadol be-vinyana u-be-hurbana* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Mezhiritch, 1955); Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 444, 462; and "Velikie Mezhirichi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:223.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Międzyrzecz under German occupation can be found in the following archives: DARO (R48-1-10); GARF (7021-71-58); TsGAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (e.g., # 1222, 40997); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2218, 3479-80).

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trans. Steven Seegel and Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 363.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 66.
4. See the order of the Ortskommandantur Korez of August 6, 1941, for the Rayons of Beresowo, Hoschtscha, Korez, and Meshiritschi, DARO, R48-1-10, p. 16.
5. VHF, # 1222, testimony of Samuel Honigman.
6. According to *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:223, the number of Jewish victims was 950.
7. See the report of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, TsGAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
8. VHF, # 40997, testimony of Mordekay Tenenb'om; # 1222, Honigman, however, states that the ghetto was fenced.
9. Questionnaire 815, as cited by Trunk, *Judenrat*, pp. 444, 462.
10. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:223, gives the figure of 900 victims. VHF, # 40997, estimates that there were around 800 Jews in the ghetto prior to the liquidation Aktion.

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MIELNICA

Pre-1939: Mielnica (Yiddish: Melnitza), village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mel'nitsa, Goloby raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mielniza, Rayon Goloby, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mel'nytsia, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Mielnica is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) east of Kowel. According to the population census of 1921, 875 Jews lived in Mielnica. The town came under Soviet control in September 1939 and received an influx of refugees from western and central Poland. In 1941, just prior to the German invasion, there were probably slightly more than 1,000 Jews in the village.[1]

German military forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Mielnica. Authority passed to a German civil administration in September 1941. Mielnica was included in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf became the Gebietskommissar, a position he held until June 1942. Leutnant Philipp Rapp became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[2] In July 1942, Kämpf was arrested and executed for taking bribes from the Jews. He was replaced as Gebietskommissar by Erich Kassner, Kämpf's former chief of staff (Stabsleiter).

An elder was named to run local matters in the village. A number of Ukrainian policemen were also appointed. They served under the command of the German Gendarmerie outpost, based in Hołoby.

In July 1941, the first two Aktions were carried out against the male Jewish population in Mielnica: 56 young Jewish men were shot in the course of the "first Aktion," which took place at the start of the month. Some of them were betrayed by a local Polish antisemite who had been a headmaster under Polish rule and alleged that they had been Communists and political activists. The second Aktion took place in the middle of July, when some 280 men were killed. The Aktion was probably conducted by the 2nd Company of the 314th Police Battalion, which was deployed in Hołoby on July 14, 1941.[3]

In the summer and autumn of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mielnica. First the Jews were registered and ordered to wear distinctive markings on their clothing. According to Leya Rog, their food ration was limited to 90 grams (3.2 ounces) of pumpernickel bread mixed with straw each day. Jews were forced to give up the land surrounding their houses to Ukrainians, including their vegetable gardens, and were compelled to cease their previous professions and other paid work. The Germans also demanded a ransom in money and gold from the Jews. A Judenrat was established that organized forced labor for the Jews, mostly in the form of cutting peat. The Jews were otherwise more or less confined to their houses and had to rely on any food that neighbors periodically brought to them secretly.[4] The remaining Jews from the Rayon town of Hołoby were brought to Mielnica in late 1941.[5]

In the middle of August 1942, a ghetto was created in the village. It was established on Bozhichnaia Street, where two synagogues were located, and was cordoned off from the rest of the village.[6] The Jews were given only a few minutes to leave their homes and all the contents. They were made to run as they carried their meager possessions with them into the ghetto, being beaten and threatened by shots fired into the air. Several families were now crammed into each house.[7]

The total number of Jews in the ghetto may have been as many as 1,200, including Jews brought in at this time from surrounding villages, such as Kaszówka. These Jews brought with them the disturbing news that non-Jews had been preparing pits on the outskirts of town.[8] The Jews were left to starve for a number of days, as they could not leave the ghetto either to work or to beg for food. At the end of August 1942, the Germans demanded a further ransom, and when the Jews were unable to meet this demand, the Germans murdered the rabbi and the head of the Judenrat.[9]

On September 3, 1942, at 4:00 A.M., five Germans and around 100 Ukrainian policemen surrounded the ghetto. They gathered the Jews at an assembly point and then marched them out to a sand quarry near the southwestern border of the village, where they shot them all. Those in hiding heard the desperate prayers of old people, the crying of children, and the constant sound of gunshots. After the Jews had been murdered, the local police continued to search for Jews hiding in and around the ghetto, murdering any they could find. Local Ukrainians also looted the empty houses, and some subsequently took them as their own homes. Only a few Jews were able to escape the mass shooting. Among them was 12-year-old Zoja Baler, who, after hiding for a few days in the empty ghetto and fleeing to the forests, found shelter for some time in a family camp protected by a well-disposed Soviet partisan commander named "Max."[10] Some escapees were murdered by Ukrainian bandits (*Banderowcy*) who roamed the forests and also killed Poles in 1943, after deserting from the local police. On March 16, 1944, when Mielnica was liberated by the Red Army, only six Jews returned to the town.

In 1974 the Ukrainian policeman Ivan A. Klomivich returned to Mielnica and was arrested by the Soviet authorities. He was tried together with his accomplices, P.D. Pravoshchik, Volka Redoshinsky, S.S. Zagurski, and A.D. Gogolyuk, for participation in the murder of Jews, Poles, and Soviet partisans in Mielnica, Kowel, and the surrounding area. All were initially sentenced to death, but for two of them the sentences were reduced on appeal to 15 years' hard labor.[11]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Mielnica contains a section in English that includes several personal accounts and articles on the Holocaust period: Joshua Lior, ed., *Melnitsah: Pelekh Vohlin, Ukra'inah: Sefer hantsahah, 'edut ve-zikaron li-kehilat Melnitsah* (Tel Aviv: yots'e Melnitsah be-Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1994). A short article on the fate of the Jewish population of Mielnica can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 134–135. The testimony of Leya Rog has been published in Boris Zabarko, ed.,

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Holocaust in the Ukraine (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 246–247. Additional information can be found in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 73, 363.

Documentation and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews in Mielnica can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/299 and 2871); DAVO; and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Lior, *Melnitsah*, pp. 19–45; 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), p. 820. A colorful impressionistic sketch map of the village as it was in the 1930s, including all the houses, can be found in the USHMM Archives, RG-03.017*01.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Zelda Baller Lior, "A Childhood without Childhood," in Lior, *Melnitsah*, pp. 54–60.
4. Testimony of Leya Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247; Lior, *Melnitsah*, p. 78.
5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 84. In 1931, 350 Jews were residing in Hołoby.
6. Testimony of Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247.
7. Lior, "A Childhood without Childhood," p. 55.
8. Ibid., and Leya Rog, "In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers," in Lior, *Melnitsah*, pp. 48–52. In this testimony, Rog dates the establishment of the ghetto on September 1, 1942.
9. Lior, *Melnitsah*, p. 78.
10. Testimony of Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247; Rog, "In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers," pp. 48–52; AŻIH, 301/299, testimony of Zoja Baler (born 1930); and Lior, "A Childhood without Childhood," pp. 54–60. According to some sources, approximately 200 Jews from Powórsk were also brought to Mielnica and killed at this time: see Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1019. The Jewish survivor Basia Katz, however, maintains that the Powórsk Jews were killed in trenches dug to hold gasoline tanks close to the village of Powórsk; see interview by Mr. William Chalmers on September 9, 1988.
11. Rog, "In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers," pp. 48–52.

MIKASZEWICZE

Pre-1939: Mikaszewicze, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mikashevichi, Luninets raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mikaschewitsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mikashevichy, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mikaszewicze is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) east-northeast of Pińsk. According to the 1921 population census, there were 178 Jews living in Mikaszewicze. By June 1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 or 10 persons per 1,000, there would have been more than 200 Jews in the town. The actual number was probably higher, owing to the arrival of a number of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland in the fall of 1939.

German forces occupied Mikaszewicze at the start of July 1941. In July and August, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled Mikaszewicze. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Mikaszewicze was incorporated into Gebiet Pinsk in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mikaszewicze. They established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) as an intermediary body between the Jewish population and the German authorities. In November 1941, the civil authorities in Mikaszewicze issued an order that Jews over the age of 10 must wear yellow markers on the front and back of their clothes and that Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks.[1] Jews were also required to perform forced labor and were robbed and beaten by the local police.

At some date before July 1942, probably in May 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mikaszewicze into which some Jews were also resettled from nearby villages.[2] Between March and May of 1942, a number of men capable of work and aged between 14 and 60 years were selected from among the Jews in Mikaszewicze and, together with Jews from Lenin and Łachwa, were transported in railroad cars to a forced labor camp in Hancewicze.[3]

On August 6, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Pińsk traveled to Mikaszewicze to conduct an Aktion against the ghetto. Assisted by forces of the Gendarmerie and the local police (Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst), officers of the Security Police shot the Jews next to the railway line. After the slaughter and in accordance with standard practice, the Security Police commander in Pińsk, SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp, prepared a report for the Commanding Officer of the Security Police (KdS) in Równe in which he stated that on August 6, 1942, 102 men, 159 women, and 159 children (420 Jews in total) were "executed" (shot) in Mikaszewicze. For economic and hygiene-related reasons, three engineers and two doctors were temporarily spared.[4] On the day of the massacre, the local factory in Mikaszewicze ordered that the medical instruments of one of the doctors, the female doctor, Epshtein, be collected from her house in the ghetto, as they were necessary for her work at the factory.[5]

A Jewish photographer from the nearby ghetto of Lenin, Faye Schulman, took photographs for the Germans in the summer of 1942. After she escaped to the partisans in September 1942, she was able to save some of her photographs, including one of the bodies of the Jews shot in Mikaszewicze.[6]

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Mikaszewicze can be found in "Mikaszewicze," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

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Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 269. The ghetto in Mikaszewicze is mentioned in V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001), p. 91.

Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews in Mikaszewicze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2441); GABO (2733-1-5, 36, and 40); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 22); and YVA (e.g., M-41/1024 and 1026-27).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1026), Order issued by the local authorities in Mikaszewicze, November 17, 1941.
2. Ibid., Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1024), an order issued by the local authorities in Mikaszewicze, dated July 25, 1942, mentions the existence of a ghetto in the town. The ghetto in nearby Lenin was established on May 10, 1942.
3. L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednie svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 223–230; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 109.
4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 2, report of Sturmscharführer Rasp to KdS Rowno, August 8, 1942.
5. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1027), factory in Mikaszewicze, order regarding the collection of medical instruments belonging to the Jewish female doctor Epshtein, August 6, 1942.
6. See Faye Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes in mir: Wie ich als jüdische Partisanin den Holocaust überlebte* (Munich: Lichtenberg, 1998), p. 99.

MIKHALPOL'

Pre-1941: Mikhalpol', village and raion center in Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Michalpol, Rayon center, Gebiet Jarmolinzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mikhaylivka, Iarmolyntsy raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Mikhalpol' is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) south-southeast of Proskurov. In 1897, the Jewish population was 1,392. Under Soviet rule in the 1930s, there was a Jewish kolkhoz close to the village. According to the 1939 population census, there were 728 Jews living in Mikhalpol' (34 percent of the total population) and 909 Jews within what was then the Mikhalpol' raion. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews managed to evacuate to the east or joined the Red Army. Not more than 600 Jews are estimated to have remained in Mikhalpol' at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Mikhalpol' on July 11, 1941. In July and August, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. A local Ukrainian named Nachubski was appointed as mayor of the town. In September 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Mikhalpol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Jarmolinzy, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Ernst Mertes was the Gebietskommissar in Iarmolintsy. Under the civil administration, the only Germans based in Mikhalpol' were the agricultural leader (Sonderführer [Landwirtschaft]), Wilhelm Knöchelmann, and his assistant, who were responsible for the various estates in Rayon Michalpol and were subordinated to the Kreislandwirt, Karl Wiegmann, in Iarmolintsy. There was also a squad of more than 10 Ukrainian police based in Mikhalpol', subordinated to the head of the Ukrainian police in Iarmolintsy. A German Gendarmerie post was not established in the village until after the increase in partisan warfare in the region during 1943.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mikhalpol'. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up as an intermediary body between the Jewish population and the German authorities, and Jews were ordered to wear identifying badges. In addition, Jews were ordered to perform forced labor and forbidden to leave the limits of the village. According to a Soviet postwar publication, in the middle of July 1941, the Ukrainian Nachtigall Battalion arrived from Lwów, and its members took part in the shootings of Jews in the village.[1]

According to the postwar testimony of German agricultural leader Wilhelm Knöchelmann, there was already a ghetto for the Jews in Mikhalpol' on his arrival there (in around November 1941). He estimated that there were about 100 to 150 Jews in the ghetto, but the actual number was most probably higher. The ghetto was a part of the village, and the Jews were housed separately from the rest of the population. "The 'commandant' of these Jews [head of the Judenrat], himself a Jew, often came to me and placed Jews at my disposal for work." The Jews were used mainly in agricultural work in and around the village.[2]

In late October 1942, the Jews from the ghetto in Mikhalpol' were rounded up and transferred under close escort to Iarmolintsy by forces of the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including about 14 members of the local police in Mikhalpol'. In Iarmolintsy, all the Jews gathered from Gebiet Jarmolinzy were confined within a derelict barracks compound close to the railway station for a number of days.[3] On the arrival of a detachment of Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf, the Jews were shot in groups into three pits prepared nearby. The Ukrainian police were stationed around the execution site to isolate it and to prevent the prisoners from escaping. In total about 6,400 Jews were shot there over the course of about six hours.[4]

During the occupation, which lasted from July 11, 1941, to March 27, 1944, there were 662 residents of the village killed altogether, the majority of whom were Jews.[5] Some 60 Jews were shot in Mikhalpol' itself.[6] The remainder was killed in

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Iarmolintsy. Very few Jews from Mikhalpol' are known to have survived.

SOURCES Documents of the ChGK and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of the Jews of Mikhalpol' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5072); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-802, 818); VHF (# 8453); and YVA (M-52/179).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Krovavye zlodeianiia Oberlendera: Otchet o press-konferentsii dlia sovetskikh i inostrannykh zhurnalistov, sostoiavsheisia v Moskve 5 aprelia 1960 g. (Moscow, 1960), p. 16.
2. BA-L, B 162/5072, pp. 394–395, statement of Wilhelm Knöchelmann, September 19, 1967. The existence of a ghetto and the use of Jews for forced labor are also mentioned in VHF, # 8453, testimony of Sonia Bershtein.
3. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. See also BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–657.
4. BA-L, B 162/5071, pp. 89–92, statement of Wilhelm Kurt Paul Grosse, January 8, 1960.
5. M.I. Mekheda, ed., *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR: Khmel'nyts'ka oblast'* (Kiev: Holovna Redaktsiia Ukrains'koi Radians'koi Entsiklopedii Akademii Nauk URSR, 1971), pp. 655–656.
6. YVA, M-52/179, p. 19.

MIN'KOVTSY

Pre-1941: Min'kovtsy (Yiddish: Minkovits), village and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Minkowzy, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Min'kovtsy, Dunaivtsi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Min'kovtsy is approximately 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,635 Jews living in Min'kovtsy, accounting for 46.6 percent of the total population, and another 777 Jews in the rest of what was then the Min'kovtsy raion (2,412 Jews in total).[1]

German armed forces occupied the village on July 12, 1941, three weeks after their invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In these three weeks, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and some of the men were conscripted into or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. At the same time, some Jewish refugees arrived in the village.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. It appointed a village elder (starosta) and formed an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Min'kovtsy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Dunajewzy, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In July and August 1941, the German military authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Min'kovtsy: a Judenrat was set up; Jews were required to wear distinguishing markings bearing the Star of David; they were used for forced labor, such as carrying stones; they were forbidden to leave the village; and they were systematically robbed, beaten, and mocked by the Ukrainian police.

According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, in early August 1941, all the Jews remaining in the village were forced to move into a ghetto.[2] Jews from the surrounding villages, and most likely the Jewish refugees as well, also were herded into the ghetto.

The ghetto was in existence only for about three weeks; it was liquidated on August 30, 1941, when the 320th Police Battalion (commanded by Police Major Kurt Dall) shot 2,200 Jews.[3] According to a local witness, Ivan Bodnar, the German and local police rounded up all the Jews on the main street and escorted them to three large pits, which had been prepared nearby. There the Jews were forced to undress and were shot in the pits in groups of 10 to 15 people. The local policemen played an active role in the shooting. Local inhabitants looted the Jewish houses, and some were sold to people in need of a place to live.[4]

After the Aktion, the Ukrainian police caught another 70 or so Jews who had been hiding in various places. According to Bodnar, these Jews were not shot but were placed in a single building, marked with a yellow Star of David on the front door, forming a remnant ghetto. The building was not guarded, but all the Jews were registered and had to wear distinguishing markings on their chest and back. Some local inhabitants gave food secretly to the Jews, who suffered from hunger.[5]

Initially these Jews were used for various types of forced labor, and then they were sent to the Dunaevtsy ghetto and shot there in October 1942, along with the other Jews in that ghetto.[6]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Min'kovtsy can be found in Avraham Rozen, H. Sarig, and Y. Bernshtain, eds., *Kaminits-Podolsk u-sevivatah: Sefer-zikaron li-kehilot Yisrael ba-'arim Kaminits-Podolsk, Balin, Dunivits, Zamihov, Zvanits, Minkovits, Smotrits', Frampol, Kupin, Kiteygorod she-hushmedu bi-yeme ha-Sho'ah 'al-yede ha-Natsim bi-shenat 701/'arukh bi-yede* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kamenets-Podolsk u-sevivatah be-Yisrael, 1965). The Min'kovtsy ghetto is mentioned 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), p. 826.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Min'kovtsy can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-802); YIU (no. 684); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. 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. 50.

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2. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 826.

3. VHAP, Kommando-Stab Reichsführer SS, Radiogram from the HSSPF Russland Süd, no. 56, August 31, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 247. According to ChGK documents (GARF, 7021-64-802, p. 88), 1,840 people were shot in Min'kovtsy on August 31, 1941.

4. YIU, Témoin no. 864, Ivan Timofevich Bodnar (born 1924), February 5, 2009.

5. Ibid.

6. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 826.

MIZOCZ

Pre-1939: Mizocz, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mizoch, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Misotsch, Rayon center, Gebiet Sdolbunow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mizoch, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Mizocz is located on the Stubła River, about 26 kilometers (16 miles) south–southwest of Równo. In 1921, the town's Jewish population was 882. By June 1941, it had increased to more than 2,000, including a number of refugees from the German-occupied region of Poland. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union, a few Jews fled with the retreating Red Army.

Under the Soviets, as many refugees from German-occupied Poland fled German atrocities, the Jewish population of Mizocz swelled considerably. Many of the newcomers, however, were deported into the Soviet interior before the German invasion.[1]

On June 29, 1941, two days after the Germans entered Mizocz, "local Ukrainians carried out a pogrom against the Jews" in which several Jews were killed.[2] The German military stopped it. Almost immediately, a curfew was established, and Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. This was replaced later by patches, two yellow circles, one to be worn on the left side of the chest and the other on the right side of the back. Jews had to step down from sidewalks when encountering a German. Men had to take off their hats. Signs such as "Nicht für Juden" (Jews prohibited) were posted in public areas around town. Relations with Ukrainians had also changed; many refused to acknowledge their former Jewish friends, and for their own safety they needed to act like everyone else and express their hatred for the Jews.[3] The Germans established a Ukrainian police force, headed by Mizoczyk; its main purpose was to persecute and rob the Jews.

The Judenrat was established shortly after the arrival of the Germans. According to Asher Gilberg, Aba Shtivl was the chairman.[4] Its members included Shmuel Bunis, Melekh Gusak, Moshe Berez, Yona Nemirover, Avraham Vaynshteyn, and Hirsh Goldbrener, who represented the refugees. Moshe Rudman served as secretary. There was a Jewish police force, headed by Goldbrener. Gilberg comments positively on the heads of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police. In the summer and fall of 1941, the Jewish Police assisted in collecting money, valuables, and other items demanded by the Germans as a "contribution."

In the spring of 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Zdołbunów announced that a ghetto would be established in Mizocz. All Jews from Mizocz and the surrounding villages were ordered to move into the ghetto, but the actual transfer was probably not completed until June.[5] The precise number of Jews in the ghetto is not known, but the number probably exceeded 2,500, with some sources putting it as high as 3,500. The ghetto was located in the old part of town called "miasto" (the town). It bordered on the Market Square on one side and the Stubła River on the other. It remained an open ghetto and was not surrounded by a wall or other physical barriers and was not closely guarded. People were able to move in and out rather freely, conduct business, buy food, and trade belongings. There was no starvation in the Mizocz ghetto. According to Asher Gilberg, the area of the ghetto was actually enlarged after its initial establishment.[6]

From the very beginning, Jews had to perform forced labor. The work included washing wounded soldiers' laundry, snow removal, farmwork, and construction work in nearby Zdołbunów for the German firm Josef Jung from Solingen.

Despite the public hanging of Zeyde Gelman for illegal slaughtering, and several arrests, the German administration of Mizocz was relatively benign.[7] The Germans promised members of the Judenrat and others who worked for them that their lives were safe because they were needed. Despite the slaughters that were taking place in surrounding areas, the Jews of Mizocz largely believed the Germans.

Early in the morning of October 13, 1942, the ghetto was cordoned off and surrounded by a combined force of the SD from Równe, German Gendarmerie, and armed Ukrainian Schutzmänner. Everyone was herded to the "Platz" in the market square with the assistance of large dogs. Helen Segall recalls that "the crowd of people moved as one huge body as they were being chased to the market square by Ukrainian Schutzmänner, and that the collective scream of the victims sounded inhuman, deafening, and unbearable." She also remembers that as she and her Aunt Natalie ran back to the house where they had been staying, to the safety of a hiding place located between the walls of two buildings, she saw a man in brown trousers, a trench coat, and a fedora hat pouring gasoline from a large rectangular can onto the houses as he ran in the opposite direction. Segall further recalls that later as smoke began to penetrate their hiding place, they had to leave it. They discovered that the whole town was a burning inferno. Surrounded by burning buildings, together with others, they ran along the widest street downhill towards the river. They were flanked on both sides by walls of raging hot flames.[8]

Late the same afternoon, people herded to the Platz were organized into a column and marched under guard to the end of town where, on a knoll opposite the sugar factory, a huge

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2-meter-deep (6.6-feet-deep) trench dug for the neighboring brick factory had been prepared, awaiting its victims. As in other Volhynian towns, people had to undress and walk in small groups into the trench and lie facedown, where they were shot by an SS man helped by a Ukrainian Schutzmann.[9] The slaughter lasted long into the night and continued the next day as people trying to escape were caught and brought there. Thus, after two days, October 13 and 14, 1942, the Jewish community of Mizocz ceased to exist.

During the summer and fall of 1942, there seems to have been the beginning of a planned resistance movement in Mizocz, when a number of young people attempted to buy weapons in Zdołbunów, but they did not succeed. Thus, the major signs of resistance were the huge fire set by ghetto residents and a brief struggle with blunt weapons while the ghetto was in the process of being liquidated. Spector and others describe the Mizocz fire as an act of resistance intended to create panic and confusion, to make it possible for a large number of people to escape. Segall writes that "at the time I resented the fire which forced us from the seeming safety of our hiding place. I believed that the fire was set to destroy all material goods and possessions so that they would not fall into German and Ukrainian hands." Actually, there is little doubt that the fire did cause panic and commotion and indeed helped a large number of people escape, although many were later caught and shot. The next day (October 14, 1942) dead bodies were strewn on the banks of the river and on both sides of the road leading from Mizocz. One of the side tragedies caused by the fire was that about 200 people died in the flames, most probably caught in their hiding places.

The Soviet army liberated Mizocz in February 1944. Very few Jews had survived. Those who survived had hidden in the forests, joined the partisans, or were concealed by their Polish, Czech, and Ukrainian friends. In 1963–1964 a series of trials of the German Gendarmerie officials were held in Nürnberg-Fürth. Joseph Paur and Wilhelm Wacker were tried and convicted for their role in the ghetto liquidations in Zdołbunów, Mizocz, and Ostróg. Paur received a seven-year prison sentence, and Wacker was sentenced for three years.[10]

Thus, the Jewish community of Mizocz, which had been there for 300 years, was exterminated during those two days in October 1942. After the old town and its ghetto were reduced to ashes, Mizocz lost its "town status." It is now listed as "a settlement with urban characteristics."

SOURCES Relevant publications regarding the Mizocz ghetto include the following: Asher ben-Oni, ed., *Mizocz: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Mizots' be-Yisrael, 1961); Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 553, pp. 319–361; 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), p. 1003; and A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 209.

Relevant documentation on the fate of the Jews of Mizocz during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1795); BA-L (B 162/1585-1601, 4691, 14154); DARO; GARF (7021-71-59); USHMM; and VHF (e.g., # 7722, 46341). In addition, reference has been made to the author's own unpublished manuscript, Helen Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom: A Memoir."

Helen Segall

NOTES

1. Yehuda Bronshteyn, "The Judenrat in Mizocz," in ben-Oni, *Mizocz*, pp. 90–94.
2. Nachum Kopit, "In the Ghetto, Forced Labor, and in the Forests," in ibid., pp. 33–53.
3. Bronshteyn, "The Judenrat in Mizocz," pp. 90–94.
4. Asher Gilberg, "The Life and Death of Mizocz," in ben-Oni, *Mizocz*, pp. 5–28.
5. *JuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, p. 328.
6. Gilberg, "The Life and Death," pp. 5–28. Bronshteyn, "The Judenrat in Mizocz," pp. 90–94, gives the figure of 3,500.
7. Gilberg, "The Life and Death," pp. 5–28; *JuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, p. 329.
8. Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom."
9. The document compiled by the ChGK (GARF, 7021-71-59) erroneously states that "the police consisted of Germans and Hungarians." The interrogation of Vinogradski and the entry in the Diary of a Young Man located in Rivne Archive (DARO) confirm that the Schutzmänner were Ukrainians.
10. *JuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, pp. 323–334.

MŁYNÓW

Pre-1939: Młynów (Yiddish: Mlinov), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mlynov, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mlinow, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mlyniv, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Młynów is located approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 615 Jews were residing in Młynów; allowing for a natural growth rate of 9 people per 1,000 per year, it is estimated that there were some 730 Jews in the town in 1941. Besides the local Jews, several hundred Jewish refugees from the western parts of Volhynia settled in Młynów, so that there were approximately 1,500 Jews in the town at the start of the occupation. The Jewish population of Murawica (Yiddish: Muravits), the other main settlement in the Rayon, was 167 (total population, 376) in 1921.

Młynów was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on June 24, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Młynów, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Młynów then became part of Gebiet Dubno.

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The Gebietskommissar was Nachwuchsführer Broks, and from the spring of 1942, the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt.[1] There was a Gendarmerie post in Młynów, as well as a squad of local Ukrainian police.

Soon after the occupation, Jews were ordered to wear a white armband with a blue Star of David, and they were also assigned to compulsory work. Notices posted on the streets required that Jewish men and women of ages 14 and older had to present themselves in the market square for labor, equipped with tools and cleaning equipment. Anyone who did not show up would be shot. In general, Jewish women were sent to do cleaning work and the men to work in the fields of the estate of Count Hudkiwicz. About 200 men were sent to work on the estate of Count Liudochowski, in the village of Smordwa. Jews were also brought there from the neighboring villages of Boremel and Demidówka. The director of the estate was an ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) named Grüner, a cruel sadist who made the men run downstairs and beat them in the middle of the night.

Immediately upon the arrival of the Germans, a Ukrainian police force was organized. They wore a blue and yellow armband on their left sleeves. On July 5, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in the town: more than 10 Jewish youths were shot as alleged Soviet activists, including Chaya Kupergloz, Rivka Bar, Freydl Rivits, and Yentl Mendlkern.[2] A few weeks later, between 10 and 15 Polish political activists (together with 1 Jew) were arrested and murdered. The town's rabbi, Yehuda Gordin, was also among the first victims in the summer of 1941. He was imprisoned by the Germans and interrogated for several days before he was killed. During August 1941, the mayor of Młynów collected Jewish gold, silver, and other valuable items, which were forwarded to Berlin via Równe by the Wehrmacht.[3] Official receipts were even issued for the items collected. In a subsequent Aktion, Germans and hundreds of Ukrainian police with wagons confiscated everything they could get their hands on: bicycles, sewing machines, and furniture belonging to the Jews. This operation ended suddenly when a whistle was blown, causing some furniture to be left behind, as there was insufficient time to load it all.

In the fall of 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force were set up. The former shopkeeper Hashas was appointed as the first chairman of the Judenrat; other members included Mordekhai Litvak, Chaim Yitskhak Kupergloz (the former kehillah chairman), Mordekhai Liberman, and Moshe ben Yaakov Holtsker. Among the policemen were Zelig Zider, Shlomo Shakhman, Perets Tesler, and Tsvi Gring. At this time the civil administration ordered the replacement of the white armbands for Jews with a yellow patch sewn on the chest and back.

In the fall of 1941, the Gebietskommissar in Dubno ordered the recruitment of about 50 Jews from Młynów for construction work in Równe. Ukrainian and Jewish police went from house to house looking for the men, using a list drawn up with the help of the Judenrat. Some of the men fled to the surrounding fields and villages. In place of those who had fled, the police took whomever they could find. The families of these men wept bitterly on their departure. The Germans murdered all the men once they had finished their work.

Prior to the construction of the ghetto, there was no acute lack of food, as most Jews still had some stores at home. However, in the fall of 1941, a Hungarian army unit came and confiscated the remaining stores of grain and beans from the Jews. Jews were still able to barter for food with the peasants after that time, in spite of the official ban.

At the end of 1941, the Judenrat announced that people with work certificates would not be taken into the planned ghetto. Therefore, Jews did everything they could to obtain these work certificates. There were also different categories of certificates. The "best" were "iron certificates," which were issued to dentists, goldsmiths, doctors, and other craftsmen employed personally by the Germans. In Młynów it was difficult to obtain these certificates, so some Jews traveled to Dubno with Ukrainian peasants, risking their lives to get them. On one of these illegal journeys, Yaakov Nudler—who was trying to obtain arms for the resistance—was discovered and killed.

On May 22, 1942, a ghetto was established. Two streets served as its borders: Szkolno and Duwinska. Permission was given for Jews from other streets to take their personal belongings with them. Those who were expelled from their homes moved into the houses on these streets. In a few instances, the Judenrat determined where people would stay. At this time the Jews of Murawica (about 150 people) were also brought into the Młynów ghetto. Owing to the overcrowding, the sanitary conditions worsened severely. In general, 7 or 8 people shared each room. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and had two gates guarded by Ukrainian police. The Jewish Police usually accompanied those leaving the ghetto to work. Except for those who left to do work, nobody was allowed to leave the ghetto.

Immediately after the ghetto was set up, a general feeling set in that this was the prologue to the ghetto's liquidation. A few youths, among them Moshe Mendlkern, the Nakunitshnik brothers, the Liberman sisters, and several Jewish Police tried to organize resistance. At the head of the group was Avraham Ben-Tsion Holtsker. Shlomo Nakunitshnik had connections with people in the forests who had weapons. One of the partisans, a Pole, promised to provide arms for the Jewish youth in Młynów. The youth also prepared gasoline to burn down the ghetto in order to create confusion so they might escape during the liquidation. The group obtained two rifles, which they carefully hid, but ultimately they were unable to take concerted action.

In September 1942, rumors came of the ghetto liquidations in other towns nearby, and it was discovered that local peasants had been ordered to prepare a large pit in the valley between the towns of Młynów and Murawica, known as the *kruzhuk*, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from town. The first victims killed in this pit were the Taytlman brothers, Fishl and Shlomo, who had left the ghetto without permission.

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Before the liquidation, all the Jews who worked outside the ghetto on various farms were ordered to return. Some returned willingly to be with their families, while others had to be brought forcibly by the Ukrainian police.

The Ukrainian police, under German command, then surrounded the ghetto. Loudspeakers announced that it was forbidden to leave. Men, women, and children went out onto the streets. Panic and hysteria broke out. People prayed, wept, screamed, and reunited with their families. From time to time, lone gunshots and the rattle of the police motorcycles were heard. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), on September 22, 1942, a team of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot 980 Jews, and in October of 1942, another 520 Jews (sources differ as to the exact dates).[4]

On the liberation of Młynów by the Red Army in February 1944, only some 35 survivors returned to the town, and they all had moved to Równe by the end of the year.

SOURCES Much reference has been made in this article to the yizkor book edited by Yitshak Siegleman, *Sefer Mlinov-Muravits* (Haifa: Va'ad yots'e Mlinov-Muravits be-Yisrael, 1970); a brief article on the town can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 133–134.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Młynów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2882); DARO; GARF (7021-71-60); TsDAVO (4620-3-367); and YVA (O-3/3247, O-3/1878, M-1/E/1443, M-1/E/816).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-71-60, p. 5.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/21, pp. 341–462.
4. GARF, 7021-71-60, pp. 5–6. See also TsDAVO, 4620-3-367, pp. 5–6.

MOKROWO

Pre-1939: Mokrowo, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mokrovo, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mokrow, Rayon Luninez, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mokrovo, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mokrowo is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) east of Pińsk. In the 1930s, there were around 250 Jews altogether living in Mokrowo and the neighboring village of Sienkiewicze.

German armed forces first occupied the two villages on July 3, 1941. Soon after the start of the occupation, all Jewish men over the age of 16 had to register for hard labor, and much Jewish property was confiscated.

According to the postwar testimony of Wilhelm Rasp, the head of the Security Police outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Pińsk from May 1942 until December 1943, a ghetto had been established in Mokrowo for the Jews living there (probably together with the Jews from Sienkiewicze), at some date before August 1942, probably in the spring of 1942. At that time there were about 280 Jews living in the ghetto. The Jews had been left in Mokrowo, rather than being transferred to a larger ghetto, as there was a plywood factory in Mokrowo, which belonged to a Jewish engineer and probably supplied war materials for the German army.

According to Rasp, in around June 1942 he received a written order from Adolf Eichmann that all the Jews in his area of command were to be liquidated. The Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) und SD (KdS) in Równe, Dr. Pütz, Rasp's immediate superior, also confirmed this order verbally. When Rasp objected that he had neither appropriate weapons nor ammunition for this task, he received a visit from the Befehlshaber der Sipo und SD (BdS) in Kiev, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Max Thomas, who accused him of disobeying orders and tasked him with counting the number of victims and securing the valuables during the ghetto liquidation Aktions. It was also his job to ensure that about one third of the Jews were kept back as workers and that there were no excesses of cruelty.

At the beginning of August 1942, Rasp traveled to Mokrowo together with the deputy Gebietskommissar in Pińsk, Alfred Ebner, to liquidate the ghetto. Ebner had received an order from Dr. Pütz to this end and insisted that Rasp and some of his men accompany him. According to Rasp, the Jew who owned the plywood factory in Mokrowo had refused to sell an industrial patent to the Germans, and this provoked the order to liquidate the Mokrowo ghetto first. Rasp and Ebner traveled by train, accompanied by a couple of Rasp's subordinates and about 5 or 6 Gendarmes, as well as around 10 or 12 members of the Ukrainian police. In Mokrowo, pits had been prepared in advance by the local mayor.

On the next morning, men of the Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie drove the Jews out of their houses and escorted them in a column to the site in the forest where the pits were ready. Here the Jews had to undress and surrender their valuables. Then they were forced to lie down in a pit and were shot in the back of the head by Petsch of the Security Police and one of the Gendarmes. Each successive group had to lie down on top of the corpses of those already shot. In total, 280 people were shot. According to Rasp, the Jewish engineer/previous owner was not shot on this occasion; he lived at this time outside the ghetto in the factory.[1]

SOURCES Some information on the Jewish communities of Mokrowo and Sienkiewicze can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

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Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 268–269. This source, however, indicates that the Jews of the two villages were transferred to the Łachwa ghetto in April 1942, where they shared the fate of the other Jews there.

The main sources for this entry are the interrogations of Wilhelm Rasp, which were conducted by the West German authorities in 1961 and 1962 as part of a larger investigation into the ghetto clearances in the Pińsk region. Rasp himself was not tried, as he committed suicide before he could be brought to trial. The interrogations can be found in BA-L (B 162/4949-4971).

Martin Dean

NOTE

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59 (B 162/4952-60), statements of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961, November 22, 1962, and letter of Rasp, May 14, 1962.

MOROCZNA

Pre-1939: Moroczna, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Morochnoe, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Morotschnoe, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Morochne, Zarechnoe raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Moroczna is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) south-southwest of Pińsk. On the eve of the German invasion of June 1941, in what was then the Morochnoe raion, there lived around 2,000 Jews. Many of these Jews resided in the village of Serniki (987 people, according to the 1921 census) and in the village of Pohost-Zarzeczny (264 people, according to the same census).

German forces first passed through the village at the start of July 1941, but authority in the region was initially seized by local Ukrainians. In August 1941, a German military administration ran the settlement. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. Moroczna became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, which in turn became part of the Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Fritz Michaelis was named Gebietskommissar in Kamień Koszyrski.[1]

A local Ukrainian administration was formed in the village, along with a Ukrainian auxiliary police squad, which served under the German Gendarmerie.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Moroczna: Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks in the shape of the Star of David (later a yellow circle). They were compelled to perform forced labor. They were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the settlement without permission. Finally, the Ukrainian police robbed and beat them more or less at will.

In early 1942, a ghetto was created into which the Jews of Moroczna and some of the surrounding villages were forcibly resettled. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto was liquidated in August or September 1942, when a unit of the Security Police and SD from Brześć shot 542 Jews in the village (121 men, 147 women, 274 children) with the help of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.[2] At around the same time, 140 Jews were killed in the village of Pohost-Zarzeczny, where, according to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, an open ghetto also existed,[3] and the ghetto in the village of Serniki was liquidated a few weeks later.

According to another source, however, Jews brought in from Moroczna were among some 1,600 to 1,700 Jews who were murdered by the Security Police and SD from Brześć in mid-August 1942 during an Aktion conducted against the ghetto in Lubieszów.[4] Some corroboration for this version of events is given by a report of the Security Police based in Równe that a verbal communication had been received from the Security Police outpost in Brześć that 3,399 Jews in Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk had been given "special treatment" (*Sonderbehandlung*).[5]

SOURCES Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Moroczna can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/6338); DARO; GARF (7021-71-121); and IPN.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-71-121, p. 7.
3. Ibid.; Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 275.
4. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 350; see also GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111, which dates the Aktion in Lubieszów on August 15, 1942.
5. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbior Zespolow Szczatkowych Jednostek SS i Policji, Sygn. 77, report dated August 17, 1942.

MUROVANNYE KURILOVTSY

Pre-1941: Murovannye Kurilovtsy, town (PGT) and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Murowanny Kurilowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Murovani Kurylivtsi, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Murovannye Kurilovtsy is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Vinnitsa. According to the census of 1939, there were 1,014 Jews living in Murovannye Kurilovtsy (25 percent of the total population). In the villages of Murovannye Kurilovtsy raion there lived an additional 1,065 Jews.

Following the German occupation of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, several hundred of the local Jews managed to evacuate. Men were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Only about 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish

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population remained in Murovannye Kurilovtsy at the start of the occupation.

Axis forces occupied Murovannye Kurilovtsy on July 19, 1941. In July and early August 1941, the settlement was initially administered by seven Hungarian soldiers, and a local Ukrainian militia had not yet been organized. At this time, Feldkommandantur 675 in Vinnitsa was responsible for the military administration of the region and had appointed Anton Kornitzki as the Rayonchef in charge of the local Ukrainian administration.[1]

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Murovannye Kurilovtsy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Bar, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. A German civil servant, Regierungsassessor Steffen, served as the Gebietskommissar in Bar.[2] Leutnant der Gendarmerie Petrich served as the head of the German Gendarmerie in Gebiet Bar. Subordinated to him were several Gendarmerie posts, including the post in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Subordinated to this post in turn was a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Schutzmannschaft).

At the end of July 1941, the German military administration registered 4,800 inhabitants in Murovannye Kurilovitsy, including 600 Jews.[3] During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. Initially the German military authorities ordered that the Jews were to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. Those caught disobeying this order were severely beaten.[4] Under the German civil administration, these armbands were later replaced by a yellow circle to be worn on the chest and back of outer clothing. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established under the leadership of Iosik Gas. The Judenrat had to enforce German orders, especially the collection of money, valuables, and clothing to be given to the Gendarmerie. It was assisted in this task by an unarmed Jewish police force.[5]

At some time between October 1941 and January 1942, a ghetto was established for the Jews in Murovannye Kurilovtsy.[6] Most of the Jews were confined in a small area near the market square, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. The ghetto was overcrowded, with three or four families sharing each small house with only about one room per family. One survivor mentioned that due to lack of space some additional barracks were built for the Jews, and another stated that there were two ghettos separated by a road.[7]

Jews from the ghetto were required to perform forced labor. The tasks included work at a local quarry, in warehouses, at a grain silo, digging military fortifications, and agricultural work at a kolkhoz. Only those who worked in the offices of the "Kommandantur" (headquarters) received anything to eat. Food was scarce, and people had to eat rotten potatoes and other scraps. Once a week Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto for one hour to barter remaining possessions for food at the market. Some Jews working outside the ghetto were also brought food and clothing by Ukrainian acquaintances while at work. In the winter of 1941–1942, some Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia arrived in the ghetto.[8]

On August 20, 1942, the Jews of the Snitkov ghetto were rounded up and transferred to the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Children and the elderly were transported by horse and cart, and people were instructed to take enough food for two days. On arrival they were assigned to a few buildings, each holding 50 or 60 people.[9]

On Friday, August 21, 1942, the German police organized a large-scale Aktion against the Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto.[10] Men of the Gendarmerie and local police surrounded the ghetto. Then all the Jews were ordered to assemble at a central square with food for three days and all their valuables, as they were told they would be relocated. Once they had assembled, the Jews were first required to surrender their valuables to the local police. Then a number of Jews were selected out as capable of work and were allowed to return to the Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto. The remaining 1,170 Jews were escorted about 3 or 4 kilometers (2 or 2.5 miles) outside the settlement to the Iankovo Forest, where they were all shot in three large pits that had been prepared a few days in advance. The men, women, and children were each shot in separate pits.[11] The Aktion was orgnized by an SD detachment from the office (Aussendienststelle) of the Security Police in Kamenets-Podolskii, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police assisted in rounding up the Jews, escorting them to the place of mass killing, and searching for those who had gone into hiding or escaped.

Of those selected out, about 80 young Jews were sent to the Bar ghetto in early September, where they were used to unload coal at the railroad station until the liquidation of that ghetto on October 15, 1942. On Friday, October 16, 1942, the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy was liquidated, and all the remaining 120 Jews were shot.[12] After the liquidation Aktion, Ukrainians came into Murovannye Kurilovtsy from the surrounding villages to loot any remaining Jewish property. Only a few Jews managed to escape the roundups and find refuge in the countryside or by escaping into the Romanian-occupied zone, where by the end of 1942 the chances of survival for Jews were considerably better.

Among those tried by the Soviet authorities for collaboration with the German occupants was Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat, who was accused of serving as a translator for the German Gendarmerie in Murovannye Kurilovtsy and benefiting from Jewish property. In February 1948, she was sentenced to 25 years in prison and the loss of her citizen's rights.[13]

SOURCES The ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 41; and 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), pp. 861–862.

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Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Murovannye Kurilovtsy can be found in the following archives: DAVINO (R6023-4-28506); GARF (7021-54-1244); IPN; RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 28); VHF (# 20754, 25153, 34310, 46977); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, Report of the Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Abt. VII in Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 11, 1941.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. RGVA, 1275-3-662, Report of the Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Abt. VII in Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 11, 1941.
4. Ibid.; VHF, # 20754, testimony of Zoia Korenblit.
5. VHF, # 46977, testimony of Lina Laterman; # 20754.
6. DAVINO, R6023-4-28506, dates the ghetto from January 1942; VHF, # 20754, dates it from October 1941.
7. VHF, # 20754, on overcrowding; # 46977, mentions two ghettos separated by a main highway; # 25153, testimony of Leonid Garfinkel, mentions the construction of additional barracks.
8. Ibid., # 20754, # 46977, # 25153; # 27207, testimony of Sofia Nudel'man; # 20062, testimony of Boris Vaitsman; # 43183, testimony of Polina Zil'berman.
9. Ibid., # 34310, testimony of Dina Bril.
10. GARF, 7021-54-1244, p. 3.
11. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, k. 10, Petrich Report, August 27, 1942; this figure includes the Jews of Murovanye Kurilovtsy, Snitkov, and other nearby locations. VHF, # 20754; USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 28, Vinnitsa oblast', Delo 21215, trial of Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat in 1948.
12. VHF, # 20754.
13. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 28, Vinnitsa oblast', Delo 21215, trial of Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat.

NOVAIA USHITSA

Pre-1939: Novaia Ushitsa, village and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowaja Uschitsa, Rayon center, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Nova Ushytsia, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Ushitsa is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) east-northeast of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1939 census, 1,547 Jews (55 percent of the total population) were living in Novaia Ushitsa, and 1,059 more in the villages of the Novaia Ushitsa raion. These included the villages of Kalius and Zamekhov.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than 1,000 Jews are estimated to have remained in Novaia Ushitsa at the start of the occupation. This figure includes some Jewish refugees who arrived from Bessarabia.

German forces occupied Novaia Ushitsa in mid-July 1941. In the rest of July and in August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The German military authorities appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which was headed by a man named Semenov. The new local authorities took over the buildings used previously by the Soviet authorities.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village became a Rayon center in Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.[1] The German Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar in 1942 was Leutnant Willi Petrich. Several Gendarmerie posts, including the one in Novaia Ushitsa, served under his command. The Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated to the Gendarmerie post in Novaia Ushitsa.

Mass-shooting Aktions against the Jewish population in Gebiet Bar were carried out in 1942 by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii. This Aussendienststelle was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer.

In the summer of 1941, Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing a Star of David; in the fall, these were replaced by yellow patches on their chests and backs. A few individual Jews were killed during the initial months of the occupation, including a man who was hanged and a 16- or 17-year-old boy, Itzek, who was shot by Germans or local policemen who caught him observing them robbing Jewish apartments. In addition, the authorities arrested a number of Jews, including Rabbi Shai Ruva, demanding a large ransom payment for their release. When Roitman, who was ordered to collect the ransom from the Jewish community, tried to escape, he was caught, and all those under arrest were shot.[2]

In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Novaia Ushitsa. The ghetto was located on part of the market square up to the ravine, including the synagogue courtyard and Pochtovaia Street. A 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fence enclosed the ghetto, and there was a gate near the entrance to Pochtovaia Street. The gate was guarded constantly by the Ukrainian police. Ukrainian families living within the ghetto area had to move out, and Jewish families outside the ghetto had to move in. The overcrowding was such that many people had to live in basements. As soon as the ghetto gates were closed, the police and other local inhabitants burst into the abandoned Jewish homes and stole whatever they could find.[3]

After the arrest of Roitman, the German authorities appointed Chaim Dinits to serve as the Jewish elder (starosta). He was an observant Jew of 50 years of age. As his assistants he selected two of his sons, Yankel and Moishe, and other relatives. Among his first tasks was organizing the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto. Subsequently he also assisted the Germans in selecting younger Jews to be sent to forced labor camps in Letichev to work on road construction projects.[4]

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Up until the spring of 1942, a few hundred Jews from nearby villages and settlements were resettled into the ghetto. The villages included Ol'khovets, Zamekhov, Pilipkovtsy, Kucha, Slobodka, Pesets, and Pilipy-Khrebtievskii. These resettlements brought the Jewish population in the ghetto to around 1,500. The ghetto population consisted primarily of women, children, and the elderly, as well as some artisans, such as tailors and glove makers.

Anyone caught trying to leave the ghetto faced the death penalty, which was also the penalty for starting a fire in the evening or early morning hours or even for allowing children to cry. Once a week, however, the Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto on Sundays, in columns of four people, hand in hand, to go to the market to exchange their personal items for food. Before they left, the police conducted an inspection. They confiscated any valuable items they found. Once per day, for 15 or 20 minutes, the Jews were allowed to leave to get water from a well located in the ravine near the ghetto. This usually resulted in a mad scramble, due to the limited time. Some Jews also left the ghetto illegally through the barbed-wire fence in search of food. Most Jews had non-Jewish acquaintances, former coworkers or neighbors, who did what they could to help them. Some had buried valuables, as a safeguard against an uncertain future.[5]

Each day, all the able-bodied Jews who were not craftsmen left the ghetto at 7:00 A.M. to perform various kinds of forced labor, including road repairs, street cleaning, chopping wood, cleaning the homes of local administrators, and farmwork. They returned again at 6:00 P.M. Those whose work was deemed inadequate were beaten. This work was unpaid, but leaving the ghetto provided an opportunity to exchange items for food. Inside the ghetto, a group of "concubine girls," all Bessarabian refugees, were kept for the pleasure of the police and the Germans. These girls were not required to perform physical labor, and they were fed and clothed. There were also periodic raids by the Germans and local police in the ghetto, during which they robbed and beat the Jews. In the winter of 1941–1942, the officers and policemen arrested several Jews in the ghetto. They were tortured and then murdered in a nearby forest.[6]

There was no organized resistance within the ghetto, but some Russian newspapers were smuggled in, and one group of men was arrested and shot for listening to an illegal radio after the Germans had ordered all radio sets to be surrendered. The ghetto inhabitants were aware of the destruction of the Jews in Min'kovtsy, Kamenets-Podolskii, and other places, and this made them uneasy.

On August 20, 1942, German security forces conducted a large Aktion against the ghetto in which 707 Jews were shot.[7] The Aktion was carried out by the Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Kamenets-Podolskii with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. First the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto during the night. Then in the morning, assisted by Dinits and his helpers, they drove the ghetto inhabitants from their homes. The Germans conducted a selection on Pochtovaia Street. A few hundred of the younger, able-bodied Jews were sent to the labor camp in Letichev, and the craftsmen with valid work papers and their families were also selected out. Then those not selected were escorted out of the ghetto. They were informed that they would be sent to Palestine. Initially they were led along the road to Dunaevtsy, but when they turned left off the road into the forest, behind the Catholic cemetery, the Jews understood that they would be shot. The Ukrainian police took an active part in the shooting. First the Jews were made to undress, and then they were shot in groups of 5. The children were buried alive to save ammunition.[8]

After this Aktion, the Jews who remained consisted of the artisans and their families, a few hundred people in total, plus a few others who had successfully hidden during the Aktion. These Jews were then resettled into a remnant ghetto, known as the small ghetto, which consisted of only 15 houses in the original ghetto area. Each family had their own room. All of these Jews were shot during a second Aktion, on October 15, 1942.[9]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, a search for Jews in hiding was ordered. Those who were captured were sent to prison and then shot near the tile factory.[10] It is estimated that only about 15 former inmates of the ghetto survived the German occupation, including a few who successfully escaped into the Romanian-occupied zone known as Transnistria.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Novaia Ushitsa and several personal testimonies of Jewish survivors can be found in Anatolii Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa* (Novaia Ushitsa and Ramat Gan, 1976 and 1999), pp. 105–147. The testimony of Mikhail Borisov Eisen, "Hard Memory: WWII Memoir [Nova Ushitsa]," 1997, has been published on the Web by Jewishgen.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Novaia Ushitsa can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-803); IPN; and YVA (M-33/97, M-52/179, O-3/1266).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138.
3. Ibid., pp. 108–118, 134–138; Eisen, "Hard Memory," pp. 1–2.
4. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138. In 1944, Dinits was sentenced to 10 years in prison for collaborating with the occupiers. After serving his sentence, he returned to Novaia Ushitsa.
5. Ibid., pp. 108–118; YVA, M-33/97, M-52/179, O-3/1266.
6. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138; Eisen, "Hard Memory," p. 3.
7. Report of the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, Leutnant Petrich, August 27, 1942, regarding the anti-Jewish

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Aktions, IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10. According to the materials of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 77), 2,620 persons were shot in four ditches to the west of the village. This figure is probably too high.

8. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 122–130, 134–138; Eisen, "Hard Memory," pp. 4–5.

9. YVA, testimony of Maria Laster, O-3/1266; Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138.

10. After liberation of the settlement, 15 corpses were found in two ditches near the fence. GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 77.

OŁYKA

Pre–September 1939: Ołyka, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Ołyka is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) east of Łuck. According to the 1921 census, 2,086 Jews lived in Ołyka. By mid-1941, assuming a natural growth of 0.9 percent per year, there were probably about 2,500 Jews in the town at the outbreak of the war. Besides these Jews, there were many Jewish refugees from central and western Poland who settled in the town in the fall of 1939, as well as 60 Jewish refugees from Czechoslovakia.[1] After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, and as the German forces approached Ołyka, about 150 Jews evacuated eastward,[2] but the vast majority of Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army entered the town on June 27 or 28, 1941. The town was caught in the fighting for several days and was severely bombarded by the Germans. By the time they had gained control of Ołyka, most of the houses had been destroyed, and many people had been killed or wounded.[3] In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Ołyka was a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[4] Survivor testimonies mention the important role played by a local administrator named Max Tauber, but they do not mention his exact rank.[5] A Ukrainian local council was set up in Ołyka as well as a local police force, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (created in the fall of 1941), consisting of several German Gendarmes.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ołyka: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created in the town (chaired by Faya Borodata), through which the Germans transmitted orders and commands to the Jewish population. The Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first an armband with a Star of David, later a yellow patch) and to surrender all gold and valuables. They were also compelled to engage in forced labor and were forbidden to leave the town. In addition, the Ukrainian police subjected them to systematic robberies and beatings.[6]

In August 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Ołyka: 682 Jewish men were caught and collected in the Radziwiłł Castle, where they were told they would perform forced labor. But instead they were escorted to the Jewish cemetery and shot.[7] A squad of the Security Police and SD from Łuck probably carried out this Aktion, with the assistance of the local Ukrainian police.

On March 13, 1942, a ghetto was created in Ołyka[8] into which Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought. The ghetto was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. A Jewish police force, headed by Rosenzweig, was created to maintain order in the ghetto. The ghetto residents were forced to do various unpaid jobs. For instance, 120 people loaded timber into railroad cars at the Ołyka station 10 kilometers (6 miles) from the town; other Jews performed the same jobs at the Cuman and Rudoczka railroad stations; many Jews were also employed in agriculture.[9]

In late July 1942, a squad of the Security Police and the SD from Łuck, together with the German Order Police and Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto. On the night of July 25, 1942, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. The next morning, July 26, all the ghetto residents were rounded up at the castle of former Polish duke Radziwiłł; they were told that they were going to be resettled. Meanwhile, Ukrainian police killed several sick, elderly, and disabled people in the ghetto and on the way to the castle. The attempt of several Jews to organize resistance was impeded by the Judenrat. After the liquidation of the ghetto, Ukrainian police looted all the houses in the former ghetto. Of the Jews gathered in the castle, a small group of specialists was separated from the others, and the women and children were then placed in an enormous garage in the castle, while the men were herded into a wooden barracks nearby. The doors and windows of the garage were tightly closed, and the shortage of air, intolerable heat, and overcrowding caused several women and children to suffocate there; others had been crushed as the Ukrainian police chased them into the garage, beating them cruelly. The Ukrainian police took their bodies in large wagons to the cemetery and buried them there. On July 27, the shootings began, in ditches on the former shooting range near the village of Czemeryn. Ukrainian police drove the Jews in groups of 50 to the ditch; the Jewish Police forced them to undress and to lie in the ditches facedown, after which drunken German and Ukrainian policemen shot them in the back of the head. Ukrainian peasants covered the bodies of those killed and wounded with a layer of earth, at which point a new group of Jews was brought in. At the end of the Aktion, the Jewish Police were ordered to undress. When they refused to do so, Ukrainian policemen brutally beat them, ripped off their clothing, and shot them.[10] A small number of Jews, who hid in the former ghetto or fled during the night from the barracks, were able to survive. In early 1943, the 130 remaining Jewish artisans were shot in Ołyka.[11]

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According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,500 civilians were killed in the Ołyka raion during the occupation, including 5,220 Jews: 720 in early August 1941 and about 4,500 in late July 1942.[12]

SOURCES Information about the ghetto in Ołyka can be found in the yizkor book edited by Natan Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Olika be-Yisrael, 1972); and in an article by Shmuel Spector in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 27–31.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Ołyka can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2859); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-11); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Andrew Koss
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Elisheva Kohen, "Shnatayim goraliyot be-Olika (1939–1941)," in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka*, pp. 271–272; Yitshak Lapid, "Va-yehi bi-yemey ha-Rusim," in ibid., p. 291.

2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 53.

3. Mikha'el Grinshteyn, "ha-Kivush ha-Germani," in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka*, p. 311; Shloyme Tsam, "Di letste date: T'v bov tsh'b," in ibid., p. 331.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

5. Tsam, "Di letste date," pp. 331 ff.; Dvoyre Nakonetshnik, "A meydele fun unter der erd," in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka*, p. 341.

6. Tsam, "Di letste date," p. 332. Also see Berl Gal, "Di toyt-marsh fun Oliker Yidn," pp. 301–302; and Hayim Hayat, "Yeled ba-Sho'ah," p. 323—both in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka*.

7. Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73; according to other sources (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 133) on August 1, 1941, 720 Jews were shot in Ołyka; Gal, "Di toyt-marsh," pp. 298–299; Grinshteyn, "ha-Kivush," pp. 312–313; Tsam, "Di letste date," p. 332.

8. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 133.

9. Gal, "Di toyt-marsh," pp. 300–302; Hayat, "Yeled," pp. 323–324.

10. Gal, "Di toyt-marsh," pp. 302–309; Grinshteyn, "ha-Kivush," p. 314; Hayat, "Yeled," p. 324; Tsam, "Di letste date," p. 333. See also DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to the Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942, which notes that the "special treatment" of the Jews in the Kolki, Zuman, and Olyka Rayons was conducted from July 26 to 29, 1942.

11. Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 186.

12. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 126, 130. According to other sources, on July 27–28, 1942, 5,673 Jews were shot (Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 185: testimony of Tsam); this figure is probably exaggerated, as other witnesses mention 3,000 to 4,000 victims.

OPALIN

Pre-1939: Opalin, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liuboml' raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Golowno, Gebiet Luboml, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vyshnivka, Liuboml' raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Opalin is located in northwestern Ukraine, on the Bug River, 24 kilometers (15 miles) west-northwest of Luboml. According to the 1921 census, 516 Jews were living in the village out of a total population of 1,226. In September 1939, as per the agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union, Opalin was occupied by the Red Army and subsequently incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. By the middle of 1941, it is estimated that there were probably about 600 Jews in the village.

At the end of June 1941, soldiers of the German 6th Army occupied Opalin. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Opalin was a village in Rayon Golowno, in Gebiet Luboml. Kameradschaftsführer Uhde was appointed as the Gebietskommissar in Luboml, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Kurz.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German occupying forces in Opalin introduced a number of antisemitic measures. Jews initially had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and, from September 1941 onward, yellow patches sewn onto the front and back of their outer clothing. Jews had to hand over all money, gold, and valuables; they had to perform forced labor for little or no pay, probably in agriculture; they were prohibited from leaving the boundaries of the village; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and assaults by Ukrainian policemen.

At the end of 1941, the Jews of Opalin were resettled into a ghetto, probably around the same time as in Luboml, where the ghetto was formed on December 6, 1941. Those leaving the ghetto without permission faced the death penalty.

The ghetto was liquidated on October 2, 1942. According to testimonies given at the trial in March 1945 of the head of the local Ukrainian police, Omlian Timoshvits, five Germans and several dozen Ukrainian police officers from Luboml arrived in Opalin on October 2, 1942. The Germans and Ukrainians gathered 582 Jews (305 men and 277 women) and brought them to a large pit prepared in the Jewish cemetery. The Jews were forced to undress and were then shot and buried in the pit.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jewish community of Opalin during the Holocaust include the following: "Vishnevka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:263; and "Opalin," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

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Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 41–42.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

ORININ

Pre-1939: Orinin, village and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Orynyn, Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Orinin is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the population census of 1939, 1,508 Jews lived in Orinin, or 25.3 percent of the total population. There were 115 additional Jews living in the villages of what was then the Orinin raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east or were inducted into the Red Army. Around 1,300 to 1,400 Jews remained in Orinin at the start of the occupation.

In early July 1941, troops of the Hungarian army occupied Orinin. In August 1941, a few hundred Jews arrived in Orinin, having been deported from Hungary for being of alleged questionable citizenship. They found refuge with the Jews of Orinin, who had been living since before the war in a section of the village apart from the non-Jewish population. The Jews of Orinin worked as shopkeepers and artisans, and there was also a Jewish kolkhoz nearby. The Hungarian Jews tried to support themselves by working mainly as laborers in agriculture.

After only a few weeks, the Hungarian Jews were assembled, having been told they would be allowed to return to Hungary. They were escorted in a column to an earthwork, which had been prepared before the war as a form of defensive entrenchment. Then a number of armed Germans arrived in vehicles and quickly surrounded the Jews. A few of the younger Jews attempted to flee, but most were recaptured or shot. A local peasant working in the fields nearby was also killed by a stray bullet. Then the Germans shot all the remaining Hungarian Jews in the entrenchment, and the grave was filled in by local non-Jews. There were probably about 250 victims of this Aktion.[1]

In September 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Orinin was included in Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Reindl became the Gebietskommissar in Kamenets-Podolskii. Leutnant der Polizei Albert Reich was appointed as the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942.[2] A German Gendarmerie post was established in Orinin, to which the Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated.

In the late summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Orinin. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive marks in the form of a yellow patch on their chest and back. The Jewish elder was required to collect a certain sum of gold and other valuables from the Jews and deliver it to the Germans. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and they were forbidden to have any contacts with the non-Jewish population.[3] As the Jews already lived apart from the non-Jews, these regulations established a form of "open ghetto" in Orinin. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor tasks, which included clearing snow from the main roads in the winter.[4]

At some time during the summer of 1942, the Germans liquidated the open ghetto in Orinin. The Jews of the village had an idea of what would happen, as a few days before they received news that the Jews of the neighboring village of Liantskorun' had been shot.[5] First the village was surrounded by Ukrainian and German policemen early in the morning. Then the Jews were driven out of their houses and assembled. With the aid of the Jewish elder a number of skilled workers and their families were separated out and permitted to remain in Orinin. The main group of Jews, composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly, was formed into a column and escorted out of the village, having been told they were going to Kamenets-Podolskii. When after a short time they turned away from the direction of Kamenets-Podolskii, the Jews realized that they would be shot, and they started to tear up their money. They were led to a large pit that had been dug by local peasants about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of Orinin. There they were made to strip naked and were shot in the pit. One Jew who was naked managed to flee during the Aktion and was given some clothing and shelter for a time by local non-Jews who lived nearby. In total, up to about 1,000 Jews were shot. The Jews who were spared from this Aktion, about 250 people, were escorted to the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto about one month later.[6] The mass murder was carried out by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Kamenets-Podolskii, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

SOURCES A brief article on the fate of the Jews of Orinin can be found 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), p. 943.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Orinin can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799, 803); YIU (nos. 638–642); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. YIU, Témoins nos. 638, 639, 640, 641, 642.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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3. YIU, Témoins nos. 639, 642.
4. Ibid., Témoin no. 639.
5. Ibid.
6. GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 261; also 7021-64-199, p. 194 (testimony of the former policeman I.P. Chaikovskii, May 14, 1944). The records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that 1,700 Jews were murdered: 480 men, 650 women, and 570 children. This figure probably includes the Hungarian Jews killed in 1941 but may still be too high. On the specialists, see also YIU, Témoin no. 639.

OSTRÓG

Pre-1939: Ostróg (Yiddish: Ostrah), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostrog, Rayon center, Gebiet Sdolbunow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostroh, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Ostróg is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Równe. In 1921, there were 7,991 Jews living in Ostróg (62 percent of the total); in 1931, there were 8,171 (62 percent). In September 1939 it fell within the Soviet zone of control.

After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, a substantial proportion of the population was able to evacuate eastward, so that about 7,000 Jews remained in the town. On June 28, 1941, German forces captured the southern part of the town, but Soviet troops continued to hold the western part of Ostróg, and the fighting lasted until July 3. In this fighting, the town was badly damaged. In July and August 1941, the town was administered by a German military administration. In September 1941, Ostróg was placed under civil administration, becoming a Rayon center in Gebiet Sdolbunow, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Sdolbunow was Hundertschaftsführer Georg Marschall.

In Ostróg, a Ukrainian Rayon administration and a Ukrainian police force (commanded by Stefan Tkachenko) were established. The Ukrainian police received orders from the German Gendarmerie post, which consisted of three German Gendarmes, whose leader was Komorowski. The Ostróg post was subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Sdolbunow, who from May 1942 was Bezirksleutnant der Gendarmerie Josef Paur.[1]

During the first week of the war, about 1,000 Jews managed to leave Ostróg—some as conscripts in the Red Army, while others fled eastward together with the Soviet authorities.[2] In the summer and autumn of 1941, the German authorities implemented a number of anti-Jewish measures in Ostróg. During the very first days of the German occupation, all Jews aged 16 to 60 were ordered to report to work (on pain of death). Men were put to work clearing the streets of debris and corpses, washing military vehicles, and doing other menial tasks, while women were made to clean German offices and so forth. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up; Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing symbols such as the Star of David (later on, a simple yellow patch); and they were not allowed to leave the boundaries of the town. They were also subjected to beatings by the Ukrainian police. In August 1941, units subordinated to German Security Division 213 collected more than 64 kilograms (141 pounds) of ritual items from the synagogues and prayer houses in Ostróg.[3]

The first anti-Jewish Aktion conducted in the town occurred soon after its capture: 300 Jews from the intelligentsia were arrested and shot at the old Jewish cemetery.[4] On August 4, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Ostróg. On this day, the 3rd Battalion of the 10th Regiment, 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade, assisted by Ukrainian police, gathered the entire Jewish population in the town square and marched them through what was known as the New Town to a forest southwest of Ostróg. The SS then counted and sorted them by gender, marital status, and ability to work. Women with children were sent back to town. Over the course of that afternoon, between 1,000 and 3,000 of the remaining Jews were shot, primarily those who were ill or elderly. The Aktion was overseen by the battalion commander, SS-Obersturmbannführer Emil Sator.[5]

On September 2, 1941, the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, commanded by Major der Polizei Besser, entered Ostróg in the early hours of the morning and rounded up the Jewish males, who were preparing to report for their forced labor duties. Women and children were ordered to remain at home. The men were told that they were being sent for 10 days of forced labor outside of Ostróg. The Ukrainian police then led them to the sawmill outside of town. This time, many of the Jews were not deceived by the Germans' ruse, and a large number managed to escape on the way.

At the sawmill, the Jews were surrounded by members of the 45th Battalion, who sorted them by age, profession, marital status, and so forth. The Jews were then taken on trucks, in shifts, to pits in the forest where they were shot. While the Aktion was taking place, Christian leaders in Ostróg, having realized what was happening, intervened with the Germans on behalf of the Jews. It seems that this intervention may have led the Germans to release about 500 Jews who had been designated for execution. Approximately 2,500 Jews were killed in this Aktion.[6] Altogether, in the second half of 1941, around 3,500 Jews were killed in the town.

Shortly after the September Aktion, the Germans ordered that a new Judenrat be formed, as the members of the first had all been killed. Avraham Komendant was made chairman. A Jewish police force, consisting of five policemen with special uniforms, was later organized as well.[7]

In the spring of 1942, the Germans informed the Jews that they would be transferred to a ghetto. The transfer was carried out in June 1942. Non-Jews were evicted from the area of town that had been most severely damaged by the bombing, and the Jews were concentrated therein. It was then surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence. At this point, there were approximately 3,000 Jews remaining in Ostróg.

On October 12, 1942, the Jews of nearby villages were moved into the ghetto, and on October 15, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe, with help from the Ukrainian

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police and the German Gendarmerie, liquidated the ghetto by shooting about 2,000 Jews in the forest near Novogo. Some Jews hid or ran away. The Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie conducted intensive searches to capture these Jews. Thus, in the second half of October 1942 around 1,000 Jews were captured and shot (October 16—about 200, October 17—about 300, October 20—about 600, October 29—about 150).[8] The commandant of the Ukrainian police, Stefan Tkachenko; his deputy, Artem Meshva; the policemen Peter Tkachenko, Artem Gulichku, Ivan Martinovski, Pavel Gomenok, and others played an active role in these operations.

All in all, between 1941 and 1942, at least 6,500 Jews were killed in Ostróg. A few hundred were able to flee into the forest. Some of them died from hunger or were captured during the searches, while others survived by joining partisan detachments. Among the most notable partisans were Yakov Kaplan, Mendel Treiberman, and Pesach Eisenstein.

The Red Army recaptured the town on February 5, 1944; about 30 Jews who survived by hiding in the vicinity returned to the town, as well as a similar number from the partisans. After the war, many evacuated families returned but did not stay, leaving soon for Poland, then on to Israel and the United States.

SOURCES Publications on the destruction of the Jewish population of Ostróg include the following: M. Grinem, *Ven dos lebn hot geblit* (Buenos Aires, 1954); H. Ayalon-Baranick, ed., *Pinkas Ostra: Sefer Zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Ostrog, 1960); Judah Loeb Levin, *Ostraa: Megillat Polin* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Yad Yahadut Polin, 1966); Y. Alperowitz, ed., *Sefer Ostrog (Vohlin): Matsevet zikaron le-Kehilah kedoshah* (Tel Aviv: The Ostrog Society in Israel, 1987); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 34–41; and R. Shpizel', *Katastrofa evreev Ostroha: Katastrofa evropeis'koho evreistva nid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny. Refleksii na mezhi stolit'. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'. Materialy konferentsii 29–31 serpnia 1999 g.* (Kiev, 2000), pp. 141–145.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Ostróg can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; DARO; GARF (7021-71-62 and 64); TsDAVO; USHMM (RG-50.226*013); VHF (e.g., # 5883, 1692); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/144).

Alexander Kruglov and Andrew Koss
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Verdict against Joseph Paur (January 26, 1899) and others, LG-Nürn-Fü, 1070 Ks 7/62, May 27, 1963.
2. "Ostrog," in Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:39.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/21 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle reports), p. 256.
4. Shpizel', *Katastrofa evreev Ostroha*, p. 142; Aharon Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," in Alperowits, *Sefer Ostrog*, p. 175.
5. See report of 1. SS Mot. Brigade, August 3–6, 1941, in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 232–233. According to other sources, between 1,600 and 1,800 Jews were shot (GARF, 7021-71-64, pp. 14 and reverse, 29, 31); Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 175–178. Also see Shmuel Klipatsh, "Unter der Daytshishe Okupatsye in Ostra," p. 196; Bet Ayzenshteyn-Kashav, "Di Yidn in Volin 1941–1944," p. 229; Tova (Gitele) Shteynberg-Re'uveni, "Zikhronot mi-yemey ha-Shoah," p. 250; and "Mikhtavah shel Bluma Shtirnberg," p. 245—all in Alperowits, *Sefer Ostrog*.
6. Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 181–182; and Ayzenshteyn-Kashav, "Di Yidn in Volin 1941–1944," p. 230.
7. Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 184, 186; Sima Klipatsh, "17 Khodshim in a Bunker in Ostra," in Alperowits, *Sefer Ostrog*, p. 192.
8. GARF, 7021-71-64, pp. 20–21; Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 188–189; Shteynberg-Re'uveni, "Zikhronot mi-yemey ha-Shoah," p. 241.

OSTROPOL' (AKA STARYI OSTROPOL')

1930–1941: Ostropol', village and raion center, Kamenets-Podol'skii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostropol, Rayon center, Gebiet Starokonstantinow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostropil', Starokostiantyniv raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Ostropol' is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west-northwest of Vinnitsa. By 1897, the Jewish population had grown to 2,714 (36 percent of the total population). According to the 1939 population census, 1,063 Jews lived in Ostropol'. An additional 256 Jews lived in the villages of the Ostropol' raion.

Units of the German army occupied the village on July 9, 1941. During the two and a half weeks since the start of the invasion, part of the Jewish population fled to the east, and some Jewish men were conscripted or enlisted voluntarily into the Red Army. About 70 of the Jews who attempted to flee soon became trapped by German forces in the town of Liubar on the main road towards Zhytomyr, where they shared the fate of the Jews there. Around 650 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The occupying forces appointed a village elder and formed an auxiliary police squad. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Ostropol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Starokonstantinow. Regierungsrat Schröder became the first Gebietskommissar; he was later succeeded by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. Leutnant Otto Gent was named Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942. There were only about five or six Germans based in Ostropol', including several members of the German Gendarmerie who supervised the local Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ostropol'. Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a Star of

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David and were not permitted to leave the limits of the settlement. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also appointed. In August 1941, local police from Ostropol' arrived in the village of Khizhniki and ordered the 12 Jews residing there to move to Ostropol', where they moved in with other Jewish families already living there.[1]

Living conditions deteriorated over the following months. In the fall of 1941 or in early 1942, the German authorities established an open ghetto in the village. A number of Jewish houses were demolished, and all the Jews were moved together into the remaining Jewish dwellings. The ghetto, however, was unfenced and unguarded. By the spring of 1942, there were as many as 20 people sharing one room. Some Jews died of illness and starvation.[2]

All adult Jews had to report to the local administration each day and perform various forced labor tasks, including excavation work for the men and cleaning for the women. Only a few were lucky enough to receive some food in payment. Others had to survive on potato peelings or whatever they could find.[3]

The Germans liquidated the Ostropol' ghetto on May 20, 1942. On May 19, members of the Jewish Council passed on German orders for all Jews to assemble at the school at 6:00 A.M. the next morning. Once the Jews had assembled, a German accompanied by an Alsatian dog gave a speech and ordered the Jews to form a column 4 abreast to march to Starokonstantinov. On the road to Starokonstantinov, in the village of Ladygi, around 40 elderly and infirm Jews were put onto carts, ostensibly to convey them the rest of the way. Instead, they were shot in the village once the main column had moved on. On that day, more than 400 Jews were conveyed to Starokonstantinov, guarded by German and Ukrainian police.

According to Anna Nasarchuk, on their arrival they were placed into the empty ghetto in Starokonstantinov, which had just been cleared by the shooting of most of its inhabitants.[4] Almost all of the Ostropol' Jews in the Starokonstantinov ghetto were shot over the ensuing months. At the time of the liquidation of the Ostropol' ghetto, the Germans selected a number of craftsmen to remain in Ostropol' to work. These Jews were also shot in turn sometime later.[5]

SOURCES Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Ostropol' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-804); USHMM (RG-22.002M); VHF (# 33782); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, statement of Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973. According to the ChGK report, GARF, 7021-64-804, pp. 50–62, 117–122, in 1942, 12 Jews from Khizhniki and 6 Jews from the village of Korzhovka were shot in 1942.
2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340.
3. Ibid., and pp. 267–273, statement of Sophija Kamenjezkaja, April 2, 1973; and VHF, # 33782, testimony of Liudmila Blekhman.
4. GARF, 7021-64-804, p. 124, gives the date of June 23, 1942, and reports that 581 Jews were sent to Starokonstantinov. According to another source, the ghetto was liquidated on May 20, 1942; see ZSSta-D, Ermittlungsverfahren 45 Js 20/73 StA Dortmund, Abschlussverfügung, August 10, 1976, p. 7.
5. VHF, # 33782.

OSTROŻEC

Pre-1939: Ostrożec, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ostrozhets, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostroshez, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostrozhets, Mlyniv raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Ostrożec is located about 16 kilometers (10 miles) from Łuck. According to the 1921 population census, 632 Jews were living in the village.[1] By mid-1941, assuming an annual growth rate of 0.9 to 1 percent, there probably were about 750 Jews in Ostrożec. In the area around Ostrożec, many Jews also lived in the village of Targowica (located about 16 kilometers [10 miles] to the southwest). According to the 1921 population census, 660 Jews were living in this village. By mid-1941, assuming an average rate of population increase, there probably were slightly more than 750 Jews in Targowica. A few more Jews lived in other nearby villages, including the village of Peremiłowka to the southeast of Ostrożec (which in 1921 had a Jewish population of 16). Witnesses confirm that Ostrożec was an entirely Jewish shtetl on the eve of the German occupation; the non-Jews lived in a more or less separate village nearby, also called Ostrożec.[2]

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Ostrożec at the end of June 1941. At first, in July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. Then authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Ostrożec became the center of Rayon Ostroshez in Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks became the Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt was appointed the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Dubno in the spring of 1942.[3] A village elder (starosta) was appointed for Ostrożec by the German military administration. A local Ukrainian police unit was also recruited.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ostrożec. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings: according to one witness, the Star of David was later exchanged for yellow patches to be worn on the front and backs of their clothes.[4] They were required to perform forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic beatings and robberies by the Ukrainian police.

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In August 1941, German security forces carried out a first Aktion in Ostrożec in which 40 Jews were shot.[5] On August 1, 1941, 130 Jews were also shot in the village of Targowica.[6]

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established on German orders, which had to collect "contributions" in the form of money and goods for the German authorities and supply Jews for forced labor. During the winter of 1941–1942, Jews sneaked out of the village to collect firewood, but if caught, the Ukrainian police shot them. Only a few Germans were based in the village, including an officer named Vogel. Witnesses state that Vogel had sexual relations with one or more Jewish women; as a result, allegedly he tipped off the Judenrat in advance of German roundups.[7]

In the spring of 1942, probably in April, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Ostrożec. According to Jewish survivor Anatoly Burstein, his family was transferred to the Ostrożec ghetto from Peremiłowka in March or April 1942.[8] At around this time, the Jews of Targowica were also transferred on foot to the Ostrożec ghetto, carrying what they could in their arms.[9] Local witnesses from Ostrożec disagree about when the ghetto was established, with dates ranging from late 1941 to the summer of 1942; this was perhaps because Ostrożec was a completely Jewish shtetl before the war, and the ghetto was set up incrementally, first confining Jews to the village and later bringing in Jews from outside and erecting a fence.[10]

The ghetto consisted of about half of the shtetl surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Living conditions were very overcrowded, with about four or five people sharing a room. The Judenrat assigned the newcomers to private homes, trying to distribute them evenly among the local Jews. There was no medical assistance available in the ghetto, but some women gave birth successfully despite this. According to one witness, Jewish girls were raped by drunken members of the Ukrainian police. Jews were starving but were able to exchange possessions with local inhabitants for food.[11]

After the ghetto was set up, forced labor tasks included sorting potatoes, moving stones, and road construction. Some Jews continued to work for farmers in the surrounding area—a circumstance that proved fortunate for those who were still outside the ghetto when the final roundup took place. The Jews quickly received news about local farmers digging huge graves at the Jewish cemetery, and at least 200 Jews managed to flee from the ghetto in the hours before the final roundup.[12]

On October 9, 1942,[13] German police assisted by the local Ukrainian police began the liquidation of the ghetto. Detailed accounts of the ghetto liquidation have been provided by local witnesses interviewed by Father Patrick Desbois in 2007. First Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, and then the Jews were rounded up and put onto black trucks. The trucks were then driven to the prepared pits, where the Jews were forced to disembark in a column with the rabbi at its head. Then the Jews were made to undress. They placed their clothes and valuables into a cart, on which these items were subsequently transported back to the ghetto. The Jews were then shot in groups of five people in the main pit. Small children were simply thrown into the pit, and some Jews were only wounded, so many of the victims were probably buried alive. One or two individuals attempted to flee, but the guards shot them and their bodies were brought back and buried with the others.[14]

According to witnesses, many of the Jews who escaped initially were found hiding in the ghetto, were denounced, or returned of their own free will over the following days and weeks. Shooting Aktions against smaller groups of Jews carried on for at least two more weeks. Once the main mass grave had been filled in, the earth continued to move eerily for several days. In total, at least 700 Jews were shot. The Aktion was carried out by a detachment of the Sipo and SD from Równe, with the assistance of local Ukrainian police and the German Gendarmerie.

Local witnesses state that a few Jewish girls were kept alive after the massacre and cooked for the German officer Vogel, who had intimate relations with them but more or less kept them as his prisoners. These last Jews, as well as other Jews found in hiding, were shot in the smaller pit at the Jewish cemetery at some time in the fall of 1942.[15] A few Jewish escapees managed to survive with the help of local farmers, including some from the Czech minority that lived in the area.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish communities of Ostrożec and Targowica and their fate during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), pp. 73, 363, 367; and Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:307–308.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Ostrożec can be found in the following archives: DARO; GARF (7021-71-61); VHF (# 3150, 21494, 22892, 44907); YIU (nos. 78-79); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 363.
2. VHF, # 21494, testimony of Pola Grinstein; YIU, Témoin no. 78, Leonid Khvil (born 1935), March 27, 2007.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. VHF, # 21494.
5. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73.
6. Ibid.
7. VHF, # 21494; see also YIU, Témoin no. 79, Leonid Khvil (born 1935) and Mykola Krystitch, March 2007, who accuses Vogel of exploiting Jewish girls.
8. Anatoly Burstein, in Koval, *Kniga spaseniia*, pp. 307–308, states April; VHF, # 44907, testimony of Anatoly Burstein, states March 1942.
9. VHF, # 22892, testimony of Irvin Miller, who was among those transferred, dates it in the spring of 1942.
10. Ibid., # 3150, Nathan Peters, dates its formation in late 1941; # 21494, dates it in the summer of 1942.

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11. Ibid., # 3150; # 44907, mentions cases of rape.
12. Ibid., # 3150; # 22892.
13. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 367.
14. YIU, Témoin nos. 78 and 79.
15. Ibid.

PIŃSK

Pre-1939: Pińsk, city and powiat capital, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pinsk, oblast' capital, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: raen center, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pińsk is located at the confluence of the Pina and Pripet Rivers, 222 kilometers (138 miles) south-southwest of Minsk.

The Soviet army occupied Pińsk on September 20, 1939, in accordance with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

On Friday, July 4, 1941, 13 days after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, the first advance units entered Pińsk. According to German estimates, Pińsk had around 80,000 inhabitants, of whom 35,000 to 40,000 were Jews.[1] This estimate is probably too high, however. The historian Tikva Fatal-Knaani suggests a lower figure of about 26,000 Jews.

Immediately upon the German arrival, Jewish men were seized in the streets and arrested as "Bolshevists," "looters," and "partisans," including 16 young men who were taken out of their houses on Listovskaia Street under false pretenses and subsequently shot and buried. Only 1 of them survived by hiding, wounded, under a pile of dead bodies, and reported the events to town leaders. Antisemitic decrees made normal life impossible. On the second day of the occupation, Jewish bakeries were required to supply bread for the German army under threat of the execution of 10 Jews for each missing loaf of bread. Survivors testified that Jews were forbidden to leave the city or to be seen on the streets after 6:00 P.M. or to shop in the marketplace. All Jewish men, women, and children were ordered to wear a white armband with a Star of David on their left arm; noncompliance was punishable by death. German soldiers entered homes at will and engaged in spontaneous looting. Later, there were frequent official demands for items such as radios, clothing, fur coats, fabric, gold, and china. Each requisition order carried threats of reprisal. Men were often abducted for labor details and hence avoided the streets. Those abducted returned starving after a long hard day, often bruised from beatings. Jews were afraid to go to synagogues. The streets emptied, and shops, offices, and schools closed. The Tarbut High School was used to accommodate German staff. Those working in free professions lost their livelihood, and only factory and some workshop workers received work permits.[2]

A view of Pińsk during World War I; the photo caption reads, "Russian Jews fish on the frozen Pina."
USHMM WS #48262, COURTESY OF TOMASZ WISNIEWSKI,

Christian inhabitants welcomed the end of Soviet rule and greeted the Germans with bread, salt, and flowers, while Jews watched in fear behind closed shutters. Many in the non-Jewish population collaborated with the occupation forces and observed the altered status of their Jewish neighbors with glee. Non-Jews in Pińsk did their share of looting. Soon the Nazis forbade all contacts between Jewish and Christian residents of Pińsk.

On July 30, 1941, the Ortskommandant issued an order to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of 24 Jews, whose chairman was personally responsible for receiving orders and guaranteeing their "conscientious and timely implementation."[3] David Alper, principal of Tarbut High School, was chosen as first chairman of the Judenrat. He resigned two days later, realizing the nature of his task, and was killed along with 20 other Judenrat members during the first Aktion. The remaining 8 members of the Judenrat continued in this capacity until the end. Vice-chairman Motl Minsky served as acting chair because of his fluent German. Benjamin Bokshtansky was nominal chairman; Efraim Feinbron was responsible for finance; Menahem Goldman, for legal affairs; Mendl Cooper, for labor; and Moshel Aizenberg, Jechiel Zilverblat, and Meir Greenstein, for supplies. The Judenrat was organized into departments providing basic services, such as labor, sanitation, health, judiciary, supplies, and welfare. After the establishment of the ghetto, the Judenrat operated a soup kitchen and the Chevra Kadisha burial society. The Judenrat's main source of income was a bread tax, used to comply with German demands, pay salaries of employees, and provide social services. Many documents in the State Archives of the Brest Oblast' (GABO) record the Judenrat's persistent negotiations to establish bakeries, increase the flour supply, and secure bread for the orphanage and hospital.

The Jewish Police maintained order, especially around the Tarbut school, where the Judenrat offices were located and thousands of people converged to arrange their affairs. The chief of police (Asher Feldlait, later replaced by Goldberg) and 12 policemen were paid by the Judenrat. After the establishment of the ghetto, the number of policemen grew to 50. On the whole, witnesses did not recall them as cruel or abusive.

On the night of August 4, 300 men were detained as hostages to force the Judenrat to comply with the order to assemble all men between 16 and 60 for a three-day work detail. Thousands of men were herded to the railway station, robbed

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of their belongings, and arranged in two long columns of 5 abreast. They were forced almost to run to Posenichi, an hour march outside Pińsk. Photos of this Aktion taken by a German soldier show the bodies fully dressed in open pits.[4] A small number escaped after being wounded and buried alive under dead bodies in the pits. One survivor, Arye Dolinko, informed the Judenrat, but this information was kept quiet to avoid endangering escapees and living witnesses.[5] During the next two days, the Nazis rounded up more Jews, including younger boys and older men as well as some women. On August 7, 2,500 more people were shot in the village of Kozliekovich. By Thursday, August 8, at least 8,000 people had been murdered, and the community's leadership was especially hard-hit. Most cultural, educational, and religious activities came to a halt. The vast majority of the survivors were women and children. Abruptly, the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment left Pińsk on August 9.[6]

On August 11, the Ortskommandant decreed forced labor ("without wages . . . food may be given")[7] for all men between 14 and 60 and all women between 15 and 50. The German civil administration arrived in Pińsk during September 1941. The first Gebietskommissar was Römpler. Upon his death in late 1941, he was replaced by Paul Gerhard Klein; the deputy Gebietskommissar was Alfred Ebner. During the winter of 1941–1942, the community's members suffered from hunger, looting, and summary murders, but remained in their homes.

The German authorities did not establish a ghetto in Pińsk until relatively late, that is, on May 1, 1942.[8] On April 30, the Jews were ordered to move to the ghetto within 24 hours. Few belongings were permitted, although people brought more than was officially permitted. Non-Jewish neighbors took advantage of this sudden evacuation to steal and loot. The assigned area was the poorest and most crowded part of town, shaped roughly like a rectangle. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence measuring 2,345 meters (1.5 miles) in length and had three gates.[9] The ghetto contained 240 wooden, one-story houses on 23 streets, with only two water pumps. The allocation of living space per person was about 1.2 square meters (almost 13 square feet), and each room was occupied by at least 10 people.[10] Health conditions deteriorated drastically, and documents from the Jewish clinic and the Gebietskommissariat health department record dysentery, typhus, and starvation-related illnesses.[11]

A list of ghetto inhabitants compiled by German authorities registered nearly 18,300 people by surname, given name, date of birth, street address, and occupation. Statistical analysis shows that men over the age of 15 made up 14 percent of the ghetto population; women over 15, 50 percent; and children, 36 percent. A total of 5,112 people were listed with workplaces: of these, 1,944 were men, and 3,168 (62 percent) were women. There were 44 distinct places of employment for ghetto workers. The Judenrat employed 1,175 people in its diverse departments. There were 999 workers who provided services to the Germans, while another 1,284 supplied the city's residents with goods and services; among them, 364 women worked in Christian households. Another 859 people labored in factories and lumber mills, and 795 in various workshops.[12]

The Judenrat offices moved to the ghetto and operated several stores to distribute daily food rations. Judenrat workers on payroll raised vegetables in a lot near the Judenrat building. Bakers were allowed a weekly excursion to bring in flour, and they often smuggled in an extra quantity, to be sold as black market bread.[13]

Some people from Pińsk joined the partisans; however, no significant military resistance is recorded for Pińsk itself. The Judenrat's members discouraged young people from fighting for fear of reprisals and because they believed German reassurances that work performed in the ghetto was essential and would ensure survival. Although some young people had managed with great difficulty to collect weapons, their plans were postponed until it was too late.[14] Some residents escaped into the swamps of Polesia and tried to join the partisans before the destruction of the ghetto, but many died in the attempt. There was very little assistance from non-Jews in Pińsk, and after the war only 17 Jews are recorded as emerging from hiding in and around Pińsk. A few righteous non-Jews had risked their own lives to save them.[15]

On October 27, 1942, Heinrich Himmler gave the order to "liquidate and destroy the ghetto of Pińsk immediately."[16] The ghetto in Pińsk was one of the last to be destroyed in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. Preparations, including the digging of pits, had been under way. According to Himmler's order, 1,000 men were to be kept alive as laborers, but in the end only 60 to 70 men and women survived the massacres between October 29 and November 1, 1942.

The killings are described in Captain Helmut Saur's "Experience Report."[17] On October 29, SS and police units arrived in Pińsk at 4:00 A.M. and sealed off the ghetto by 4:13 A.M. Many Jews gathered voluntarily in the streets, still believing that reporting for work might spare their lives. Others tried to break out of the ghetto but were shot trying. Alfred Ebner had prepared a list of 400 workers for the plywood and match factories who would be spared. Captain Saur reports that nearly 10,000 Jews were killed on that first day, but his numbers are ambiguous and can be read as referring to either 16,200 or 26,200 victims. Given the list of residents dated January 1942, a total death toll of 20,000 people by November 1 appears probable.[18] The ghetto was searched four times, and many sick and elderly were killed inside the ghetto. Patients and preselected skilled workers, temporarily housed on hospital grounds, were shot in the hospital yard. All the others were marched to Dobrovalia, a village 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside the ghetto, where a pit 40 meters long, 4 meters deep, and 3 meters wide (131 by 13 by 10 feet) had been dug by local peasants. People were ordered to strip, walk into the pit, and lie facedown on top of the previously murdered; then they were shot in the head.

Those selected for work were held in jail for 11 days and then moved to a new "small ghetto" near the former Karlin Yeshiva building. Approximately 140 people lived there, including some who had survived the massacres in hiding. The medical doctors among this group were selected and killed after being denounced by local non-Jewish doctors.

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People knew their end had come when tailor Leibl Sherman's workshop stopped receiving new work orders and customers came to pick up their unfinished clothing. On December 23, 1942, the remaining Jews were murdered in the Karlin cemetery.[19]

Franz Magill was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his role in the first killing wave (2 Ks 1/63, LG-Braun).[20] Gebietskommissar Paul Gerhard Klein died in 1945. The trial of Kuhr et al. (4 Ks 1/71, LG-Frank) resulted in short prison sentences for members of Police Battalion 306, engaged in the second killing wave, but for medical reasons there was no conviction of deputy Gebietskommissar Alfred Ebner.[21]

SOURCES Survivor accounts are collected in the *Pinsk Memorial Book* (hereafter *PMB*), published in three volumes by the Association of Pinsk-Karlin and the Vicinity in 1966–1977, including the testimony of David Gleibman-Globe, Yehoshua Naidich, Motl Schukhman, Haya Sherman, Golda Sherman-Galetzky, and Tzila Dolinko. Published memoirs include: Arye Dolinko, *How Pinsk and Karlin's Communities Were Destroyed* (Tel Aviv: Society of Former Residents of Pinsk and Karlin in Eretz-Israel, 1946); and Werner Müller, ed., *Aus dem Feuer gerissen: Die Geschichte des Pjotr Ruwinowitsch Rabzewitsch aus Pinsk* (Cologne: Dietrich, 2001). Nahum Boneh's *The Holocaust and the Revolt*, *Offprint from the Pinsk Memorial Book*," vol. 1, pt. 2 (Tel Aviv: Association of the Jews of Pinsk-Karlin in Israel, 1977) relies on survivor testimony. E.S. Rozenblat and I. Elenskaia's *Pinskie evrei: 1939–1944* (Brest: Brestskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet, 1997) is based on documents in GABO, as is the more recent analysis by Tikva Fatal-Knaani, "The Jews of Pinsk, 1939–1943, through the Prism of New Documentation," *Yad Vashem Studies* 29 (2001): 149–182. Stephen Phillip Pallavicini's "The Liquidation of the Jews of the Polesie: 1941–1942: A Case Study: Pinsk and Surrounding Areas" (Ph.D. diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, 2001) also uses German postwar criminal investigations. In Polish, there is: Fanny Sołomian-Łoc, *Getto i gwiadzy* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1993).

Documents from the ghetto are kept in GABO and are available on microfilm at Yad Vashem (YVA) and USHMM as Record Group M-41. The Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen in Ludwigsburg (now BA-L) holds much of the documentation used to prepare the trials against Magill (Braunschweig) and Kuhr et al. (Frankfurt/Main) (see, for example, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59). The full trial records are kept in the relevant state archives of Lower Saxony and Hesse. Survivor testimonies taken by Israeli police are located in the Moreshet Archives (MA) in Givat Haviva, Israel; additional survivor testimonies can be found in YVA.

Web sites: www.pinskjews.org.il; www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinsk1/pinsk1.html; www.jewishgen.org/databases/PinskGhetto.htm; and www.jewishgen.org/databases/Belarus/PinskGhetto-YalkutMoreshet.htm.

Katharina von Kellenbach, Nahum Boneh, and Ellen Stepak

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, Ghetto Vernichtung im Raum Pinsk (28 März 1963), Abschlussbericht Dr. Arzt.

2. Cf. David Gleibman-Globe, New York, 1962; Haya Sherman, Tel Aviv, 1955; Melekh Bakalchuk, Buenos Aires, 1958, and Arye Dolinko—all in *So Perished the Communities of Pinsk and Katolin* (Moscow, 2005) [English], pp. 102–103.

3. YVA, M 41/945, Ortskommandantur Pinsk (OK II/333), July 30, 1941.

4. Erich Mirek, "Enthüllung faschistischer Grausamkeiten," in Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentralkomitee der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands, ed., *In den Wäldern Belorusslands: Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Dietz, 1976), pp. 172–177.

5. Dolinko, *How Pinsk and Karlin's Communities Were Destroyed*, p. 14.

6. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), pp. 560–566; Nahum Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto: Current State of Affairs," *Yalkut Moreshet* (Mordechai Anilevich Study and Research Center, Israel), no. 64 (November 1997).

7. YVA, M-41/942, Ortskommandantur Pinsk an Bürgermeister in Pinsk, August 8, 1941.

8. Pallavicini, "The Liquidation," pp. 88–100.

9. In 1993 N.M. Polehovich, a Polish Christian resident of Pinsk, drew a map that can be accessed at jewishgen.org/database/Belarus/PinskGhetto.htm.

10. Müller, *Aus dem Feuer gerissen: Die Geschichte des Pjotr Ruwinowitsch Rabzewitsch aus Pinsk*; Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto."

11. Fatal-Knaani, "The Jews of Pinsk," pp. 172–173.

12. Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto."

13. Boneh, *PMB* [English], 1:113.

14. Ibid., 2:343 (chap. 6).

15. Ibid. [English]: 1:129.

16. The order was received by the HSSPF in Ukraine, Prützmann, on October 27, 1942 (BA-BL, R 19/319), and involved units of the KdS Aussendienststelle Pinsk, Security Police, Order Police, and Ukrainian Schuma. Cf. Dr. Yosef Kermish, *Yad Vashem News* (Jerusalem), nos. 6–7 (January 1956).

17. GARF, 7021-148-2, pp. 355–356, Saur Erfahrungsbericht.

18. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 720–723.

19. Boneh, *PMB* [English]: 1:126–129.

20. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 570.

21. Katharina von Kellenbach, "Vanishing Acts: Perpetrators in Postwar Germany," *Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17:2 (2003): 305–329.

POCZAJÓW

Pre-1939: Poczajów (Yiddish: Potchayev), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pochaev, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Potschajew, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Pochaiv, Ternopil oblast', Ukraine

Poczajów is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north of Tarnopol'. According to the 1921 census, 1,083 Jews lived in the town. By mid-1941, assuming a natural growth of 0.9 percent

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per decade, there were probably about 1,300 Jews in Poczajów. After the beginning of the war, in late June 1941, several dozen Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army, and a number of others were able to evacuate to the east, so that just over 1,000 Jews came under German occupation in the town.

The Germans occupied Poczajów on June 30, 1941. During July and August, a German military administration governed the town, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Poczajów was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Kremenez Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Müller.[1] A Ukrainian local administration and police were created in Poczajów. The Ukrainian police were subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post in the town, which was manned by several German Gendarmes.

Soon after the establishment of the German administration, three Jews from Poczajów went to the Gebiet center in Krzemieniec on behalf of the Poczajów Jewish community. Here they received instructions to create a Judenrat consisting of 12 members and a Jewish police force of 30 people in Poczajów.[2]

The first German repressive measures were directed against members of the Communist youth organization, whom they rounded up, tortured, and shot. Then on July 8, 1941, the Ukrainian police and a few Germans collected 106 Jews and imprisoned them in the cellar of the police station. After being beaten, the victims were taken out at night and shot in a nearby forest.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a succession of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Poczajów: Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (a Star of David), they were compelled to engage in forced labor, they were forbidden to leave the village, and they were subjected to systematic robberies and beatings by the Ukrainian police. In addition, an order was issued to establish a brothel for the Germans, employing 20 girls aged 18 to 20. Fathers and mothers bribed the authorities to keep their daughters from being taken. On another occasion, 10 alleged young Communists were arrested, and a ransom of 50,000 Reichsmark (RM) was demanded from the Jewish community. When the money was paid, however, it was discovered that the 10 victims had already been shot.[4]

In January 1942, a ghetto was established in the town, which contained approximately 1,000 Jews.[5] The ghetto was surrounded by a 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) wooden fence with barbed wire on top. The Jews were compelled to erect the fence themselves. Inside the ghetto, conditions were very overcrowded, and there was a severe shortage of water. Jews were permitted to get water from the well outside the ghetto only during a two-hour period each day. Some Jews paid bribes to get permission to use horses for the collection of water.

As Jews no longer had access to the mills, inside the ghetto people used stones to make flour from wheat. At the beginning, residents of the ghetto received 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread per day. Subsequently, for two months the ration was reduced to 120 grams (4.2 ounces) per day, and finally it was abolished altogether. To prevent Jews from smuggling food into the ghetto, there were Ukrainian guards on the outside of the ghetto and Jewish Police on the inside. Sometimes the Jewish Police bribed the Ukrainian guard to allow people to smuggle in food. About 200 or 300 men performed forced labor daily, usually working on road construction or cleaning up vacated Jewish houses. Work outside the ghetto presented an opportunity to find food or firewood. Nothing could be bought for money. However, despite strict regulations to the contrary, Jews were able to barter food from the peasants in exchange for clothing or other items.

On one occasion, 40 people who were working near a village paid off the guard to let them go to the village to forage for food. In the village, Ukrainian policemen caught them and took them to the German civil administration. The German official then selected 19 of the youngest people and ordered the Judenrat to dig a grave in which the victims were buried alive.

After the Germans denied the ghetto further bread rations, the Jews formed a committee that collected money from those who still had some left and set up a soup kitchen. People waited daily outside the canteen in long lines for a bowl of soup. In this way the ghetto inmates were able to ameliorate the effects of starvation.[6]

At the beginning of August 1942, 200 Ukrainian policemen arrived in Poczajów and stayed for several days. On Saturday, when everyone had returned from work, they sealed off the ghetto. When the Judenrat asked why nobody was allowed to leave, they were told that it was a punishment for smuggling food into the ghetto.

On the following Tuesday, two vehicles containing 30 men under the command of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD arrived. The head of the Sipo ordered the Judenrat and Jewish Police to come to the gate of the ghetto. He asked the Judenrat how many Jews were in the ghetto. The Judenrat and Jewish Police then received instructions to gather all the Jews at the ghetto gate. Not all Jews came voluntarily, however, and members of the German and Ukrainian police drove people out of their homes, beating and killing those who refused to come along.

At the ghetto gate, the men and women were separated, and the sick were loaded onto wagons. The people were then escorted through the fields to a grave that had been prepared in advance. Here they had to undress. Then the Germans lined them up in groups and shot them into the grave. Finally, a few grenades were thrown in to finish off any people who were only wounded.[7]

According to internal German documentation, the ghetto was liquidated on August 12, 1942,[8] when a squad of the SD, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, shot 794 people (182 men, 374 women, and 238 children).[9] About 30 Jewish craftsmen were kept alive for various tasks. Once they had cleaned out the ghetto, they were made to dig their own graves and were also shot. Some of the Jews hid and were able to escape the shootings on August 12. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police hunted for these people and shot any Jews they found at the Jewish cemetery. Only a few young Jews managed to survive until the arrival of the Red Army.

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SOURCES A detailed article by A. Kuperman and V. Veytsman, "The Death of Pochayev's Jews," can be found in the yizkor book for the town: H. Gelernt, ed., *Pitchayever Yizkor-bukh* (Philadelphia: Pitchayever Wohliner Aid Society, 1960), pp. 165–174. There is also a brief entry in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 150–152.

Documentation regarding the extermination of Poczajów's Jews can be found in the following archives: DATO; GARF (7021-75-11); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. See Kuperman and Veytsman, "The Death of Pochayev's Jews," pp. 165–174.
3. Ibid. This source also includes a list of some of the victims of this Aktion.
4. Ibid.
5. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 363–366.
6. These internal details about the ghetto are all taken from Kuperman and Veytsman, "The Death of Pochayev's Jews."
7. Ibid.
8. R. Kravchenko-Berezhnoi, *Moi XX vek (Stop-kadry)* (Apatity, 1998), p. 121. Before the Aktion in Poczajów, a squad of the Security Police and SD conducted a mass shooting of Jews in Krzemieniec on August 10, 1942, and on August 11, 1942, they left for Poczajów and Wiśniowiec, where they also murdered the Jews.
9. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 2–3, transcription of a Security Police report dated Rowno, August 15, 1942, on the "special treatment" of Jews in the Krzemieniec district. Poczajów is listed in third place after Krzemieniec and Wiśniowiec. It is known that the Aktion in Poczajów occurred after the Aktion in Wiśniowiec. According to materials found in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for the Poczajów (Pochayev) raion and town, in August 1942, up to 1,900 Jews were shot; later over 500 Jews were caught and executed in the cemetery (GARF, 7021-75-11, p. 10). It appears that these numbers are much too high. According to Kuperman and Veytsman, "The Death of Pochayev's Jews," there were some 800 victims of the ghetto liquidation.

POLONNOE

Pre-1941: Polonnoe, city and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Polonnoje, Rayon center, Gebiet Schepetowka, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Polonne, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Polonnoe is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) west of Zhitomir. In 1897, the Jewish population was 7,910. According to the 1926 census, 5,337 Jews resided in Polonnoe. The January 1939 census recorded 4,171 Jewish residents; they comprised 30.2 percent of the total population. In addition, 675 Jews lived in the town of Poninka, and another 883 Jews lived elsewhere in the Polonnoe raion, mostly in the settlement of Novolabun'.

After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army; other Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. It seems likely that about 4,000 Jews remained in the Polonnoe raion at the start of the German occupation.

Polonnoe was occupied by units of the German 17th Army on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, the city was governed by a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen). The military administration formed a local authority and an auxiliary police force recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants. Polonnoe became a Rayon center within Gebiet Schepetowka. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Worbs, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Richard Höse.[1]

In early August 1941, German security forces murdered 19 Jews in Polonnoe as alleged Communist activists. On August 23, a German police cavalry squadron, subordinated to the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland Süd, Friedrich Jeckeln, shot 113 Jews in the city.[2]

On September 2, 1941, a mass shooting of the Jews was carried out by German Police Regiment South, assisted by their accomplices in the local police. The Jews were hunted down, loaded onto trucks, taken to the woods near a railway station, then shot and buried in pits. Before they were killed, they were made to strip naked, and gold teeth were removed from their mouths. According to German records, approximately 2,000 people were killed on this occasion. At the same time, in all likelihood most of the Jews of Poninka, about 500 in all, were murdered by the same police regiment.[3] More than 80 Jews from Labun' and Novolabun' were murdered in the nearby forests in the summer and fall of 1941.[4]

Another 15 families (about 50 Jews) from Polonnoe were shot in the nearby town of Liubar on September 13, 1941, by the German 45th Reserve Police Battalion.[5]

During October and November 1941, a ghetto was created in Polonnoe in three or four barracks at the granite quarry on Berezovskaia Street, which were fenced in with barbed wire. Subsequently all the Jews from Poninka, Novolabun', Bereznia, Vorobevka, and Kotelianka who were still alive were brought to the ghetto. According to Maria Tribun, in the barracks Jews slept on the concrete floor and on shared bunks; there was no heat, and food was sparse. Some local residents tried to help by bringing potatoes, beets, and bread for those in the ghetto. Nevertheless, disease, including typhus, spread among the ghetto inhabitants as a result of the miserable conditions.

Nobody was permitted to leave the ghetto, and on the way to work the local police guarded the Jews. The ghetto inhabitants were ordered to wear a special symbol on their clothes: yellow circles on the front and back, which replaced the white armbands with a Star of David initially ordered by the military authorities. Anyone deemed guilty of the slightest misdeed

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was subjected to corporal punishment or even shot dead. Among the forced labor tasks was the carrying and destruction of Jewish gravestones in the cemetery.[6] In the recollection of Boris Timoshenko, "[T]he conditions of life there were terrifying—cold and hunger were common."[7]

According to Anna Kalika, the remaining Jews of Labun' were brought into the Polonnoe ghetto in mid-February 1942. "While letting us through the gate into the ghetto, we were repeatedly hit by clubs; our valuables were taken away; those who dared to disobey were shot dead right on the spot."[8]

As mentioned, most of the Jews of Poninka had been murdered before the winter of 1941–1942, and the remaining Jews, except for three families, were sent to the Polonnoe ghetto. These last three families, except for Yasha the barber, who escaped, were then escorted to the ghetto by the local police in mid-March 1942.[9]

On June 25, 1942, the German police from Shepetovka and local collaborators surrounded the ghetto. First they shot several people to intimidate the Jews. Then they selected about 15 young men and women to be sent to the Shepetovka ghetto a week later to work as craftsmen. Then the remaining people, mainly women, children, and the elderly, about 1,270 in total, were shot near Poninka.[10]

Maria Tribun escaped from the ghetto before the liquidation and was hidden with her sister in the village of Kotelianka by the family of Radion Ianiuk, whom they had known previously. Anna Kalika was transferred to Shepetovka in July 1942, where she survived the mass shooting by hiding in a ditch and was subsequently helped by forest wardens. Maria Shafranskaia was hidden by Anastasia Boriskina, even though part of her house was for a time occupied by the local chief of police and those found to be hiding Jews were threatened with the death penalty.[11]

SOURCES Several personal accounts by survivors of the Polonnoe ghetto and other information on the fate of the Jews of the Polonnoe raion can be found in the yizkor book edited by S.L. Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem: Book of Memory. Suffering of Jews that Died during the Nazi Occupation: History of Polonnoye Jews* (1993), which has been translated into English and made available on the Web by Jewishgen. There is also a survivor testimony concerning the ghetto in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 288–291.

Additional information on the Jewish communities in the Polonnoe raion and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: 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), p. 1012; A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 181, 185–186, 197, and 230.

Relevant documentation on the anti-Jewish Aktions carried out by the German police under the authority of the HSSPF Russland Süd, Friedrich Jeckeln, in the Shepetovka-Polonnoe region in August and September 1941 can be found in the following archives: VHAP; and USHMM (RG-48.004M). Additional information can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHAP (USHMM, RG-48.004M), HSSPF Russland Süd, Jeckeln Telegram, no. 154, August 24, 1941.
3. Ibid., HSSPF Russland Süd, Jeckeln Radiogram, no. 61, September 4, 1941; Mariya Moiseyevna Tribun, "I Ought to Tell . . ." in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*, pp. 27–28. The ChGK report gives the figure of some 4,000 Jews murdered in Polonnoe on this occasion.
4. O. Lochkin, "On the Roads of War," p. 49; Anna Moiseyevna Kalika, "Memoirs of a Former Prisoner of a Jewish Ghetto," pp. 29–30—both in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*.
5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg. Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 197.
6. Tribun, "I Ought to Tell . . . ," pp. 27–28.
7. Testimony of Boris Timoshenko, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, p. 289.
8. Kalika, "Memoirs," pp. 29–30.
9. "Fight with Death," in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*, pp. 43–46.
10. "The Tragedy of Black September," in ibid., p. 78.
11. "The Saviour," in ibid., p. 49.

PORYCK

Pre-1939: Poryck, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pavlovka, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Porizk, Rayon center, Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Pavlivka, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Poryck is located on the Luga River, 29 kilometers (18 miles) south-southeast of Włodzimierz Wołyński. In 1921, there were 1,205 Jews living there. By mid-1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 to 10 persons per 1,000, there would have been about 1,500 Jews in Poryck and about 1,000 more living in the villages of the Pavlovka raion.[1]

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Poryck on June 23, 1941. At first, in July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the town. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Poryck became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, where Nachwuchsführer Wilhelm Westerheide was the Gebietskommissar from late 1941.[2] The leader of the Gendarmerie (SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer) from July 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Grigat. He was in command of 18 Gendarmerie officials spread over several Rayons, including Poryck. Several German Gendarmes and a local Ukrainian police unit (consisting of a few dozen members) were stationed in the town.

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At the beginning of September 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Poryck. German forces arrested about 100 Jewish men and then shot them.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Poryck. A curfew was imposed on the Jews at night, and they were ordered to wear distinctive markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David, then later a yellow circle sewn onto their chests. They were called on to perform heavy forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic beatings by the Ukrainian police. The Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to transmit their orders to the Jewish population. From the summer of 1941 and into 1942, the German authorities imposed a series of "contributions" on the Jewish population, compelling them to surrender all valuables and fur clothing.

In the winter of 1941–1942 or the spring of 1942, the Germans established some form of ghetto in Poryck (possibly an "open ghetto"), as they resettled the Jews from the surrounding villages into the town. This resulted in considerable overcrowding and the spread of disease, including cases of typhus. A hospital existed inside the Jewish quarter of Poryck to deal with those who fell sick.

On September 1, 1942, Ukrainian local police, supervised by the German Gendarmerie, encircled the Jewish houses early in the morning. Then the Ukrainians burst in, driving out the Jews, shooting immediately the elderly and those too sick to walk, including all the occupants of the hospital. The remaining Jews were escorted to a farm surrounded with barbed wire, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. The Ukrainian militiamen beat them and stabbed them with bayonets on the way, killing anyone who fell down wounded, such that the route was littered with corpses. At the farm the Jews were held for three days in the open air without food or drink and were brutally beaten and humiliated by the Ukrainian guards, who also robbed them of any remaining valuables. About 300 Jews, including many babies, died under these conditions or were shot during the course of these humiliations. Then the Ukrainian police chief, Pasalski, gave the order for the remaining Jews to be taken to the pits that had been prepared. Pasalski and his assistant Mojch then shot the Jews personally, after the small children had been bayoneted and thrown into the grave first. Ukrainians had gathered from the surrounding villages in search of loot and assisted the German forces by filling in the graves. One Ukrainian woman even asked for the pretty woolen dress that one of the Jewish victims was wearing as she waited to be shot.[4]

The Aktion was concluded on September 5, 1942, and in total at least 1,800 Jews from Poryck and the surrounding Rayon were murdered.[5] About 100 Jews had fled from Poryck at the start of the Aktion, but most were soon recaptured and brought back into the town. There the Ukrainian police murdered them in a most brutal way, cutting off their hands or other limbs and then burning them alive in the remaining Jewish houses.[6] This report appears to be corroborated in the diary of Michael Diment, who records an encounter with another Jewish survivor, Yankel, who had briefly hidden in the burned-out homes in Poryck after the mass killing there.[7] Sonie Rubinsztejn, who fled successfully at the last moment before the mass shooting, found refuge with a local priest whom she knew near Łokacze, who gave her shelter and trained her to pass as a Christian.[8] The Red Army liberated Poryck on July 18, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Poryck can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 152–153.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Poryck can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-55-11); MA (A262); and YVA (M-1/E/1494).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Among the villages in the raion were Iwanicze (Jewish population of 61 in 1921) and Litowiż (Jewish population of 32 in 1921). See *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 216–219.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 6, 8.
4. YVA, M-1/E/1494, testimony of Sonie Rubinsztejn, August 1, 1947.
5. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 6, 8. Other sources put the number of Jews in the Poryck ghetto at around 3,000; YVA, M-1/E/1494.
6. YVA, M-1/E/1494.
7. Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), p. 150.
8. YVA, M-1/E/1494.

POWÓRSK

Pre-1939: Powórsk, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Povorsk, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Poworsk, Rayon and Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Povors'k, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Powórsk is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the east of Kowel. In 1921, the Jewish population was only 37, but by the 1930s it had increased to more than 200.[1] In September 1939, the village fell within the Soviet occupation zone.[2]

German forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. There was no permanent German garrison in the town, but a Ukrainian police force was recruited from local inhabitants, led by a man named Zakuta.

In late August or early September 1942, the Ukrainians received an order from the Germans to establish an "open ghetto" in Powórsk, and all the Jewish families came to live

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on one street. There were three or four families living in each house. Just before the Jewish holidays in early September 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered all the Jews of the village (about 200 in total). On either September 2 or September 4, 1942, the Ukrainian police rounded up the Jews and escorted them to ditches that had been prepared previously by the Soviet occupying forces to hold gasoline tanks. Before they were shot, the Jews had to sit on the ground and were made to surrender any jewelry or valuables they possessed. The rabbi was the first to be led to the pits and also the first to be shot.[3]

Among the Jewish survivors from Powórsk were Basia Katz (née Eisenberg), who escaped with her entire family and migrated to Canada after the war, and Bella Fleishman.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Yehuda Merin, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Manyevits'*, *Horodok*, *Troyanovkah*, *Lishnivkah u-Povursk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Manyevits', Horodok, Troyanovkah, Lishnivkah u-Povursk veha-sevivah ba-Erets uve-hu.l., 2002) [in Hebrew, Yiddish, and partly in English], was first published in 1980 and republished in Givatayim, Israel, in 2002.

The Jewish survivor Basia Katz was interviewed in 1988 by the British Home Office War Crimes Inquiry. The original transcript of this interview is now held at the British National Archives (NA) in London.

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NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228; 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), pp. 1018–1019.

2. This entry is based mainly on the recollections of Basia Katz, a Jewish survivor from Powórsk, interviewed by William Chalmers for the British Home Office War Crimes Inquiry on September 9, 1988.

3. Testimony of Basia Katz, interviewed by William Chalmers on September 9, 1988, gives the date of Friday September 4, 1942; A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 34, gives the date of September 2, 1942.

PROSKUROV

Pre-1941: Proskurov, city and raion center, Kamenets-Podol'skii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Proskurow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Khmel'nyts'kyi (Proskuriv), Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Proskurov is located about 340 kilometers (211 miles) southwest of Kiev, on the Bug River. In 1939, 14,518 Jews lived in the city (38.7 percent of the total).

Units of German Army Group South entered Proskurov on July 8, 1941. Between June 22 and July 8, only a few Jewish families left the city. Able-bodied men aged 19 to 36 volunteered for or were drafted into the Red Army. Precise figures are unavailable, but it appears that around 10,000 Jews remained in Proskurov at the start of the occupation.

A mass grave in Proskurov, 1941—1942.
USHMM WS #17880, COURTESY OF JULIUS SCHATZ

Proskurov became the center of Gebiet Proskurow in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Proskurov, Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck, made his residence on Aleksandrovskaia Street.

From the start of the German occupation, a pattern of plunder, humiliation, abuse, and murder of Jews emerged. Units of Einsatzgruppe C, as well as a self-organized Western Ukrainian Bukovina Battalion, headed by Peter Voinovsky, carried out these measures.

The Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Proskurov, and Liza Lindenboym was appointed its chairwoman. She was responsible for implementing all the directives issued by Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck. She appointed 10 other Jewish men and women to serve on the Judenrat. Its main function was to provide Jewish forced laborers for the Germans. Many Jews hated Lindenboym. Most survivors maintained that there was no Jewish police force in Proskurov. Iosif Groysman, however, stated that "Jewish policemen" assembled the Jews for work.[1]

In September 1941, Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck ordered Jews to assemble in a ghetto—two blocks on Kupecheskaia and Remeslennaia Streets—near the open market, surrounded by barbed wire with only one gate. Prisoners failing to appear would be shot. Ukrainian policemen supervised the assembly. The majority of people did not resist the order. The barbed wire gave the Jews a false sense of security that it "protected" them from the Germans and hostile Ukrainians. Most of the residents on Kupecheskaia and Remeslennaia Streets were Jews. Jews from other parts of the city moved in with them. Three to five families crowded into each house, 15 to 20 people per room. No one was allowed to leave the ghetto without a permit. Ukrainian policemen guarded the ghetto.[2]

The first ghetto existed less than four months. Jews worked as forced laborers. The work included harvest collection, fruit

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concentration, demolition of the Jewish cemetery, the clearing of ruined houses, shoveling snow in winter, and other jobs outside the ghetto. Unless they possessed their own tools, the laborers performed nearly all work manually. Ukrainian and Lithuanian policemen guarded the Jews to and from work. They beat men and women with whips and occasionally shot those who were unable to work any longer. Shoemakers, tailors, tanners, welders, coopers, and other skilled workers labored inside the ghetto, and many received permission to work in shops outside the barbed wire, under close supervision. Children of the specialists worked with their parents. Elderly Jews, the sick, and toddlers lived in constant fear of the Germans and policemen when the able-bodied Jews left for work.[3]

Forced laborers received 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread daily. The nonworking Jews were not entitled to food. Skilled laborers, also not entitled to food, received food in compensation for their work from local non-Jews and Germans. Townspeople and villagers traded food at the barbed-wire fence for clothing, utensils, and any commodities that the Jews still owned. Both sides risked being beaten or shot. Volodymyr Lanko, a Ukrainian agronomist, helped many people in the ghetto. Young people crawled out of the ghetto at night and begged their former non-Jewish neighbors for food. The barbed wire hardly presented an overwhelming physical barrier to young people, and the Stars of David were easy to remove; however, by daylight, the local policemen knew the faces of the Jews and would shoot anyone without a permit. Jews who did not live in the city before the war and those youths who could pass as non-Jews had a better chance of smuggling themselves in and out of the ghetto.[4]

In the first ghetto, radios and newspapers were confiscated. News passed through the barbed-wire fence by word of mouth. Ukrainian pottery makers, who traveled from town to town, carried letters and messages. The Jews in Proskurov knew that throughout the region Jews were subjected to the same conditions. In the fall of 1941, the Germans shot a Jewish minyan in the center of the ghetto. Nazi officers and administrators raped Jewish women. To protect themselves, Jewish girls smeared their underwear with lipstick; Germans cringed from the site of "blood." Following the orders of Schmerbeck, Lindenboym collected gold, jewelry, and valuables from the Jews. The Jews perceived the collection of valuables as a "contribution" to stay alive. Young people got married, and women bore children. They still believed they would survive.[5]

On November 4, 1941, SS-Obersturmführer Theodor Salmanzig organized a large-scale Aktion against the Jews in which the main ghetto was liquidated. The pretext for the Aktion was the discovery, in the basement of the State Political Directorate (GPU) building, of 25 to 30 corpses of German servicemen. On Hermann Göring's orders, a special commission headed by Salmanzig was sent to Proskurov to investigate the circumstances of these deaths. Several days later, Salmanzig reappeared in the town with a detachment of 20 to 30 men to "restore order," which meant that the Jews would be shot.[6]

Just before the Aktion, Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck ordered the Judenrat to distribute a limited number of "work certificates" to the skilled workers. The certificates contained two words (*Jude* and a trade), Schmerbeck's signature, and no names. Not every specialist received a work certificate. On November 4, 1941, after the skilled laborers left the ghetto for work, their wives, parents, and children woke up surrounded by the SS. The members of the Judenrat circulated on the street, ordering Jews to come out with their belongings, documents, and jewelry, for resettlement to Kamenets-Podolskii. A pogrom was threatened if they failed to come out. The majority of people hid in shelters in their houses. Those who came out and hundreds who were discovered were driven on foot to the textile factory on Kamenetskaia Street. Those who tried to resist or to escape on the way to the factory were shot by the SS and local policemen.[7]

Inside the textile factory, Jews left their documents, valuables, and other possessions on long tables. Nazis and policemen then drove the Jews on foot to Ruzhichnoe on the city's outskirts. The people were forced to undress before being shot. The Nazis and policemen with machine guns and dogs lined up wailing people in a long line on the edge of a natural ravine. At the edge of it, they shot rows of 15 to 20 people in the back of the head or in the back of the neck. Most executioners were drunk. After the war, the Soviets found 5,300 corpses at Ruzhichnoe, some embracing and others clutching tightly to corpses of children. Everyone in Proskurov heard and saw that the Jews were being driven to be shot that day. Some indigenous non-Jews rejoiced and plundered abandoned Jewish homes. Others were powerless to help. Approximately 20 Jews remained at the textile factory on the evening of November 4. About 5,300 Jews from Proskurov were killed.[8] In late December 1941, a new census recorded only 3,040 Jews in the city.

Two days after the first pogrom, Schmerbeck ordered the partitioning of the first ghetto into an "old" ghetto, which remained behind the barbed wire, and a "second" ghetto located across the street between Remeslennaia and Kupecheskaia Streets and Aptekarskaia and Sobornaia Streets. The skilled workers moved into the second ghetto along with specialists from neighboring towns who were resettled into the same ghetto. The Jews left in the old ghetto shoveled snow on the highway throughout the winter of 1941–1942. Germans confiscated winter clothing from Jews, non-Jews, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Ukrainians continued to toss food over the barbed-wire fence of the old ghetto. During the first winter, some Jews were killed at work, others died from exhaustion, and still others died from hunger and cold.[9]

In the spring and summer of 1942, it became easier to obtain food because of new crops. Germans confiscated horses from kolkhozy in Gebiet Proskurow and conscripted approximately 70 Jews, selected by the Judenrat, to drive the horses to the Donbass front line.[10]

Concurrently, throughout 1942, the Germans gathered and concentrated young Jewish men and women remaining in the Proskurov region in several camps along the main

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road from Proskurov to Vinnitsa (Durchgangsstrasse [highway] IV). They used these people as forced laborers and hired Ukrainian workers for wages to do construction work for the Organisation Todt (OT) highway construction project.[11]

The Jews in the old ghetto were ravaged by typhus and famine fever in November 1942. Dr. Khromoy took care of the sick, although no medicine was available. Famine fever did not spread to the second ghetto. A number of escapees from nearby camps, ghettos, and mass shootings hid in Proskurov temporarily.

Rumors about an imminent pogrom spread in Proskurov in the late fall of 1942. Approximately 80 to 100 Jews fled the ghetto before the second pogrom and hid with Ukrainian friends. Many were discovered and shot, sometimes together with their hosts. Only Jews with no family left attempted to flee in the snow to Transnistria, 90 kilometers (56 miles) southeast of Proskurov.[12]

The Jews in Proskurov had no weapons for an uprising. Many able-bodied Jewish men and women wanted to join underground partisan brigades, which they believed to exist in the woods. After the war, E. Lantsman testified that in Proskurov "the shooting lasted several hours. Jews killed three SS men and five policemen recruited from the local population. Several young people succeeded in breaking through to the forest and escaping." However, it is unclear when and under what circumstances this incident took place.[13]

There is no consensus on the exact date of the second large-scale Aktion. More than 7,000 people who remained in the two ghettos of Proskurov, from the labor camps, and from the nearby village of Nikolaev were killed. The murder Aktion lasted more than one week. Most probably, it began on the night of November 30–December 1. SS men, Lithuanian Schutzmänner, and local policemen broke into the homes of the Jews in the old ghetto and into the homes of the specialists. Crying, beatings, shouts, pleading, and shootings accompanied the roundup of the Jews. People were driven daily to the execution pits dug in the village of Leznevo. Mikhail Orlov, a local policeman, testified after the war that Germans "shot them [Jews] point-blank in the back of the head and threw the children alive into pits."[14]

Including those brought into the city from outside, more than 12,000 Jewish civilians are believed to have perished in Proskurov. Only some 60 Jewish men, women, and children from Proskurov are known to have survived the Holocaust.[15]

For days after the start of the second pogrom, more than 100 Jews remained in hiding without food or water. One by one, they tried to sneak away, but most were immediately picked up by local policemen and the Germans. Policeman Ivanov saved the life of Hana Gritsershteyn by sneaking her into the house of Volodymyr Lanko, who hid Hana and Byata Beyter for 11 months. At the end of 1943, both Hana and Byata fled to Transnistria.[16]

By December 1942, Romanian-governed Transnistria offered the best possibility of survival. Iosif Groysman and Veniamin Grinberg were among those Jews who escaped to Transnistria. However, some escapees were betrayed by the locals. Every Jew who reached Transnistria met a non-Jew who helped him or her with a piece of bread or advice or simply did not betray them. The Blekhman family bribed a Ukrainian train conductor to smuggle them onto a train to Zhmerinka. In Transnistria, the survivors from Proskurov then found shelter with the local Jews.[17]

After the Soviet victory on May 8, 1945, the few Jews who had evacuated from Proskurov before July 7, 1941, gradually returned home. Only a few Jewish soldiers came back from the front alive. Three monuments, established by Jews after the war, commemorate those who perished in the Holocaust in Proskurov.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry came from the author's unpublished M.A. thesis, "The History of Jews in Proskurov, Ukraine" (master's thesis, Union College, 2001). The article by P.M. Shkrobot, "Navichno v pam'iati narodnii," in A.G. Filiniuk, ed., *Ploskyriv, Proskuriv, Khmel'nyts'kyi, 1493–1993* (Khmelnytskyi: Podillia, 1993), pp. 46–53, includes some relevant information on the fate of Proskurov's Jewish population. The book by David A. Chapin and Ben Weinstock, eds., *The Road from Letichev* (San Jose: Writer's Showcase presented by Writer's Digest, 2000), also includes several testimonies that touch on events in Proskurov.

Documents and testimonies in relation to the Proskurov ghetto and the fate of the city's Jewish population can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-9-813); USHMM (e.g., RG-31.002M); VHF (# 44315); and YVA (O-3/3734, 3766). A number of oral testimonies, videos, letters, and telephone interviews with survivors from Proskurov have been collected by the author and are in her own personal archive (PADV).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 5; Etya B., letter to the author, January 8, 2000; Lyusya Blekhman, personal interview, October 14, 2000; Iosif Groysman, personal interview, January 2, 2001; Veniamin Grinberg, personal interview, January 7, 2001.

2. Tatyana Uzenkel, letter to the author, December 2000; VHF, # 44315, Lyusya Blekhman, May 17, 1998; Iosif Groysman; Moishe Einhorn, "In the Medzhibozh Ghetto," in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, p. 693.

3. Etya B.; VHF, # 44315; Iosif Groysman; Lazar Bover, letter to the author, December 15, 2000; Klara Melamud, telephone interview concerning her husband, Mikhail Melamud, a Holocaust survivor, January 21, 2001.

4. YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 9; VHF, # 44315; Yefim Lerner, personal interview concerning his late wife Sima Lerner (Blekhman), a Holocaust survivor, December 16, 2000.

5. Etya B.; VHF, # 44315; Iosif Groysman; Yefim Lerner; Klara Melamud; Tatyana Uzenkel.

6. BA-L, B 162/20816, pp. 165ff, testimony of Karl Bauernfeind, December 22, 1964.

7. Iosif Groysman; YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 4. Available sources disagree about the precise date of the first pogrom. The testimony of Hana Vaiskop is probably the most reliable source, as she was a high school graduate at the time.

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8. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-9-813, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, Act of the Judicial-Medical Committee for Investigation of the German-Fascist Atrocities in Proskurov; VHF, # 44315; Lazar Bover; Iosif Groysman; Klara Melamud; YVA, O-3/3766.

9. Einhorn, "In the Medzhibozh Ghetto," p. 693; Iosif Groysman. Although in Letichev and Zinkov (neighboring towns) there were no pogroms in the fall of 1941, the Jews of those towns survived the first winter under conditions similar to those of the remaining Jews in Proskurov; see the testimonies of Vladimir Goykher and Semyon Gluzman, in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 710–714 and 730–736, respectively.

10. Iosif Groysman; Veniamin Grinberg.

11. Veniamin Grinberg; Goykher, in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 712–714. Also see Moyshe Rekhtman, "Hard Labor in the Letichev Camp," testimony on file in USHMM; also Rekhtman, in *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 701–702.

12. VHF, # 44315; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; Etya B.

13. Iosif Groysman; Shkrobot, "Navichno v pam'iati narodnii," pp. 48–53.

14. Veniamin Lukin and Boris Khaymovich, eds., *Sto evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Podoliia*, ser. 1 (Jerusalem and St. Petersburg, 1997), p. 184. There is no consensus on the start of the second pogrom. Witnesses give various dates in November and December. Since the pogrom lasted more than a week, November 30, 1942, seems most plausible as the first night of the pogrom; Mikhail S. Orlov, protocol of interrogation, May 10, 1944, ChGK materials, USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-9-813).

15. ChGK report, USHMM archives, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-792); list of the inmates of the ghetto and concentration camps who belong to the Khmel'nyts'kyi Oblast' Organization, signed by Boris Levin, September 11, 1994; Etya B.; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; YVA, O-3/3766, p. 13.

16. Veniamin Grinberg; Klara Melamud; Eva Oksman testimony in PADV; YVA, O-3/3766, pp. 10–13.

17. Veniamin Grinberg; Iosif Groysman; VHF, # 44315; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; YVA, O-3/3766, p. 11; Etya B.; Einhorn, "In the Medzhibozh Ghetto."

RADZIWIŁŁÓW

Pre-1939: Radziwiłłów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Chervonoarmeisk, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Radziwilow, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Radiviliv, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Radziwiłłów is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) southwest of Równe. At the end of 1937, there were 3,120 Jews living in the town. The town came under Soviet occupation in mid-September 1939. The Soviet authorities deported many Jewish refugees from western and central Poland to the Soviet interior when these people opted not to take Soviet citizenship.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Radziwiłłów at the end of June 1941. In July and August, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the settlement. A man named Matejko was appointed as mayor, and initially Misza Zalewski was head of the local Ukrainian police. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Radziwiłłów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks was the Gebietskommissar. In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post consisting of six to eight Gendarmes under the command of a man named Krause was established in Radziwiłłów in the house of a Jew named Fidel. The Gendarmerie assumed control of the Ukrainian police, now renamed the Schutzmannschaft. In the spring of 1942, Polizeileutnant Eberhardt became the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer.[1]

In the first days of the occupation, local Ukrainians and Germans robbed the Jews. On July 15, 1941, a German SS unit arrived in Radziwiłłów and organized the first Aktion, in which 27 Jews were murdered allegedly as Communist activists. Among those killed were also some wealthy Jews who had given property to local Ukrainians for safekeeping but were denounced to the Germans. On July 16, 1941, Ukrainian

A blue and white child's dress worn by Sabina Heller (née Kagan), while in hiding with the Roztropowicz family in Radziwiłłów, during the Holocaust. Sabina and her parents escaped from the Radziwiłłów ghetto. Sabina's rescuers made the dress from doll clothing.
USHMM WS #N09622, COURTESY OF SABINA HELLER

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thugs organized the public burning of prayer books and Torah scrolls from the synagogue and forced the rabbi to dance a jig around the bonfire. Then on August 15, all the Jews were ordered to wait in the market square for two to three hours, during which time their houses were ransacked and looted of all valuable possessions.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Radziwiłłów. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings (initially white armbands with a blue Star of David; later, yellow circles on their chest and backs); they were prohibited from leaving the town without permission, from using the sidewalks, or from trading with the local non-Jews; and most items of Jewish property were confiscated or used to pay a succession of onerous "contributions" imposed on the community.[3]

Soon after their arrival, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Jakob Furman took over as chairman of the Judenrat in the summer of 1941 after its first head, Viderhorn, an assimilated Jew from Hungary who spoke German, resigned his post once he realized the Judenrat was only a tool for the Germans to extort money from the Jews. In February 1942, a number of Jewish workers were rounded up and sent to a labor camp near Vinnitsa. In March 1942, the Germans, assisted by mayor Matejko, conducted a "robbery Aktion" against the Jews, seizing any remaining valuables from Jewish houses.[4]

On April 9, 1942, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto in the town, and Jews from the surrounding villages also had to move into it. In total, 2,600 Jews were registered in the ghetto.[5] The ghetto was located in the poorest Jewish houses close to the market square. It was split into two sections divided by Poczajowska Street. About 400 Jews with certificates designating them "productive" Jews lived in the "Karee," and the remaining 2,200 "unproductive" Jews lived in the "Teich." Both ghetto sections were surrounded with barbed wire and were guarded internally by the Jewish Police and externally by the Ukrainian police. Due to the extreme overcrowding, with people sleeping on bunk beds and living in attics and cellars, disease and hunger were rife in the ghetto. Some Jews performed forced labor every day outside the ghetto and were escorted to their work sites by the Jewish Police. Forced labor tasks included work for the Organisation Todt (OT) on construction projects such as at the airfield, while others worked at the railroad station or for various German offices.[6]

On May 29, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators conducted an Aktion against the "unproductive" section of the ghetto (those Jews not issued with work cards by the Judenrat). A detachment of the Security Police and SD, assisted by men of the 1st Company of Reserve Police Battalion 33, local Gendarmes, and Ukrainian police, surrounded this section of the ghetto early in the morning.[7] Those unable to walk or who attempted to escape were murdered inside the ghetto. First the Jewish men who had been rounded up were escorted out of town past the railroad station to a sandy place known as Suchodolie. Here the Germans forced them to undress and shot them with machine guns into large ditches prepared in advance by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Then they did the same with the women and children. Altogether, the German-led forces shot about 1,350 people. A number of Jews managed to escape and hide on the eve of the Aktion.[8]

In the summer of 1942, Jews faced the death penalty if caught outside the ghetto without permission. Those working outside continued to smuggle food in, and some local peasants threw food over the ghetto fence. However, the Ukrainian guards now began to punish non-Jews who came too close to the fence.[9] In August 1942, two Jewish girls who were caught traveling from Dubno on "Aryan papers" were handed over to the Gendarmerie in Radziwiłłów and shot on orders from the German police.[10]

By late September 1942, news of the complete liquidation of other nearby ghettos convinced the Jews that their days were numbered. As there was little chance to hide in the forests, since most non-Jews were either hostile or too scared to protect Jews, people built hiding places or sought "Aryan papers." Some hid their children during the day, fearing an Aktion while they were out at work. Then news came that Soviet POWs were again preparing ditches nearby. To preserve some record of the community, the Radziwiłłów Jews prepared lists of those who had died and those who were still alive and buried them near the Great Synagogue. When the Germans and their collaborators surrounded the ghetto, a number of Jews committed suicide, and others went to their hiding places or tried to escape.[11]

On October 6, 1942, German Security Police subordinated to the outpost in Równe organized the liquidation of the Radziwiłłów ghetto, shooting about 950 Jews at Suchodolie with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. About 500 Jews managed to escape on the night before the Aktion.[12] Many of these runaway Jews were subsequently caught and shot by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police at the Jewish cemetery. A few managed to escape to the town of Brody in Distrikt Galizien, where a formal ghetto was only established in early December 1942. Only 51 Jews from Radziwiłłów managed to survive until the Red Army drove out the Germans after fierce fighting around Brody in the summer of 1944.[13]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Radziwiłłów under German occupation can be found in the following publications: Ya'akov 'Adini, ed., *Radzivilov: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Radzivilov be-Yisrael, 1966); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 189–192. A personal testimony by Simon Winston, "I Was Born in Radzivillov," was published in *The Holocaust Centre* (Laxton, Notts., UK: Beth Shalom, 2001), pp. 16–20. Reference has also been made to the unpublished manuscript of Yitzhak Veinshein, "The Destruction of the Radzivillover

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Ghetto," made available to the authors by his son Simon Winston.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Radziwiłłów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5211-14); DARO; GARF (7021-71-56); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 8639, 14471, 30242, 30256, and 46396); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," in 'Adini, *Radzivilov: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 329–331, 336; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Jafa Oks, June 26, 1963.

2. Veinshein, "The Destruction of the Radzivillover Ghetto"; "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," p. 330, dates the Aktion in mid-July 1941. GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 15, dates it on July 4, 1941. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 153–154, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion at the end of June and notes that a woman was among the victims. Other sources date this (or another) Aktion in early August 1941.

3. BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Anita Goldgart, June 4, 1963; and "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 329–330.

4. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 329–333.

5. Ibid., p. 333.

6. Ibid., pp. 333–334; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimonies of Anita Goldgart, June 4, 1963, and Mendel Turczyn, June 10, 1963.

7. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 155, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion precisely on May 29 (day 13 of Sivan). See also the report of the HSSPF and BdS Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, in TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 335–336, however, dates the Aktion on June 29, 1942.

8. GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 17; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Mendel Turczyn, June 10, 1963.

9. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 333–334.

10. BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Cwi Kiperman, June 19, 1963.

11. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 336–337.

12. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 156, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion precisely on October 6 (day 25 of Tishrei). GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 18. See also Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 199. According to Spector's sources, there were 600 Jews who escaped. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," p. 337, states that the Aktion started on September 29, 1942.

13. "Radziwillow," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 17:60. This source dates the final Aktion on October 5, 1942. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 157, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964.

RAFAŁÓWKA

Pre-1939: Rafałówka, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rafalovka, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rafalowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rafalivka, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Rafałówka is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of Sarny. According to the 1921 census, 556 Jews lived in the town: 224 people resided in Nowa Rafałówka (the new part of the town) and 332 people in Wielka Rafałówka (the large part). The two parts were about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) apart. Based on an average natural growth rate of 9 persons per 1,000 per year, it is estimated that in 1941 about 660 Jews would have been living in Rafałówka at the time of the German invasion.

Following the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, many Jewish refugees from western Poland arrived in Rafałówka. After the Soviets occupied the area in mid-September, private enterprise was abolished. After war broke out on June 22, 1941, the Soviets did not allow people to cross the former 1939 border of the USSR. However, as the Soviet forces began their withdrawal on July 4, a number of Jews managed to escape to the east. Most of these people survived the war.

Units of the German 6th Army did not occupy Rafałówka until mid-July 1941, several days after the Soviet authorities had left. In the interregnum, a Ukrainian authority and local militia took charge. In these days, robbery, abuse, and occasional murders of Jewish townspeople were widespread. When representatives of the Jewish community sought protection, the response was scornful and negative. During the remainder of July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the area. In September 1941, a German civil administration took charge of local affairs. The town of Rafałówka was incorporated into Gebiet Sarny, and Kameradschaftsführer Huala was appointed as the Gebietskommissar. In Rafałówka, a police station comprising several German Gendarmes was established, which also supervised the local Ukrainian auxiliary police, commanded by Rivachevski. Among other Ukrainians remembered for their crimes were the brothers Vladimir and Arsenti Panasiok, the brothers Georgi and Ivan Palamarchok, and Aleksei Skivchok.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures in Rafałówka. Jews were forced to wear distinctive markings; they had to perform forced labor; and they were forbidden to leave the town without special permission.

Soon after the start of the occupation the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to serve as an intermediary authority, which also included representatives from the neighboring small Jewish communities in Olizarka and Zoludsk. The members included Her-

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shel Brezniak (chairman), Zelig Lesnik, Yosef Morik, David Tanenbaum, and Gershon Gruber. The Judenrat sought to ameliorate the suffering resulting from increasingly draconian German decrees.[2] On the orders of the local German authorities, the Jews had to collect a poll tax (*Kontribution*) of 5 gold rubles (1.5 grams [.05 ounces]), or 5,000 rubles per person. Some gave more than requested, while others had to be coerced into giving. An unending stream of German demands followed: the confiscation of silver items, furs, coffee, pepper (a scarce commodity) and an order to knit socks, gloves, and sweaters for German soldiers. For almost a year the Jews stayed in their own homes, obeyed the curfew, and submitted to the German demands, including monthly roll calls.[3]

On May 1, 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in Rafałówka around the area of the community synagogue and school building, which was surrounded by barbed wire. This area contained not only the local Jews of the town but also Jews from the neighboring villages, including Nowa Rafałówka, Olizarka, Wielkie Zoludsk, and Bielska Wola.[4] Altogether about 2,500 Jews were confined within the Rafałówka ghetto. People who lived within the ghetto confines remained in their own houses but had to take in those who were displaced from other neighborhoods and villages. Each family, regardless of size, was given one room. With each passing day, life grew harsher and increasingly bitter. Those who arrived without extra food were afflicted by hunger; those who had no goods to barter for food from the non-Jewish local inhabitants faced starvation. A few Jews planted vegetables in their yards. Gangs of forced laborers were sent out to work from the ghetto, cutting lumber in the forests, loading trains, and repairing roads and bridges.[5]

A Ukrainian guard overseeing one group of Jewish workers told a female acquaintance that the Germans were preparing pits where the Jews would be murdered and buried. When she reported this in the ghetto, her story was met with denial and disbelief. On Monday, August 24, 1942, the ghetto was closed off and surrounded by Ukrainian police, and no one was allowed in or out. Most people chose to remain with their families; only a few hundred Jews tried to hide or escape, as they suspected their impending fate. Zelig Lisak, who headed the Judenrat in the last days, took poison to end his life at home. On Saturday, August 29, the day set for the liquidation of the ghetto by the Gebietskommissar, the Jews were ordered into the central square for a roll call. Panic seized them when they saw military vehicles with German and Ukrainian police that had just come from the massacre of Jews in Sarny. The remaining inmates of the Rafałówka ghetto were held in the blazing sun as they waited for their deaths. Then in groups of 100 people they were escorted to a forest some 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of the ghetto towards Nowa Rafałówka. There they were forced to undress, and each was shot in the back of the head into two large pits. Farmers brought in from the surrounding area covered the bodies, whether dead or alive, with a layer of sand. Police deputy Aleksei Shivchok was assigned to collect the victims' clothing and other belongings and bring them to a German warehouse.[6]

During the days after the liquidation, Ukrainian police tracked down Jews still in hiding and delivered them to the Germans. They were rewarded well for their efforts with large quantities of salt for each captive. Most of the escapees were captured and killed. The area was liberated by the Red Army on February 5, 1944. Those who survived the remainder of the German occupation hid in dugouts in the forests, found shelter with Ukrainian Baptists ("Shtundists") or local farmers, or connected up with small partisan bands. Among the Jewish partisan leaders remembered were "Yudl" (from the village of Sopaczew) and Pesach Bindes. Only some 30 Jews from the Rafałówka ghetto survived the war.[7]

At a war crimes trial conducted in June 1972 in the nearby town of Włodzimierzec, several of the Ukrainian perpetrators were convicted and punished for their murderous acts.[8]

SOURCES Personal accounts of the fate of the Jewish population of Rafałówka during the Holocaust can be found in the yizkor book edited by Pinhas Hagin and Malkah Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka ha-yeshenah*, *Rafalowka he-hadashah*, *Olizarka*, *Zoludzk veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Rafalowka ha-yeshenah, Rafalowka he-hadashah, Olizarkah, Zoludzk veha-sevivah, 1996). A brief summary in Hebrew of the main events can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 204–205.

Documents and testimonies concerning the persecution and murder of Rafałówka's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/291 and 1487); BA-BL; BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-66); USHMM (RG-50.120*0197 and RG-31.018.M [DASBU-Ri, Case No. 19090, vols. 1–15]); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka*, p. 16.
2. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka*, p. 176.
3. Ibid., p. 179.
4. According to the 1921 census, Olizarka had a Jewish population of 321, and Wielkie Zoludsk, 418.
5. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka*, pp. 145, 177–179.
6. Ibid., pp. 16–17, 161, 192; GARF, 7021-71-66, pp. 12, 28, 32; BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), June 7, 1967, pp. 4–8; USHMM, RG-50.120*0197.
7. AŻIH, 301/1487.
8. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka*, p. 18.

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RATNO

Pre-1939: Ratno, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ratne, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Ratno is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) north-northwest of Kowel. In late 1937, there were 2,140 Jewish residents in the town.

German forces captured Ratno at the end of June 1941. In July and August, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Ratno was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Kowel until June 1942 was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp.[1] In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews, and Erich Kassner took over the duties of Gebietskommissar. The Germans established a local administration and recruited a Ukrainian police force in Ratno. The local police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post consisting of several German Gendarmes.

During the brief power vacuum after the Soviet forces had retreated, but before the German administration had been established, there was some looting of Jewish property by local Ukrainians from the villages, during which one Jew who resisted was killed. On July 6, 1941, local Ukrainian peasants organized a pogrom in Ratno, again looting property and killing several more Jews. However, on July 7, a platoon of German soldiers arrived from Kowel. Local Ukrainians initially mistook the Germans for armed Jews and opened fire. The Germans, returning fire, killed 10 Ukrainians. The German forces then conducted a reprisal Aktion, alleging that the Jews had fired on them. The Jews were made to parade on the square near the monastery, and about 30 Jews were selected and shot. The Germans shot roughly the same number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) at the same time.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Ratno: on July 14, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (a Star of David), and a curfew was imposed; on July 17, a Judenrat was established, headed by David Shapiro; Jews were compelled to engage in forced labor without pay, they were forbidden to leave the village, and they were subjected to systematic beatings by the Ukrainian police. The German authorities also confiscated all the livestock of the Jews and successively took most of their valuables, furniture, and clothes. In November 1941, workshops were set up in the town for skilled Jewish workers. Survivor accounts also mention that heating materials were scarce and that the murder of Jews became almost a daily occurrence.

The fragmentary accounts in the yizkor book make no explicit mention of a ghetto in Ratno, but other sources indicate that probably in the spring of 1942 the Germans established a ghetto, which held up to 2,500 Jews (including Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Chocieszów, which had 20 families in the 1930s, and 60 families from Kortelisy).[3] In June 1942, there was a partisan raid on Ratno in which two German agricultural leaders (Sonderführer) were killed. The partisans called on the youth of the town to join them, but there was no response.[4]

A variety of dates are given in the sources for the liquidation of the ghetto in Ratno, but it probably took place in July or August 1942, when approximately 1,500 Jews were shot near the village of Prokhod.[5] The shooting was carried out by a squad of the Security Police and the SD, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, who searched the attics and cellars for several days, looking for Jews in hiding. A few hundred Jews were able to escape initially, but many of them were betrayed to the Germans by local peasants and also shot. Some managed to join those Jews who had fled to the forest earlier.[6]

About 30 Jews who remained alive after the massacre continued to work for the Germans in an *artel*, or group of craftsmen. Jacob Shteingarten, who survived, recalls that he hid in the cellar of his house during the Aktion before fleeing to a forest warden whom he knew, where he worked for a while. At one point he was also denounced and brought to Ratno, but fortunately he was permitted to continue working for the warden. When he heard in early 1943 that the remaining Jewish artisans had been shot, he fled to the forests, where he joined the Soviet partisans.[7]

Some of the Jews who fled successfully from Ratno fought in the Komarov unit of Soviet partisans around Pińsk. When Ratno was liberated on March 22, 1944, 14 survivors initially returned to the town, but most left for other countries shortly afterwards.

On August 11, 1942, the Security Police shot several Jews in the Ratno district, in the villages of Starościn and Koniszcze,[8] and the 9th Company of the 15th Police Regiment shot 74 Jews in the village of Samary on the border with Rayon Dywin on October 31, 1942; one Ukrainian family (six people) was shot together with the Jews, for hiding a Jewish woman.[9]

According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,960 civilians were killed in the Ratno raion between 1941 and 1944, including some 2,600 Jews.[10]

SOURCES The yizkor book available in Yiddish, edited by Ya'akov Botoshanski and Yitshak Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne: Dos lebn un der umkum fun a Yidish shtetl in Volin* (Buenos Aires: di Ratner landslayt fareyen in Argentine un Nord-Amerike, 1954), contains one or two fragmentary personal accounts of the Holocaust period. Another version of the yizkor book was subsequently published in Hebrew: Nahman Tamir, ed., *Ratnah: Sipurah shel kehilah Yehudit she-hushmedah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ratnah be-Yisrael, 1983). An article about the Jewish population of Ratno can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 187–189. There is a survivor testimony

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published in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), pp. 80–81; and some additional information in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 73, 363.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of Ratno can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-148-2); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2950; O-22/53).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Botoshanski and Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 519–533, 581. See also T. Denysiuk and I.O. Denysiuk, *Ratnivshchyna: Istoryko-kraieznavchyi narys* (Lutsk, 1998), p. 66. According to Spector, there was another Aktion by the German Security Police in which they shot 280 Jews as Soviet activists; see Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73, but he gives no precise date for this, so it may be the same Aktion.

3. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 270; 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), pp. 254, 660.

4. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 80–81, testimony of Leon Ginzburg, explicitly mentions a ghetto, noting that it did not exist for very long.

5. Denysiuk and Denysiuk, *Ratnivshchyna: Istoryko-kraieznavchyi narys*, pp. 68–69, gives the date of July 14, 1942. A memorial was erected at the site of the shooting of the Jews in 1995. According to Botoshanski and Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 581–583, the shooting took place on August 26, 1942: of 1,500 Jews, 1,000 were shot and 500 initially managed to escape.

6. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 80–81, testimony of Leon Ginzburg, mentions that 30 Jews fled to the forest before the creation of the ghetto, and 50 more escaped just prior to the Aktion.

7. Botoshanski and Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 581–583, testimony of Jacob Shteingarten.

8. BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten, no. 19, September 4, 1942.

9. GARF, 7021-148-2, pp. 346–347, Report of 9th Company, Police Regiment 15, November 1, 1942.

10. *Volyn' Radians'ka (1939–1964): Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv, Chastyna 3* (Lviv, 1971), p. 124.

ROKITNO

Pre-1939: Rokitno, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rokytne, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Rokitno is located 43 kilometers (27 miles) east of Sarny. On the eve of World War I, 400 Jews lived in Rokitno, and by 1921, the census listed 663 Jews in the town. Assuming a natural growth rate of 9 persons per 1,000 per year, this number would have increased to about 800 by 1939.

Early 1930s view of the Rokitno market place. The synagogue is visible in the background.
USHMM WS #42694, COURTESY OF ANTONINA CHRUPALA

The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 assigned eastern Poland to the Soviet Union, and on September 17, 1939, the Red Army arrived in Rokitno. The Jews were forced to adapt to a new Soviet regime; several men involved in Zionist and Hebrew teaching were arrested and sent to Sarny for "reeducation."[1]

With the beginning of the German invasion in late June 1941, key targets in Rokitno, including the train station and the Huta glass factory, were bombed by the Luftwaffe. Following the Soviet retreat from Rokitno, the town was in a state of anarchy, and roving gangs assaulted and robbed Jewish residents. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Rokitno in the middle of July 1941.

According to the Rokitno yizkor book, during the temporary interregnum, an ethnic German named Ratzlaw offered to go to the German army in Sarny to persuade them to come and establish order in Rokitno. He demanded and received a wagonload of "gifts" from the Jews—fine foods and liquor—to help make the case. After three days, Ratzlaw returned and announced he had been appointed chief of police in Rokitno. The Jews were ordered to organize daily work teams to clear out the bombed glass factory, repair the train tracks, and clean Ratzlaw's headquarters. Ten German officers arrived to inspect the situation but departed shortly afterwards. Then a German police unit commanded by an officer named Henkel Sokolowski arrived to restore order and temporarily disarmed the Ukrainian police.[2]

In August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. In September 1941, it was replaced by a German civil administration. Rokitno became part of Gebiet Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala was the Gebietskommissar. In the fall of 1941, a local Gendarmerie post consisting of five men was established in Rokitno. The German Gendarmerie also assumed control over the local Ukrainian police, which was still commanded

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by Ratzlaw. In the spring of 1942, Leutnant Schumacher of the Schutzpolizei became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer based in Sarny.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the respective German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Rokitno. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, patches on their clothes in the shape of a yellow circle. They had to mark the entrance to their house with a light-blue six-pointed star. The Jews were forced to perform hard physical labor, for which they received only half a loaf of black bread per day. Jews also were forbidden to buy groceries in shops run by non-Jews. In this way, the Jews were condemned to a food ration of only half that received by the rest of the population. Further, the Jews suffered various forms of maltreatment at the hands of the Ukrainian auxiliary police, who took the opportunity to loot and beat the Jews with impunity.[4]

Following an order issued by the chief of the Gendarmerie in Rokitno, the Jews had to hand over all their gold, silver, and other valuables. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) under the leadership of Aharon Slutzki was established in Rokitno. It had four other members: Betzalel Kokel, Avraham Binder, Nachum Katznelson, and Noah Soltzman.[5] The Judenrat had to intercede between the German occupation authorities and the Jewish population, transmitting the orders issued by the German leadership. To assist the Judenrat, a Jewish Order Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), consisting of only a couple of individuals, was established to enforce the orders of the German police.[6]

The boundaries of the Jewish ghetto were established by April 1942. On May 1, 1942, Jews were forced to move into the "open ghetto" in Rokitno. About 50 houses on the main street of the town and about 10 houses on the main market square became part of the ghetto area. The ghetto held not only the Jews of Rokitno but also Jews brought in from the surrounding villages. From its inception, the ghetto was very overcrowded; each room held at least one family, sometimes more. Soon after its establishment, the Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto area. The daily rations consisted of only 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of bread per person per day and 400 grams (14 ounces) of thin, watery porridge or millet every week.[7] A second, smaller ghetto was established to alleviate the crowded conditions. There was no access between the two ghettos without permission from the Judenrat.[8]

Soviet partisans were active in the area, sabotaging rail lines and bridges. Their operations agitated the Germans and led to increased cruelty towards the Jews, whom they accused of collaborating with the partisans. During this period, roll calls began, allegedly to determine whether any Jews had fled to join the partisans. Every Jew was ordered to report to the market square to be counted. After the first two roll calls, they were sent back to the ghetto. Then, on August 25, 1942, a third roll call was announced.[9] On that day, the Jews were ordered to gather the next morning for registration on the main square. Almost all the residents of the ghetto appeared on this occasion: altogether 1,630 people were counted.[10] After the registration, the Jews were not allowed to return to their apartments in the ghetto. The Germans split them into two separate groups, men in one, women and children in the other. Some Jews who suspected the seriousness of the situation tried to escape. At this point, the German and the Ukrainian police started firing at the Jews who had gathered on the market square. About 300 people were murdered at this location, about 700 people managed to escape, and about 600 people were deported in freight cars to Sarny, where they were shot on August 27, 1942.[11]

Although many Jews who managed to flee Rokitno during the third roll call were turned over by the local population to German and Ukrainian forces, others managed to find shelter by joining the partisans or through the protection of peasants, some of whom were members of the Baptist church of Russia, referred to locally as "Shtundists."[12]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Rokitno edited by Eliezer Leoni, *Rokitno: (Vohlin) veha-sevivah; sefer 'edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Rokitno veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1967), includes several accounts dealing with the wartime period. A survey of the history of the Jewish community can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 200–204. An analysis of the fate of the Jews in Rokitno can be found in Yehuda Bauer, "Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia)," in Steven Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Rokitno can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/317, 717, 719, 955, 1046, 2865, 2899, and 3179); DARO; GARF (7021-71-65); USHMM (RG-50.030*0160); and YVA.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 237.
2. Ibid., pp. 260–263.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. According to the Rokitno yizkor book, these anti-Jewish edicts commenced in mid-September; see Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 264.
5. Ibid., p. 266.
6. Baruch Shehori (Schwartzblat), "The Destruction of Rokitno," in ibid.
7. Ibid.; see also p. 271.
8. Ibid., p. 272.
9. Ibid., p. 273.
10. See testimony of B. Schwarzblat (AŻIH, 301/317) for a description of the August 26, 1942, Aktion.
11. Ibid.; according to the ChGK report (GARF, 7021-71-65, pp. 32 and reverse), there were 1,649 people in the ghetto, of whom 411 were murdered in Rokitno, 238 managed to flee, and about 800 were taken to Sarny and killed. According to Schwarzblat's testimony (AŻIH, 301/317), 700 people

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were brought from Rokitno to Sarny. Altogether, the Germans murdered approximately 14,000 Jews of Sarny and its vicinity on August 27–28, 1942. See also Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 274, 301–335.

12. Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 334.

RÓWNE

Pre-1939: Równe, city and powiat center, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rovno, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rowno, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, and capital, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Rivne, raion and oblast' center, Ukraine

Równe is located about 62 kilometers (39 miles) southeast of Łuck. At the end of 1937, about 25,000 Jews were residing in Równe, and by mid-June 1941, due to a large influx of refugees from parts of Poland occupied by the Germans, the Jewish population had increased to 28,000, despite the deportation of many refugees to Siberia for refusing to take Soviet citizenship. After the invasion of the Soviet Union by German troops on June 22, 1941, several thousand Jews managed to escape to the eastern regions of the USSR. Around 23,000 Jews remained in Równe at the start of the occupation.

Równe was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the area. It was replaced by a German civil administration in September 1941. Under the German authorities, the city became the administrative center of Gebiet Rowno, which also included the following Rayons: Meshiritschi, Klewan, Korez, Alexandria, Hoschtscha, and Tutschin. Regierungsrat Beer became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Rowno was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, and the city also served as the capital of Reichskommissariat Ukraine and the residence of the Reichskommissar, Gauleiter Erich Koch.[1] In July and August 1941, an operational unit (Einsatztrupp) of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD was based in Równe. Between September 1941 and February 1942, the headquarters of the 320th Police Battalion, commanded by Major der Polizei Dall, and its 3rd Company (commanded by Hauptmann der Polizei Scharway) were deployed in Równe. As of October 1941, the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion under the command of Major der Polizei Braschnewitz was present there. In October 1941, a Security Police detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 was sent to Równe. The head of this detachment was SS-Sturmbannführer Herrmann Ling. In February 1942, this detachment was reorganized as an office of the Kommandeur der Sipo und SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz served as the KdS until October 1943.[2] It was this office that organized and carried out anti-Jewish Aktions in Równe and in the entire region of Wolhynien und Podolien. Under the Sipo and SD in Równe, there was also a Ukrainian Criminal Police force, headed by Petr Grushevski. Between August 1941 and February 1942, Równe was also the location of the headquarters of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer, SS-Brigadeführer Gerret Korsemann.

A group of religious Jews pose outside a building in the Równe ghetto, ca. 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #50152, COURTESY OF IPN

The first Aktion against the Jews of Równe was carried out on July 8 and 9, 1941. On the evening of July 8, members of Sonderkommando 4a, in collaboration with Ukrainian auxiliary police units, arrested 130 Jews. They forced the victims to spend the night in the courtyard of the building of the State Bank. On the morning of July 9, the victims were shot on the edge of the city.[3] The headquarters of Einsatzgruppe C, located in Równe on July 12, 1941, carried out the shooting of about 100 more Jews on the grounds of a brickyard about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Równe.[4] Several hundred more Jews were killed by a Sipo and SD squad of the Einsatzgruppe Special Duty (z.b.V).[5] Altogether, about 1,000 Jews were killed in the city in the summer of 1941. During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Równe. Initially Jews were forced to wear armbands bearing a Star of David. In September 1941, this was replaced by circular yellow patches worn on the chest and back of their outer clothing. The Jewish population was forced to carry out physically demanding work. They were not allowed to leave the city. In addition, the Jews were forced to pay the German occupation authorities 12 million rubles (1.2 million Reichsmark [RM]) as a so-called contribution. Jews were systematically robbed and beaten by the Ukrainian auxiliary police.[6] A Jewish Council (Judenrat), with 12 members, and a "Jewish Order Service" (Jewish police force) consisting of 20 people (reporting to the Judenrat) were established in Równe. The head of the Judenrat was Dr. Moshe Bergmann, the headmaster of a local *gymnazium* (high school).

In early November 1941, a major Aktion took place in Równe. The victims were mostly those unable to work. On November 5, notifications were distributed directing all Jews who had no work permit to appear in the Church Square (Kostel'nyi Ploshchad') at 6:00 A.M. to wait for their resettlement. After the Jews had gathered, they were ordered to leave their luggage in the square and were herded in columns to the

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village of Sosenki. Near the village were several pits, dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in late October. Over the course of two days, all the Jews who had assembled for "resettlement" were shot in these pits.[7] Ereignismeldung UdSSR [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics] no. 143, dated December 8, 1941, states that "between November 6 and 7, 1941, a long-planned anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out, during which about 15,000 Jews were killed. On the orders of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF), the Order Police was in charge of its organization. The detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 in Równe actively participated in its execution."[8] The organizer of the Aktion was HSSPF z.b.V. SS-Brigadeführer Korsemann. The 315th Police Battalion (under the command of Hauptmann der Polizei Klaus) and the 320th Police Battalion, assisted by the Ukrainian auxiliary police and at least one company of the 33rd Police Reserve Battalion (company commander Hauptmann der Polizei von Wiekmann), took part in the Aktion.

In December 1941, a ghetto, declared the "Jewish residential area" (an open ghetto), was established on the edge of the city of Równe. The Jews were given several days to resettle there. In this ghetto there were about 5,200 Jews, including 1,182 children under the age of 14.[9]

In April 1942, the German mayor of the city ordered the Judenrat to have all Jews clean up the streets and yards of the Jewish quarter on Sundays, or they would face the stiffest punishment.[10] On May 7, 1942, the head (*Obmann*) of the Judenrat, Dr. Bergmann, was instructed to appear before the German mayor the following day to discuss a specific matter. Presumably as a result of this meeting, the mayor issued a written order to Dr. Bergmann on May 8, stating that the 2,000 Jews still fit for work had to perform compulsory labor on two Sundays every month to clean up the Jewish quarter.[11]

On May 10, 1942, Dr. Bergmann replied in a surprisingly sharp tone to the German mayor that the German offices that employed the 2,000 able-bodied Jews were opposed to their use for unskilled cleaning tasks on Sundays, as it adversely affected their ability to do their normal work. Dr. Bergmann stressed that in accordance with his responsibility for maintaining cleanliness and other public works within the Jewish quarter, he had already instructed the sanitary commission of the Judenrat to perform a variety of tasks. The few able-bodied Jews available for work on Sundays were already employed in carrying out the sanitary work required. In view of these circumstances, Dr. Bergmann noted that he had reached an agreement with the Distribution Office for the Jewish Workforce—which received its instructions from the supervisory German Labor Office—by which 100 to 150 workers would be available for the two days of work each month. He concluded: "as I ask you, Mr. Mayor, to please revise your instruction, I hope that this number, in view of the advanced spring season, will prove to be adequate for the task."[12]

On June 19, 1942, the Judenrat in Równe complained to the German mayor that unknown persons were frequently entering the Jewish cemetery illegally and destroying or damaging gravestones. The Judenrat wanted to erect a sign warning that entering the Jewish cemetery without permission was strictly forbidden on the orders of the German mayor.[13]

The liquidation of the Równe ghetto came during the night of July 13–14, 1942. Refusing to assist the German authorities in the killing of Jews, Dr. Bergmann and another Judenrat member, Leon Sukharchuk, both committed suicide around this time.[14] The 1st Company of the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion, units of the German Security Police, and members of the Ukrainian auxiliary police forced the Jews to leave their houses in the ghetto. The police herded the victims to the railroad station and forced them into freight cars. The trains transported the Jews in the direction of Kostopol. At a quarry outside the city, the Jews were shot by the German Security Police and Ukrainian auxiliary police units.[15] The chief engineer of the German construction company Josef Jung of Solingen, Hermann Friedrich Graebe, was an eyewitness to the liquidation of the Równe ghetto. On November 10, 1945, he testified under oath:

> Shortly after 10:00 PM, the ghetto was surrounded by a large SS detachment and three times as many Ukrainian auxiliary policemen. After that, the spotlights installed inside and around the ghetto were switched on. Groups of four to six SS men and policemen broke into or tried to break into the houses. If the windows and doors were locked and the residents were unwilling to open up, the SS and police units broke down the doors and forced their way in. The people living there were driven into the street just as they were, regardless of whether they were dressed or not. Because most Jews refused to leave their homes and offered resistance, the SS and police employed force. Finally, using whips, kicks, fists, and rifle butts, they managed to empty the houses. The victims were chased out of their homes with such haste that in some cases small children were left behind in their beds. In the streets, the women called their children, and the children called their parents. That did not keep the SS men from beating the victims to make them run along the road until they reached the freight train. One freight car after another was filled, as the women and children screamed, whips cracked, and rifle shots rang out. Because some Jewish families barricaded themselves in especially strong buildings and attempts to open the doors with crowbars and beams failed, the doors of these buildings were blown open with hand grenades. Because the ghetto of Rovno was located close to the railroad station, the younger people tried to escape over the railroad line. Since the spotlights could not illuminate this sector, it was lit up with signal flares. All night long, persecuted, beaten, and wounded people moved through the illuminated streets. Women carried their dead children in their

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> arms. Some children were dragged to the train hanging on to the legs or the arms of their parents. The entire time, the ghetto was filled with shouts: "Open the door, open the door!"[16]

While the ghetto was under siege, dozens of the residents tried to escape. Some victims also attempted to jump off the moving trains. Most of the escapees were young people, who formed groups or roamed in the forests on their own. Before long they joined up with Soviet partisan units, especially that of Major General Vassily Begma. After the liquidation of the Równe ghetto, the German and Ukrainian police systematically searched the ghetto territory for hidden Jews. Those found and captured were shot in the area of Belaia Street in Równe. The number of victims is not known. Altogether in the city of Równe between 1941 and 1943, between 22,000 and 23,000 Jews were murdered.

During the liquidation of the Równe ghetto on July 13 and 14, 1941, a few dozen Jews managed to hide with Graebe's help. From the chief of staff of the Gebietskommissar, Ordensjunker Beck, Graebe obtained a document stating that Jewish workers of the Jung company (100 people) were not subject to the Aktion, and during the night he protected a house in which Jewish workers were sleeping from intrusion by the Ukrainian police and SS. After the Aktion was over, he sent the Jewish workers to Zdołbunów.[17] Another small group of Jews from the Równe ghetto was saved by the initiative and support of some Ukrainian civilians. One of them, Iakov Sukhenko, was shot in 1943 for helping the Jews.[18]

In 1947, Gerret Korsemann was sentenced to 18 months in prison. He was released in 1949 and died in Munich on July 16, 1958.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Równe can be found in the following publications: Y. Margulyets et al., eds., *A Zikorn far Rovne* (Rovner Landsmanshaft in Daytshland Amer. Zone, 1947); A. Avitachi, ed., *Rovneh, sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Hosa'at "Yalkut Vohlin," Irgun yotse Rovneh be-Yisrael, 1956); *Rovno 700 Rokiv. 1283–1983. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kiev, 1983); Barbara Baratz and Ruth Oelschlaegel, *Flucht vor dem Schicksal: Holocaust-Erinnerungen aus der Ukraine, 1941–1944* (Darmstadt, 1984); Douglas Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno. The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety during the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1985); Barbara Barac, *Escape from Destiny* (Melbourne, Australia, 1990); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 192–220; Varvara Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by, vospominaniia o genotside evreev na Ukraine vo vremia vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: "Art-biznes-centr," 1993); Khaia Musman, *Gorod moi rasstrelianny* (New York: Kh. Musman, 1994).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Równe can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-67); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt and Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Pütz died in Poznań in February 1945.
3. Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR, no. 19, July 11, 1941, and no. 28, July 20, 1941, in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 30, 37. See also Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by*, pp. 11–12.
4. See Sta. bei dem Landgericht Itzehoe, 9 Js 766/67, Indictment, November 30, 1971, in the case against Dr. Phil. Hans Krieger and Alois Köldorfer, in the archive of Sta. bei dem Landgericht Itzehoe. See also testimony of Kiebach, the former telegraph operator at the headquarters of Einsatzgruppe C, November 1, 1963, in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, p. 31.
5. See diary of Wehrmacht Hauptmann Hanns Pilz, in E. Klee and W. Dressen, *"Gott mit uns." Der deutsche Vernichtungskrieg im Osten 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), p. 141.
6. "The Holocaust," in Avitachi, *Rovneh, sefer zikaron*.
7. See testimony of Kristina Novakovskaia, in Yitskhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 151–152.
8. EM, no. 143, in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, p. 105. According to ChGK materials, 17,500 Jews were shot in Rovno (see *Rovno 700 rokiv*, pp. 96–99). There is a monument at the site where the Jews were killed.
9. DARO, R22-1-19, p. 14.
10. USHMM, RG-31.017M, reel 2, p. 5, German mayor of Rowno to Judenrat, April 16, 1942.
11. Ibid., pp. 12–13, letters of German mayor of Rowno to Judenobmann, Dr. Bergmann, on May 7 and 8, 1942.
12. Ibid., p. 14, Judenrat in Rowno to German mayor of Rowno, May 10, 1942.
13. Ibid., p. 21, Judenrat to German mayor of Rowno, June 19, 1942.
14. Ibid.
15. Sta. Bielefeld, Vermerk, October 26, 1973 (5 Js 703/70) in the case against Dr. Med. Fritz Pustkuchen.
16. Statement under oath of Hermann Friedrich Graebe on November 10, 1945, N-Doc. 2992-PS.
17. See Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*. The document Graebe obtained from Beck stated: "To the Jung company, Rowno. The Jewish workers at your firm are not subject to the Aktion. You have until Wednesday, July 15, 1942, to move them to the new worksite."
18. See Baratz and Oelschlaegel, *Flucht vor dem Schicksal*; Barac, *Escape from Destiny*; Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by.*

ROŻYSZCZE

Pre-1939: Rożyszcze, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rozhishche, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Roshischtsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rozhyshche, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Rożyszcze is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) north-northwest of Łuck and 51 kilometers (32 miles) southeast of Kowel.

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According to the 1921 census, 2,686 Jews were residing in Rożyszcze.

Following the German invasion of Poland in mid-September 1939, a few local Communists organized a militia to welcome the expected arrival of the Red Army. However, they clashed first with a retreating Polish force before the Red Army entered the town. The Jewish population of the town was increased by the arrival of hundreds of refugees from central Poland, but the Soviets also deported some Jews to Siberia, which paradoxically saved their lives. The Soviet authorities also expropriated land around Rożyszcze, establishing kolkhozy for agricultural production.[1] In mid-1941, there were in excess of 3,000 Jews living in the town.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Rożyszcze on June 25, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a civil administration. Rożyszcze was a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Łuck was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[2]

A Ukrainian local authority and a local police force were formed in Rożyszcze. The local police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (established after September 1941), which consisted of several German Gendarmes.

As soon as the Germans occupied the town, they killed several Jews, and Ukrainian nationalistic antisemites also started victimizing Jews through robbery, extortion, and cruelty.[3] Within a few days, the temporary German military authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force. During July 1941, there followed a series of roundups of Jews, supposedly for work assignments outside the town. First a group of about 80 of the wealthiest and most influential Jews were escorted out of town and were never heard of again. A few days later, the Germans and local police rounded up several hundred Jewish men, who also did not return. In a further roundup, the Germans took away even old people, women, and children, as all the men had gone into hiding. These people were all murdered and buried in a pit outside town.[4] These Aktions were probably conducted by a squad of the Security Police and SD, which was based in Łuck, assisted by the local Ukrainian police. Another Aktion was carried out in Rożyszcze in October 1941, when 603 people were shot (600 men and 3 women).[5]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Rożyszcze. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols, and they were forced to surrender horses, cows, bicycles, and radios. They were compelled to perform work, organized by the Jewish Council, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused. According to German regulations issued by the new civil administration in September 1941, Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits without special permission.

In the fall of 1941 (according to another source, on February 15, 1942), a ghetto was established in Rożyszcze. The Jews were given only two hours to move into the ghetto, taking only what they could carry with them. As the Jews entered the ghetto in the northern section of town, "Oyfn Barg" (On the Hill), most were severely beaten.[6] The ghetto, consisting of 60 one-story houses, had to accommodate not only the local Jews but also Jews brought in from surrounding villages (such as Kopaczowka Nowa and Wołnianka).[7] This influx resulted in considerable overcrowding in the ghetto's small confines, with several families sharing a single room. Altogether, there were about 4,000 Jews in the ghetto, which was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.

The food allocation in the ghetto was only 50 grams (less than 2 ounces) of bread per person per day. Those assigned to work outside the ghetto were sometimes able to smuggle in extra food, which they obtained by bartering. One enterprising group of Jews even risked going to the Kowel ghetto to obtain rare items such as needles and thread, which were much sought after by the local peasants. However, Jews caught smuggling were severely beaten by the Ukrainian police.[8]

Among the tasks performed by Jews in the ghetto were sweeping the streets around the town, cooking for the Germans, and working in the wool factory. The German authorities also demanded "contributions" from the Jews in the form of money or leather goods. In the summer of 1942, the Jewish Council was arrested to ensure the collection of an additional tribute. Even though the "contribution" was delivered on August 10, 1942, most members of the Jewish Council were shot anyway, including Spector, Bruner, Klimbord, and Kleisman.[9]

The ghetto was liquidated about 10 days later, on or around August 22, 1942,[10] when a unit of the Security Police and SD from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, shot most of the Jews: in excess of 3,000 people. The Jews were transported from the ghetto to the killing site in trucks, with logistical support provided by the Luzk Gebietskommissar. Some Jews also were collected from surrounding kolkhozy or work camps. Local workers dug the grave in advance in a sandpit 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town.[11] As the Jews received some warning of the impending Aktion, several hundred of them were able to hide or escape to the forest. Most of these Jews who evaded the initial roundup were captured by the Ukrainian police and subsequently shot at the Jewish cemetery.[12] A few dozen Jews managed to survive in the forests, receiving food and shelter from Polish farmers or Seventh-Day Adventists living in the vicinity.

After the liberation of Rożyszcze by the Red Army, a group of Jews returned and lived together in one house. Some of them tried to harass those who had assisted the Germans until the Soviet authorities started putting the collaborators on trial. However, a local Ukrainian murdered one Jewish woman when she tried to retrieve her family's possessions.[13] Within a few years after the war, there were no Jews living in Rożyszcze.

SOURCES The following published sources include sections on the ghetto in Rożyszcze: Gershon Zik, ed., *Roz'isbts'*

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'ayarati/Mayn shtetl Rozshishtsh (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Roz'ishts' be-Yisrael veha-irgunim be-Artsot ha-berit, Kanadah, Brazil, ve-Argentinah, 1976); and "Rozyszcze," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 200–202.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Rożyszcze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2172 and 2435); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-11); NARA (N-Doc., PS-302); and YVA (e.g., testimony of Eva Tuzhinska Trauenstein).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 10–30 [English section].
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 31–32; AŻIH, 301/2435, testimony of Zofja Finkelsztayn.
4. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 31–32, 38.
5. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66. According to another account, the Aktion took place in December 1941 when the Germans in 10 vehicles rounded up and shot some 600 Jews in the villages of the Rayon; see GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 68–69. The shootings were probably carried out by the 2nd Company of the 320th Police Battalion, which was based in Łuck from early September 1941 until February 1942. The commander of the company was Hauptmann der Polizei Hans Wiemer.
6. Berl Schneider, "The Rozhishch Ghetto," in Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, p. 33, dates the formation of the ghetto in about November 1941 ("four months after the German conquest"); AŻIH, 301/2435, testimony of Zofja Finkelsztayn, gives the date of February 15, 1942. The discrepancy could perhaps be explained by a time lapse between the establishment of the ghetto and its enclosure with barbed wire.
7. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 129; according to the 1921 census, there were 274 Jews residing in Kopaczówka Nowa and 266 in Wołnianka (Mała and Wielka).
8. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 33–34, 37.
9. Ibid., pp. 33, 38.
10. This date for the massacre of the Jews can be found on the monument at the site of the mass grave. The yizkor book also gives the dates of August 20 and August 23, 1942, in separate accounts; see Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 15, 39.
11. DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942; in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for the Rozhishche raion, mention is made of 4,600 Jews being shot (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66), but this figure appears to be too high. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, p. 42, mentions trucks collecting Jews who had been working in the surrounding villages.
12. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66.
13. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, p. 44.

SARNY

Pre-1939: Sarny, city and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: center, Rayon and Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Sarny is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) north-northeast of Równe. The Jewish population numbered 2,808 people in 1921 (47 percent of the total population); 3,414 (45 percent) in 1931; and 4,950 (45 percent) in 1937.

After the start of World War II in 1939, many Jewish refugees from central and western Poland arrived in Sarny. Under Soviet occupation from September 21, 1939, Jewish communal property was confiscated and Jewish institutions were disbanded. More than 1,000 of the refugees from western and central Poland, together with a few local Jews accused of "crimes against the state," were transported to the Soviet interior. In June 1941, there were about 6,000 Jews living in the city.[1]

German armed forces occupied Sarny on July 5, 1941. Following the departure of the Soviets, local Ukrainians and Poles went on a killing spree for three days, murdering a number of Jews. In July and August 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. In September 1941, a German civil administration was established. Sarny became the administrative center of Gebiet Sarny, which also included Rayons Klesow, Wladimirez, Dombrowiza, Rafalowka, and Rokitno, as well as Rayon Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala was appointed Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Albert Schuhmacher was made the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942.[2]

A view of Ul. Handlowa (Commerce Street) in Sarny during the 1920s.
USHMM WS #08011, COURTESY OF BRENDA SZYR SENDERS

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In the city of Sarny itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, along with an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Germans appointed a lawyer named Mariniuk as city mayor, and a man named Kostermann served as the labor supervisor. From the beginning of September 1941 to March 1942, the 1st Company of German Police Battalion 320 was stationed in Sarny. It was commanded by Hauptmann der Polizei Alfred Beber.

Almost immediately upon their arrival, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to implement their demands. A regime of forced labor was imposed on the Jews. Men were put to work clearing the destruction at the train depot and repairing the rail lines, which had been blown up by the retreating Soviet army. Women were forced to clean toilets with their bare hands. The daily quota of forced laborers organized by the Judenrat was 300 males and 100 females. The Judenrat was also ordered to deliver 70 suits, 100 pairs of boots, and 50 sets of silverware for the officers' club, as well as an unspecified number of gold watches, chains, diamonds, and pearls.

Initially Jews were ordered to wear blue-and-white armbands with an identifying Star of David. On October 1, 1941, the armbands were replaced with a yellow circular patch on the front and back of their clothes. Jews also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. In addition, they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the city and from buying goods from non-Jews. A "contribution" of several rubles per head also was demanded from the community. Forced laborers received no monetary payment, only about 80 grams (less than 3 ounces) of bread per day. Hunger set in as the community was deprived of most basic necessities.

As additional Germans arrived, their demands increased. They required new quarters with fine furnishings. On October 28, 1941, the German Wirtschaftskommando (Economic Office) in Sarny issued an order to the Jews, giving them until October 31 to hand over all of their livestock: horned cattle, sheep, pigs, geese, and ducks. The livestock that the Ukrainians had purchased from Jews also had to be turned over. Jews were subject to a curfew from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The synagogues were seized and turned into stables and warehouses. In December, all fur coats had to be surrendered for the use of German soldiers at the front, and in 1942 the German authorities demanded 36 kilograms (79 pounds) of gold from the Jewish population.[3]

The Judenrat served as the means of communication between the occupying authorities and the Jewish population, passing on and implementing German orders and regulations concerning the Jews. A Jewish police force, headed by Yona Margulies and small in size, was organized to assist the Judenrat in its tasks.

Around Passover, on April 2–4, 1942, a ghetto was created in Sarny. It existed for four and a half months. The area was surrounded by barbed wire, and Ukrainian guards were stationed at intervals of 100 meters (328 feet).[4] Any Jew who crossed over the fence was shot on the spot. In April 1942, Jews were forcibly resettled into the ghetto from the outlying villages of Niemowicze, Czudel, Głuszyca, Horodec, Antonówka, Bielatycze, Lubikowicze, Cepcewicze, Strzelsk, and Luchcze.[5] About 8 to 10 people had to live in a single room, and sanitary conditions were unspeakable. Sickness went untreated in the absence of medical help and drugs. A number of Gypsies—around 200 to 300 people—also were resettled into the ghetto.[6] According to historian Yehuda Bauer, there was also a separate ghetto for craftsmen and their families, which was liquidated at the same time as the main ghetto.

On August 25, 1942, the Judenrat was summoned to receive a demand for a third "assessment" of 7 gold rubles per person. Utterly lacking such resources, people had to surrender the gold in their teeth to fulfill the quota. Worthy of note is the general respect accorded to members of the Judenrat in recognition of the impossible circumstances in which they found themselves. On that day, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, and no one was sent out to perform forced labor.[7]

Yitzhak Geller organized a few men into a resistance group, named for Samson's final cry: "Let my soul perish with the Philistines!" Among the members were Portnoy, Simcha Monk, and Moshe Pikmann. With a few rifles, pistols, and grenades stolen from the Ukrainians, they planned to blow up the power station, burn the houses in the ghetto, and create confusion so that people could run for their lives. But Neumann, the secretary of the Judenrat, threatened them with arrest and prevented them from taking any action.[8]

On the night of August 25–26, 1942, several people committed suicide. The next day, starting at 5:00 A.M., additional Jews from a number of surrounding towns in the Gebiet were brought to Sarny and held captive in a staging area next to the regional administrative center. There were 2,800 Jews from Dąbrowica, around 600 from Rokitno, 580 from Klesów, 1,000 from Bereżnica, and 150 from Tomaszgorod. The addition of these arrivals (in excess of 5,000 people) brought the total Jewish population assembled in Sarny to around 14,000.[9]

The slaughter began on August 27, 1942, at 2:00 P.M. The Jews from Rokitno were ordered to deliver the first 500 people to four pits that had been dug outside the town; then came the turn of the Jews from Klesów. At this point, 2 Jews with wire clippers and an axe cut a hole in the barbed-wire fence. Three buildings of the administrative center were set on fire.[10] As people fled through the opening in the fence, they were fired on with machine guns and hand grenades. Survivors estimate that some 2,500 people were shot in the rush to the fence. Another 1,000 perished in the burning buildings. Several hundred managed to escape. The rest, about 13,000 in total, were murdered and thrown into the pits. Among the victims were about 100 Gypsies, who died protesting that they were not Jews. The local people rushed to loot whatever Jewish property was left.[11]

The mass shootings were organized by a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by German and Ukrainian police.[12] The forces that participated in the shootings included part of German Police Battalion 323, subordinated to Security Division 68. The unit of this battalion, commanded by Unterführer Willi Meyer, killed around 1,400

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people with machine guns in the course of two days. Meyer personally shot around 200 of them.[13]

Of those Jews who managed to escape from the ghetto before and during the Aktion, many were captured and killed by the Ukrainian and German police thereafter, but some managed to organize a partisan detachment within Rayon Sarny in October 1942. This unit was based mainly in and around the village of Karasin.[14] Other escapees went into hiding if they could find sympathetic local peasants. One group of survivors mentions the courage of the "Shtundists" (Baptists), who were especially favorable towards Jews seeking help. Others found refuge with Polish villagers who feared attacks from Ukrainian nationalist partisans.[15] At the end of the war, a few survivors returned to Sarny to provide a decent burial for the victims of the massacre and to erect a memorial stone in their memory.

SOURCES Articles about the fate of the Jewish population of Sarny during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yosef Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Sarni veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1961); Yehuda Bauer, "Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia)," in Steven Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); and "Sarny," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 140–143.

Documents and testimonies regarding the persecution and destruction of the Sarny Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/707, 1237); BA-BL; BA-L; DARO; FVA (HVT-1457, 2484, and 2819); GARF (7021-71-70); USHMM (RG-06.025*02); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-71-70, p. 11; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, pp. 266–268.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. DARO, R293-2-2a, p. 49; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, pp. 272–274. Also see statement by witness Josef Wolf on December 19, 1945, USHMM, RG-06.025*02 Kiev, 1945–1946 (N-18762, vol. 10).
4. GARF, 7021-71-70, p. 15; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, p. 274.
5. In 1921, there were 774 Jews residing in these villages and therefore probably about 1,000 Jews in 1941.
6. GARF, 7021-71-70, pp. 24, 46.
7. Ibid., p. 15; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, p. 275.
8. Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, pp. 276, 318.
9. See also BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), pp. 1–8.
10. Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, pp. 276–277.
11. Ibid., p. 278.
12. GARF, 7021-71-70, pp. 46 and reverse side.
13. Willi Meyer's interrogations on October 3, 1945; on December 29, 1945; and on January 9, 1946: USHMM, RG-06.025*02 Kiev, 1945–1946 (N-18762, vol. 10).
14. Ibid., statement by witness Josef Wolf on December 19, 1945.
15. See, for example, AŻIH, 301/1237, testimony of Gitla Szwarcblatt.

SERNIKI

Pre-1939: Serniki, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Wysozk, Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Sernyky, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Serniki lies in the southern sector of the Pripet marshes, just on the Ukrainian side of the border with Belarus, about 30 kilometers (19 miles) south of Pińsk. According to the 1921 census, the Jewish population was 987.

Thanks to its remote location, Serniki was largely ignored by the advancing German forces in July 1941. According to witness reports, local Ukrainians seized power on the retreat of Soviet forces and took part in the looting and murder of Jews in Serniki at the end of July 1941.[1] In late July 1941, the 3rd Squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment also began its murderous sweep through the Pripet marshes in the Ratno area, advancing via Kamień Koszyrski, Kucheckawola, Łachwa, Serniki, and Dawidgródek.[2] It probably passed through Serniki during the first week of August 1941. According to local witnesses, more than 100 Jewish men were arrested at the synagogue in early August 1941. They were then taken to the local schoolhouse, where they were ridiculed and humiliated for three days before being taken to the Jewish cemetery in Serniki to be shot by German-led forces.

Initially, the Germans did not have a permanent garrison in the village, but the Ukrainian police commanded by Ivan Polyukovich (known as Polivik) administered the village, and German officials visited periodically to check on things. It is not clear exactly when the ghetto was established, but Jews from the surrounding villages were forced to move into the ghetto, which definitely had been set up by April 1942 and was probably surrounded by barbed wire.[3] Jews in the ghetto were taken for forced labor, mostly felling trees in the surrounding forests. By the end of the summer, the remaining men looked like "skeletons," owing to the hard labor and insufficient food. The bulk of the ghetto's population consisted of women, children, and the elderly.

The Jews of Serniki had some intimation of the impending Aktion in the fall of 1942, as most of the other surrounding ghettos had already been liquidated. Among the warning signs was the fact that Jews no longer were sent to work outside the ghetto, and the owners of items delivered to Jewish craftsmen for repair collected them, regardless of whether the work was finished. By early September, there also were rumors that pits were being prepared nearby. Then local policemen,

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reinforced by the German Gendarmerie, surrounded the ghetto at night.[4]

The liquidation of the ghetto in Serniki took place in September 1942, when about 850 Jews were murdered. Local villagers had dug the pits in the forest some 3 or 4 kilometers (1.9 to 2.5 miles) outside Serniki beforehand. The exact units responsible cannot be ascertained from German sources. On the basis of Jewish eyewitness statements, however, it is possible to conclude that between September 9 and 29, 1942, the Serniki ghetto was liquidated on the instructions of the SD in either Stolin or Lubieszów, with the support of the Gendarmerie, local militia units, and other local helpers.[5] On the day the ghetto was liquidated, a number of Germans arrived in Serniki by truck. According to one eyewitness, who also filled in the pit, some 50 Germans and policemen escorted the Jews to the pit, with the Germans at the head and the rear of the column, while Ukrainian police guarded the flanks.[6] As the column made its way to the pit, two Jewish boys broke away from the column, fled down towards a nearby river, and were shot by the armed escorts as they ran.[7]

The size of the ghetto did not warrant calling in elements of Polizei Reiterabteilung II or other police battalions in the area. However, since about one quarter of the ghetto inhabitants managed to escape, the German forces probably regretted not arranging for more reinforcements. According to one account, the Gestapo chief made a speech before the mass shooting, chastising the assembled Ukrainian police and local peasants (who had come in search of loot) for failing to guard the ghetto effectively. After this speech, the Stoliner Hasidic rabbi, Meir Viener, led the condemned Jews in a confessional (*vidui*) prayer, which many small children repeated after him word for word.[8]

The head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), Shlomo Turkenitz, assisted the flight of many ghetto inhabitants on the eve of the liquidation, although he remained behind for family reasons. About 272 people, more than half of them men between the ages of 8 and 40, managed to escape and reach the forests. The close proximity of dense forests to the ghetto, which bordered on the Stubło River, helped many Jews to escape. Of the escapees, 102 perished in the forests: between 10 and 12 died fighting as partisans; and the rest succumbed to hunger, cold, and illness or were killed by police and other local inhabitants.[9]

Forensic investigations conducted by the Australian Special Investigations Unit revealed that the victims were forced down a ramp into the pit. Some were forced to the left and others to the right. The majority were shot in the head, but some were clubbed to death. The bodies were aligned face-down, parallel, and in rows. At one end, the bodies were disorganized, suggesting that there had been some panic. The bodies that lay in the middle tended to have fewer bullets to the head. Clothing was found scattered throughout the grave, which suggested that after the executions the grave had been picked over. The investigations revealed that the perpetrators used German ammunition manufactured in the years 1939 to 1941.[10]

After the Aktion, the Jews hiding in the forest continued to be hunted down by local police and other available forces loyal to the Germans, including local foresters receiving German pay. For example, shortly after the massacre in Serniki, a neighbor observed a local forester escorting a group of Jews at gunpoint: "There were 13 people. I recognized the wife of a former [Jewish] resident of Serniki and his seven daughters, who were 10 to 20 years old. All of them lived in Serniki. The forester herded his victims up two high hills. I heard submachine gun fire shortly after. I was terrified. He returned alone."[11]

SOURCES Information about the Serniki ghetto and its destruction can be found in the following publications: Meylekh Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partisan* (Buenos Aires, 1958), pp. 9–19; and D. Bevan, *A Case to Answer: The Story of Australia's First European War Crimes Prosecution* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 1994).

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Serniki can be found in the following archives: ANA; AŻIH; BA-L; DAVO; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-3/1138; M-1/E/457, 550, and 2306).

Stephen Pallavicini and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 66.
2. BA-L, ZStL, 2 Ks 11/63, Magill Trial, Hans Schmidt testimony, March 12, 1964, p. 62.
3. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 366, dates the establishment of the ghetto in January 1942.
4. Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partisan*, pp. 9–19.
5. Ibid., p. 18, dates the mass shooting on September 9, 1942 (three days before Rosh Hashanah). Other sources give the date of September 29, 1942.
6. ANA, SIU investigation into the case of Ivan Polyukovich (Ivanechko), witness statement of Stepan Sidorevich Polyukovich. Ivan Polyukovich was acquitted by a court in Adelaide in 1993 on two counts of murder under the Australian War Crimes Act.
7. Witness testimony regarding this incident is quoted in Mark Aarons, *War Criminals Welcome: Australia, a Sanctuary for Fugitive War Criminals since 1945* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2001), p. 480.
8. Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partisan*, p. 19.
9. Ibid., pp. 17, 176; YVA, O-3/1138, testimony of D. Saltzman (Gavish), gives the figure of 300 fugitives; see also M. Kahanovich, *Milhemet ha-Partisanim ha-Yehudim be-Mizrah Eiropah* (Tel Aviv, 1954), p. 93.
10. ANA, SIU investigation into the case of Ivan Polyukovich. Excavations by the SIU in 1990 determined that the pit in which the Jews were murdered was some 40 meters (131 feet) long and 5 meters (16 feet) wide. It was about 2 meters (6.6 feet) deep. The bodies in the pit were stacked like wood.
11. ANA, SIU, Soviet allegation in the Australian case of Ivan Polyukovich.

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SHEPETOVKA

Pre-1941: Shepetovka, city and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schepetowka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Shepetivka, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Shepetovka is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) east-southeast of Równe. According to the 1939 census, 4,844 Jews (19.5 percent of the total population) were living in the city. Another 1,621 Jews lived in what was at the time the Shepetovka raion. This included 1,311 Jews in the village of Sudilkov.

Shepetovka was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on July 5, 1941. In the two weeks following the German invasion on June 22, probably about 1,500 Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 3,200 Jews remained in Shepetovka at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the city. The Ortskommandantur formed a local authority and established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Shepetovka became the administrative center of Gebiet Schepetowka, which included the neighboring Rayons of Polonnoje, Slawuta, and Beresdow, as well as Rayon Schepetowka. Regierungsassessor Worbs was appointed as the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant Höse became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1]

A German Gendarmerie post was established in the city in the fall of 1941, when it assumed control over the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft. The first head of the Ukrainian police was Stanislav Kashperuk. At the end of 1941, he was relieved of his duties because his wife was Jewish. (In May 1942, Kashperuk was shot along with his wife, two children, and mother-in-law.) The deputy head of the police was an ethnic German, Eduard Miller, who replaced Kashperuk as the head of the police. In 1942, a Ukrainian Criminal Police (Kripo) unit was also set up, and it was headed by an ethnic German named Konstantin Neyman. Among the Ukrainian police, a man named Boleslav Kovalevskii personally killed dozens of Jews and earned a reputation for his cruelty.

Cleansing Aktions against the Jewish population in Gebiet Schepetowka, including the city of Shepetovka, were carried out by the Security Police department (Sipo Aussendienststelle) based in Starokonstantinov. The department was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police also played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Shepetovka. During the summer, Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings bearing the Star of David, later a yellow circle. They had to perform heavy physical labor, frequently without pay, and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the city. Survivors mention that young girls were threatened and abused by the Ukrainian police. Jews also had to surrender their valuables and pay onerous "contributions."

On July 28, 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the city. The 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion rounded up more than 800 Jews on the pretext of forced labor and then shot them.[2] On August 23, the same battalion shot 61 Jews in Shepetovka and Korzec.[3] On September 1, another 45 Jews were shot in Shepetovka.[4]

On December 20, 1941, a ghetto was created in the city, and three streets of one-story houses were cordoned off for this purpose. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and closely guarded by the Ukrainian police. In January 1942, more than 600 Jews were brought into the ghetto on foot from Sudilkov[5] and dozens more from other nearby villages. The living conditions in the ghetto were atrocious—five to six families (35 to 45 people) lived in each house, and people had to sleep on the floor. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto, and some of those who were caught outside illegally were shot. Each morning, a guard detachment manned by the Ukrainian police would arrive, and Jews would be escorted away in groups to be exploited for different kinds of labor. The growing of food in the ghetto was forbidden, as was the exchange of personal belongings for products—although this continued to some extent illegally. The main sources of nourishment were potato peelings and other leftovers. The ghetto population suffered from typhus and other diseases. The infirm were not quarantined from the rest of the population, and the German authorities did not provide any medicine to treat serious illnesses. Instead, they undertook regular searches and shot those who were sick.[6]

The doctor, O. Stetsiuk, who on the orders of the city administration surveyed the ghetto, could only conclude that sick people should not be sent out to work, to ensure that the infectious diseases were not spread outside the ghetto. Officially, the provision of help to the infirm inside the ghetto was forbidden. Nevertheless, she wrote prescriptions for the Jews in the ghetto under Ukrainian surnames, collected the medicine from the pharmacy, and distributed it inside the ghetto, providing considerable help to the Jews. The same kind of help was given by N. Ivanets, the doctor's assistant.

On June 25, 1942,[7] under the supervision of the Gebietskommissar, the first large-scale Aktion was carried out against the ghetto in which probably around 2,500 people were shot. After this operation, only artisans and their families (about 500 people) remained in the ghetto. They were also shot on September 6 and September 10, 1942.[8] Following the last Aktion, Ukrainian police continued to search for Jews hidden in the ghetto and the surrounding area for days afterwards. Genia Bryla, one of the few survivors of the ghetto, managed to escape from her hiding place in the ghetto at night, after creating a hole in the barbed wire with her bare hands.[9]

In total, there were around 4,000 Jews killed in 1941–1942 in Shepetovka, although Soviet sources generally place the number of victims somewhat higher.[10]

On October 21, 1944, a Soviet tribunal sentenced Neyman to death. In 1963, Kovalevskii was sentenced to death and shot.

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SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jewish population of Shepetovka can be found in the publication of Deko O. Kedoishim, *Povist'-khronika Shepetivs'koho hetto* (Kiev, 1995).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Shepetovka can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-818); DASBU-Kh (No. 25883); NARA (NO-4818); VHF (# 3403, 5914, 32022, 34306); and YVA (M-33/104, M-52/182, M-53/164, M-53/105).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. See the indictment on February 2, 1970, in the case of Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer (Sta. Regensburg). The indictment was published in part in A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 290–291. See also Kedoishim, *Povist'-khronika Shepetivs'koho hetto*, p. 32.
3. Telegram from the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln (no. 154), August 24, 1941, VHAP, file "Kommando-Stab Reichsführer-SS." The telegram is published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 242.
4. Telegram from the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln (no. 242), September 2, 1941, VHAP, "Kommando-Stab Reichsführer-SS." The telegram is published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 248–249.
5. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 57; VHF, # 5914, testimony of Anna Kalika, # 34306, testimony of Genia Bryla.
6. DAKhO, 863-2-44, p. 14; YVA, M-33/104, M-52/182, M-53/164, M-53/105; VHF, # 3403, testimony of Maria Tsimberg.
7. Kedoishim, *Povist'-khronika Shepetivs'koho hetto*, pp. 85–86.
8. Ibid., p. 103.
9. VHF, # 34306.
10. According to the ChGK materials in GARF, 7021-64-818, pp. 9 and 14, around 9,000 Jews were killed in Shepetovka. This would have meant that there were 6,000 Jews in the ghetto and another 2,000 who were brought in from Sudilkov. Based on pre-war and postwar population data, this figure is probably too high.

SIENKIEWICZÓWKA

Pre-1939: Sienkiewiczówka (Yiddish: Senkevitshivka), village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Senkevichevka, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Senkewytschiwka, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Senkevychivka, Horokhiv raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Sienkiewiczówka is located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) southwest of Łuck. After World War I, the Jewish population was 120 out of a total of 500 inhabitants. On the eve of World War II, there were about 60 Jewish families living in the village.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Sienkiewiczówka on June 26, 1941. In July and August 1941, the village was controlled by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Sienkiewiczówka became a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Lutzk was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[1]

In Sienkiewiczówka, the Germans set up a local Ukrainian administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Ukrainian police was subordinated to the local Gendarmerie post that consisted of a few German Gendarmes.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a number of antisemitic measures in Sienkiewiczówka. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) of five people was created, through which the Germans passed on instructions and regulations to the Jewish population. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings in the image of the Star of David and, after September 1941, in the form of a yellow patch. They were ordered to hand over all hard currency and items of value. Jews had to perform forced labor, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the village.

According to Jewish survivor Sonia Resnick-Tetelbaum, in February 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Sienkiewiczówka. All the Jews were collected together on a few streets, and additional Jews from the surrounding villages were also resettled there. About 500 people lived in the ghetto altogether. There was considerable overcrowding in the ghetto, with entire families having to share one room. The ghetto was subjected to blackout restrictions at night, and Jews were forbidden to trade with non-Jews. Despite these restrictions that threatened the death penalty, Czech farmers living nearby would bring the Jews food.[2] Information gathered by Rafael Noachowicz from local non-Jewish inhabitants indicates that the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Twice a week the peasants were allowed to enter the ghetto to sell bread or flour to the Jews, but otherwise all contacts were forbidden. Jews were rationed to 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per person. Nonetheless, Jewish craftsmen manufactured items to trade with the local farmers illegally.[3]

On or around October 5, 1942, a unit of the Security Police and SD, assisted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police, surrounded the ghetto. The Jews from the ghetto were rounded up, loaded onto trucks, and taken to a site at a railway crossing near the railway station, where two large trenches had been prepared. Here the Jews were made to undress and then forced to lie down flat in the trenches in groups of 4. Then a German dressed in an apron stepped on top of the Jews and shot them in the back of the head. In the very first truck were women carrying children in their arms. Before going into the trench the names of all the Jews were recorded. Thus, the Germans would know how many Jews were miss-

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ing so that they could search for them. In between groups the German marksman would take swigs to drink before reentering the trench.[4] Soviet sources indicate that more than 800 Jews were shot in the Senkevichevka raion, but this figure may be too high.[5]

In 1942, there were 11 Jews killed in the village of Uhrynów, 6 Jews killed in the village of Hubin, and 6 Jews killed in the village of Dębowa Korczma.[6]

SOURCES Some brief information about the Jewish community of Sienkiewiczówka can be found in the following publications: "Sienkiewiczówka," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 148–149; and V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003), p. 24.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sienkiewiczówka can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2814); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-13); VHF (# 9702); YIU (no. 458); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 9702, testimony of Sonia Resnick-Tetelbaum (born 1924), 1995.
3. AŻIH, 301/2814, information gathered from local non-Jews by Rafael Noachowicz.
4. Ibid.; YIU, Témoignage no. 458.
5. P.T. Tron'ko et al., *Istoriia mist i sil URSR*, *Volyns'ka oblast'*, (Kiev, 1970), 26:201. This source gives the number of 800 victims. A memorial stone placed at the site in 1990 is inscribed with the number of 1,293 Jewish victims, but this figure is considerably too high; see Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'*, p. 24.
6. GARF, 7021-55-13.

SLAVUTA

Pre-1941: Slavuta, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Slawuta, Rayon center, Gebiet Schepetowka, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Slavuta, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Slavuta is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) northwest of Shepetovka. According to the census, 5,102 Jews lived in Slavuta in January 1939, and 1,410 additional Jews resided in the Slavuta raion (primarily in the village of Annopol'). Thus, there was a total of 6,512 Jews in the raion. Additionally, in 1939, 2,106 other Jews resided in the Berezdov raion (primarily in the villages of Berezdov, Krasnostav, and Kilikiev), which currently belongs to the Slavuta raion. Many of the Jews of this raion were massacred together with the Jews of Slavuta.

In 1939, then, more than 8,600 Jews lived in Slavuta and the surrounding area. After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, several hundred Jewish men were drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army, and several hundred more Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. As German forces occupied the Slavuta area only two weeks after the start of the war, the majority of Jews were unable to escape. Approximately 8,000 Jews remained in Slavuta at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German army occupied Slavuta in early July 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was governed by a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen), which formed a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local citizens. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Slavuta became a Rayon center in Gebiet Schepetowka. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Worbs, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Richard Höse.[1] The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were under his command, including the Gendarmerie posts in Slavuta and Berezdov. In the summer of 1942, Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Mohngach replaced Höse.

Gebiet Schepetowka was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SA-Obergruppenführer Heinrich Schöne served as the Generalkommissar and the immediate superior of Worbs. Höse was subordinated to the Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (KdG) in the region, Major der Gendarmerie Rohse.

On July 28–30, 1941, the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade swept through Rayon Slawuta. This unit shot several dozen Jews altogether in various villages of the Rayon, ostensibly for supporting the Bolshevik system.

From August 15 until September 3, 1941, the 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion was located in Slavuta; the company commander was Oberleutnant der Polizei and SS-Obersturmführer Engelbert Kreuzer.[2] This company conducted several Aktions in Slavuta: on August 18, they shot 322 Jews; on August 29, they shot 65 Jews; and on August 30, they shot 911 Jews—making a total of 1,298 Jewish victims.[3]

In August 1941, shootings of Jews, conducted primarily by the 45th Reserve Police Battalion (commanded by Major der Polizei and SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Besser), also took place in Berezdov (152 people),[4] in Annopol' (over 100 people),[5] and in Kilikiev (several dozen people).[6] In Krasnostav (Rayon Beresdow), almost all of the Jews were murdered (approximately 800 people).[7] Altogether, about 2,500 Jews were killed in Slavuta and the surrounding area in the summer of 1941.

On March 1, 1942, a ghetto was established in Slavuta; it was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian policemen. Besides Jews resident in the town, Jews from the Slawuta and Beresdow Rayons were also brought into the ghetto. For example, on March 2, 1942, Jews from Annopol' (Rayon Slawuta) were driven into the ghetto, while the elderly and handicapped were selected out and shot immediately.[8] On March 4, 1942, the remaining 175 Jews of Krasnostav were brought to the Slavuta ghetto via Berezdov.[9] Jews from

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Kilikiev were not transferred to Slavuta, and approximately 150 of them were shot near the village in early 1942.[10]

Some 500 Jews from the Slavuta ghetto were sent to work in Berezdov and Pechivody in March 1942. Of this number, several dozen people died of hunger and illness or were shot for being unable to work. The remaining Jews were returned to the Slavuta ghetto in late June 1942, and those who were too emaciated to walk back were shot on the way. For example, 7 Jews were killed near the village of Zhukov.[11]

The Slavuta ghetto was liquidated on June 25, 1942. On this day, a squad of Security Police and SD men, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot the majority of the Jews in a deep hollow near the water tower on the edge of town; approximately 300 children were drowned in a well in the ghetto.[12] On June 25, 1942, a total of about 5,000 Jews were killed. Only Jewish craftsmen and their families (several hundred people) were temporarily spared; they were shot in September 1942.

On August 5, 1971, the regional court in Regensburg (Germany) sentenced the former commander of the 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, Kreuzer, to seven years' imprisonment. The court refrained from punishing the former commander of the 45th Police Battalion, Besser, taking into consideration his advanced age (in 1971, Besser was 79 years old) and poor health.

SOURCES The author published several documents regarding the annihilation of Slavuta Jews in August of 1941; see A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 239, 246, 247, 291.

Documents and the testimonies regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Slavuta can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-64-794 and 814); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. For extracts of the indictment issued on February 2, 1970, by the Sta. Regensburg against the defendants Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer, see Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 290.
3. Telegrams nos. 113 and 208 sent by HSSPF Russland Süd on August 19, 1941, and August 30, 1941, and radiogram no. 56 of August 31, 1941, published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 239, 246–247.
4. GARF, 7021-64-794, p. 84. The shooting took place on August 10, 1941.
5. See the testimony of Sofia Iosifovna Malinskaia (September 1994), published in D. Hoshkis, ed., *Nezahoena rana* (Slavuta, Netyshin, and Iziaslav, 1996), pp. 48–50.
6. Ibid., p. 81.
7. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty. Vypusk 13.* (Moscow, 1945), p. 35. At this place, 47 Jewish men were shot on August 7 and about 700 Jews on August 28–29, 1941.
8. See the testimony of Malinskaia (September 1994). In Annopol', by November 1941, the Jews from the surrounding villages (Dolzhki, Klepachi, Velikii Sknit, Golovli) had been concentrated and resettled on one street there together with the local Jews.
9. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, p. 35.
10. Hoshkis, *Nezahoena rana*, pp. 81–82.
11. See the testimony of Malinskaia (September 1994).
12. Hoshkis, *Nezahoena rana*, pp. 6, 50.

SMOTRICH

Pre-1941: Smotrich, town (PGT) and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Smotritsch, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Smotrych, Dunaivtsi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Smotrich is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) north of Kamenets-Podolskii. In 1939, the Jewish population of Smotrich was 1,075, 18.5 percent of the total. In addition, there were another 1,227 Jews living in the other villages and settlements of the Smotrich raion. At this time 1,139 Jews were living in nearby Chemerovtsy, and another 1,204 Jews in the rest of the Chemerovtsy raion.

German forces occupied Smotrich on July 8, 1941. In the first two and a half weeks after the start of the invasion on June 22, a number of Jews were able to flee or were evacuated to the east. During the first days of the occupation, German security forces killed 40 Jews. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village; it appointed a local authority and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Smotrich became the center of Rayon Smotritsch in Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

At some time before June 1942, probably in the fall of 1941, the German authorities established a separate Jewish residential area (an open ghetto) in Smotrich. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, the area was not separated by a fence, but its borders were marked and the Jews were prohibited from crossing them.[1]

Under the German occupation, some of the Jews of Smotrich were forced to work at the train station close to Balin, loading and unloading cargo trains. In winter they were assigned the task of clearing snow, both at the train station and from the highways. Other assignments included cleaning the horse stables belonging to the Gendarmerie, cleaning the police station and also the Gendarmerie headquarters, cleaning shoes, and doing the laundry for the Germans. A specially assigned Jewish boy had to bring milk for the Germans from the village of Balin, which lay 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away

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from the Balin train station. None of the Jewish forced laborers received any payment for this work. The half-starved Jews assigned to work outside the ghetto had to walk up to 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) to their workplace and then work for the entire day. Those who were exhausted and could not keep up with the pace of work ordered by the guards were severely beaten. For a handful of dry peas, a rotten potato, or anything else that could at least partially still their hunger, the Jews ran the risk of being brutally beaten. If they were caught stealing food, their community also had to pay a fine for the "theft" either in cash or in food to compensate for the "losses incurred by the Germans." The Jewish community of Smotrich was once forced to pay a large fine in gold to put an end to the beatings of one of its members, so the Jews had to surrender their wedding rings, jewelry, and even pre-1917 gold coins.[2]

At some time in the summer of 1942, probably in late July or early August, the remaining Jews in the Smotrich ghetto, together with the Jews of Chemerovtsy, were transferred to Kamenets-Podolskii. Semjon Waisblei, a survivor from Chemerovtsy, spent one night in Smotrich on his way to Kamenets-Podolskii. It is possible there was also an open ghetto in Chemerovtsy, but Waisblei does not mention this. He states that on arrival in Kamenets-Podolskii, he was among about 20 or 30 Jews who were placed in the ghetto there, from which he escaped about three months later, when children of his age started to be killed.[3]

In Kamenets-Podolskii, most of the Jews brought there from Smotrich and Chemerovtsy were shot on August 11, 1942, by members of the Security Police and SD outpost (Sipo/SD Aussendienststelle Kamenez-Podolsk). According to the report sent to the Commanding Officer of the of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Równe, Dr. Pütz, 813 Jews were shot in total.[4]

It is estimated that during the entire period of the occupation, about 670 Jews from Smotrich were murdered.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Smotrich during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 290; 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), p. 1205.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Smotrich can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799); IPN; and USHMM.

Martin Dean
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116), Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for Kamenets-Podolskii.
2. Ibid.
3. Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 428.
4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 5–6, report of Sipo u. SD Aussenstelle Kamenez-Podolsk to KdS Rowno, August 13, 1942.

SNITKOV

Pre-1941: Snitkov, village, Murovannye Kurilovtsy raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1944: Snitkoff, Rayon Murowanny Kurilowzy, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Snitkyv, Murovani Kurylivtsi raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Snitkov is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,181 Jews living in Snitkov. The Jewish population decreased significantly in the 1930s, owing to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, there was no organized evacuation from Snitkov, but some Jews were able to escape to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 500 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

Snitkov was occupied on July 19, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village, and it appointed a village elder (starosta) and set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Rayon Murowanny Kurilowzy, in Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military authorities appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), consisting of 12 people, which was headed by a Jewish elder. Then one day a force of 25 Germans (or possibly Hungarian soldiers) arrived and conducted a roundup, taking a number of Jews as hostages. These Jews were only released once a large monetary "contribution" had been raised. This procedure was repeated shortly afterwards by the Germans, this time to induce the Jews to surrender all their gold and silver items and any other precious metals, such as copper.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, Jews in the village, as elsewhere in Ukraine, were subject to persecution through the implementation of a number of anti-Jewish policies. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks initially in the form of a white armband bearing a blue Star of David and later in the form of yellow patches on their chests and backs.[2] They were forced into heavy labor, mostly without pay, and forbidden to leave the village. Young Jewish women were rounded up and held in the police station overnight, where they were beaten and raped by both German and Ukrainian police.[3] Forced labor tasks performed by the Jews included cleaning the streets, carrying water and wood, washing horses, and performing odd jobs for the commandant.

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At some time in the fall of 1941 or the spring of 1942, a ghetto, or "Jewish residential district," was created in the village. All the Jews were concentrated on one side of Snitkov, away from the school building, where the Germans were based. The ghetto included the center of the village. It was guarded by Ukrainian police, but the Jews continued to barter their remaining possessions to obtain food from the local peasants. One survivor states that Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto for just one hour each day, which was when the bartering took place. Another, however, describes how food was passed through a wire fence, but this is not corroborated by other accounts.[4]

From early 1942 onward, a group of Jews from Snitkov was taken to the labor camp in Letichev, where they were put to work doing road construction and repair.[5] Other Jews arrived in the Snitkov ghetto, including dozens of Jewish families from Bessarabia, who moved in to live with the local Jews.

The ghetto was liquidated on August 20, 1942, when the Jewish population was resettled into the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Children and the elderly were transported by horse and cart, and people were instructed to take enough food for two days. On arrival they were forced into a few buildings, each holding 50 or 60 people.[6] The Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto was liquidated the next day, when the majority of the Jews, including those from Snitkov, were shot and killed.[7] On the evening before the shooting, about 300 able-bodied Jews were selected out, including some from Snitkov. These Jews were employed to clean up clothing from the Jews who had been shot and to work at a tobacco factory for another few weeks, before they too were shot. During this period some Ukrainian inhabitants of Snitkov came to Murovannye Kurilovtsy to see if any of their Jewish friends were among those who had survived. Everyone knew about the massacre of the Jews, and people reported that the earth on top of the graves continued to move for at least three days.[8]

A few Jews from the Snitkov ghetto survived by escaping across into the Romanian-occupied zone, some paying bribes to be transferred to the Kopaigorod ghetto from the remnant ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy.[9]

SOURCES The Snitkov ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 41; and 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), p. 1207 .

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Snitkov can be found in these archives: DAVINO (R 6023-4-28506); GARF (7021-54-1244); VHF (# 8775, 24924, 26687, 34310, 38930, 47296); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel and Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. VHF, # 34310, testimony of Dina Bril; # 8775, testimony of Dina Bortsukhovich; # 26687, testimony of Israel Kats.
2. Ibid., # 26687.
3. Ibid., # 8775; # 26687; # 38930, testimony of Iakov Ronshtein.
4. Ibid., # 26687; # 24924, testimony of Maiia Gol'tsman; # 34310.
5. Ibid., # 34310.
6. Ibid.
7. GARF, 7021-54-1244, p. 3. During this Aktion, 1,170 Jews were shot. This figure includes the Jews of Murovannye Kurilovtsy, Snitkov, and possibly some other nearby locations.
8. VHF, # 34310.
9. Ibid., # 47926, testimony of Riva Goikhman.

STARAIA SINIAVA

Pre-1941: Staraia Siniava, town (PGT), raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Staraja Sinjawa, Rayon center, Gebiet Starokonstantinow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Staraia Siniava, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Staraia Siniava is located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northeast of Khmel'nitskii. According to the 1939 census, 1,237 Jews were living in Staraia Siniava (27.3 percent of the total population). An additional 605 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Staraia Siniava raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 9, 1941. In the two and a half weeks since the start of the German invasion on June 22, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Staraia Siniava at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military administration ran the settlement. The military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) appointed a local authority and formed a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Staraia Siniava became a Rayon center in Gebiet Starokonstantinow. Regierungsrat Schröder became the first Gebietskommissar, and he was replaced later by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. In the spring of 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Otto Gent became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were subordinated to him, including the Gendarmerie post in Staraia Siniava.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Staraia Siniava. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks: at first, an armband with a Star of David; later, a yellow patch. They were compelled to perform heavy labor without pay. They were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the settlement. Finally, they were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the Ukrainian police.

On August 19, 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in Staraia Siniava and in the neighboring village of Piliava. The Stabskompanie (headquarters company) of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer

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Jeckeln, shot 511 Jews.[1] The mass shooting took place in a ditch near a sugar refinery. Jeckeln personally directed the shooting.

At the end of 1941 or the start of 1942, a ghetto was created in the town. It was liquidated on July 23, 1942. On that day, the Jews of Staraia Siniava and the villages of Rayon Staraja Sinjawa, about 1,000 people in all, were driven forcibly to the Starokonstantinov ghetto and subsequently shot there.[2] At a later date, the Ukrainian police caught 80 Jews who had hidden in various places around Staraia Siniava and shot them near the sugar refinery.[3]

According to a survivor from Ostropol', Anna Nasarchuk, the Jews of Staraia Siniava were confined in the Starokonstantinov ghetto for several months together with other Jews from the Gebiet, before being killed when the ghetto was liquidated at the end of November 1942.[4]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Staraia Siniava can be found in these archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-816); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

Portrait of Ukrainian rescuer Piotr Gutzol and his wife, Anna Berman. Gutzol helped Berman escape the massacre of Staraia Ushitsa's Jews in 1942 and was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations in 1994.
USHMM WS #57656, COURTESY OF JFR

NOTES

1. This telegram from the HSSPF Russland-Süd, no. 120, dated August 20, 1941, can be found in VHAP, "Headquarters of the Command of the Reichsführer SS." The telegram is reprinted in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 240. See also BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86 of September 17, 1941, and GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 21. There were 300 Jews from Staraia Siniava who were shot, and 186 Jews from Piliava. The remaining 25 victims were likely from the village of Novaia Siniava.
2. "Staraia Siniava," in V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel': Vypusk 1. Podoliia* (Jerusalem and St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 224.
3. GARF, 7021-64-7021, p. 21.
4. BA-L, B 162, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, statement of Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973.

STARAIA USHITSA

Pre-1941: Staraia Ushitsa, village and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Staraja-Uschiza, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stara Ushytsia, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Staraia Ushitsa is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) east of Kamenets-Podolskii. In 1939, there were 753 Jews living in Staraia Ushitsa and an additional 354 Jews residing elsewhere in the Staraia Ushitsa raion, mostly in the village of Studenitsa.

Staraia Ushitsa came under German occupation in the summer of 1941, and the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. They registered the Jews, required them to wear distinguishing markings, and prohibited them from leaving the limits of the village. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor.

At some time before July 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Staraia Ushitsa. According to research conducted by Yad Vashem to honor the Righteous Among the Nations, a young non-Jew named Piotr Gutzol often brought food into the ghetto to help a young Jewish woman named Anna Berman. He offered to help her to escape, but at this time she was too scared.[1]

On July 23, 1942, the German and Ukrainian police conducted an Aktion against the Jews in the Staraia Ushitsa ghetto. According to a former local policeman (Schutzmann), by then the Jewish population of Staraia Ushitsa had been ghettoized or at least collected together in a specific quarter of the village (an open ghetto). The Aktion was carried out with the participation of the head of the SD, the head of the Gendarmerie, Leutnant Reich, deputy Gebietskommissar Peters, German Gendarmes, and local Ukrainian policemen. The head of the Judenrat had to announce to the Jews that they were to gather at the square. Family members carried the sick and the old. Some people who did not move fast enough were beaten half-conscious, causing panic and weeping among those at the square. Men and women were separated, and all were forced to sit on the ground in silence. The head of the SD announced that the Jews would be taken to Kamenets-Podolskii, and some women were allowed to return home to collect some clothes, as they had left their houses without time to dress properly.

The German and Ukrainian police searched the flats, attics, and basements for Jews in hiding, discovering quite a few, mainly men, hiding in chimneys, in between double ceilings, in cellars dug specifically for the purpose, with stacks of food and clothing in them, in barns, and in heaps of manure. Those

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discovered were beaten, and some were shot. Along with the Germans, who zealously hunted down the Jews, the local policemen were instrumental in identifying Jewish homes and possible hiding places, as well as exposing Jews (especially those in mixed marriages) trying to pass as non-Jews. Regardless of their religious affiliation (being raised as Christians or atheists) or personal circumstances (marriages with non-Jews), everybody who had a Jewish relative up to the third generation was automatically considered Jewish and thus subjected to the same fate as the others. After all the Jews were brought to the square, the "specialists" among them—such as carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers—were told to take their tools and equipment with them and, together with their families, were escorted to Kamenets-Podolskii. The rest, approximately 300 to 320 people, were put in columns of 3, men first followed by women, with the carts carrying the sick and the old, and were taken down the old road from Staraia Ushitsa to Kamenets-Podolskii. As they marched, the head of the Gendarmerie ordered the Jews of Studenitsa (80 to 100 people) to be brought to join the Jews of Staraia Ushitsa.

Although the Germans kept assuring the column of the marching Jews that they were all being taken to Kamenets-Podolskii, the children and women started to weep as soon as they left the village. When the group turned towards the pit, the Jews recognized their fate and wept bitterly. Some people prayed, and children begged their parents to carry them in their arms; in response the Germans and local police beat and cursed them. The doomed people started to throw away any valuables, such as rings, watches, photographs, and letters. They tore up money, denying it to their tormentors. The pit measuring 12 by 6 meters and 1.5 meters deep (about 39 by 20 by 5 feet), had been dug by local peasants on the orders of Rayonchef Belokon'. During the shooting, the peasants were removed from the scene to prevent them from watching.

The Jews were ordered to undress and enter the pit in groups of five. The Germans, the Ukrainian police, and other locals who participated pushed the Jews into the pits, beating those who resisted. They were then forced to lie on the bottom of the pit, with their faces down, and were shot in the nape of the neck. The next group had to lie on top of the corpses, and they were shot in turn. A German official kept count of those murdered, making a checkmark for each group of five or more, in case a larger family refused to be separated and were shot together.

After the shooting the peasants who had dug the pit were ordered to fill in the mass grave. The Schutzmänner searched the clothing of the murdered Jews for valuables, which were sometimes sewn into the lining or hidden inside belts. Some items were taken by the Germans to be sent home as presents, given to local prostitutes in payment, or sold to the local population.[2]

The Jews of Studenitsa were murdered at the same time as those of Staraia Ushitsa. Estimates of the number of Jews killed vary from around 400 up to 700. The Jewish craftsmen and their families were transferred at this time to the ghetto in Kamenets-Podolskii.[3] After the Aktion, local policemen and other local inhabitants looted the Jewish houses. When Piotr Gutzol found the ghetto empty, he went to Kamenets-Podolskii and managed to get Anna Berman out of the ghetto there with the help of fake identity papers. Then they went to live in a small village where nobody knew them until the Red Army liberated the area in 1944. Most of the other Jews transferred to Kamenets-Podolskii were murdered there between August 1942 and the spring of 1943.

SOURCES Mention of the existence of a ghetto in Staraia Ushitsa can be found in Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 109.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Staraia Ushitsa can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799 and 816); NA (HW 16/6); USHMM (RG-22.002M); YIU (no. 683); and YVA (M.31).

Martin Dean
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. See www.jfr.org. After the war Piotr and Anna were married. Piotr Gutzol was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations in 1994.
2. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116), ChGK report for Kamenets-Podolskii.
3. Ibid.; NA, HW 16/6, Radiogram of the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Kamenez-Podolsk, summary for the period July 1, 1942–July 31, 1942, p. 5, as cited by Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 92.

STAROKONSTANTINOV

Pre-1941: Starokonstantinov, town and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Starokonstantinow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Starokostiantyniv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Starokonstantinov is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the January 1939 census, the Jewish population stood at 6,743 people; Jews accounted for 31 percent of the total population.

After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army, and other Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. Thus, about 6,000 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Starokonstantinov on July 8, 1941. In July and August 1941, a series of local military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) governed the town and formed a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from among local inhabitants. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Starokonstantinov became the administrative center of the Gebiet, which also included Rayons Ostropol,

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Staraja Sinjawa, Polonnoje, and Grizew. In total, the Gebiet included some 200,000 inhabitants and 196 collective farms. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Schröder, who was later replaced by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 on was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Otto Gent.[1] The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were under his command.

In May 1942, an outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was created in Starokonstantinov, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. This outpost carried out anti-Jewish Aktions in 1942 in the Gebiet Starokonstantinow and also in adjacent Gebiete. Graf received orders to carry out such Aktions from the Kommandeur der Sipo und SD (KdS) in Równe, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Pütz.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Starokonstantinov. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed; Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (initially, an armband with a Star of David; later, a yellow circle sewn onto the front and back of their clothing); they were compelled to engage in forced labor; and they were forbidden to use the sidewalks.

In July 1941, soon after the occupation of the town, 20 Jews were shot.[2] On August 3, another Aktion took place. On this day, four companies of SS-Infanterie-Regiment 8, SS-Panzergrenadier-Brigade 1, arrested 1,404 Jews (812 women and 592 men) in the town, of whom 489 (302 men and 187 women) were shot. The remaining Jews were divided up into several groups for forced labor.[3] The supposed pretext for this "reprisal" Aktion is described in Einsatzgruppen report no. 59:

> In Starokonstantinov . . . Jews were engaged in cleaning the barracks. Since Jews had not been reporting to work recently, the military units already were forced to round up the Jewish work force early in the morning. While working, the Jews behaved impudently and even refused to work. Of the approximately 1,000 Jews engaged in field labor, only 70 showed up to work on the following day. Furthermore, acts of sabotage on the harvesting machines were discovered. The Judenrat even spread rumors about a Russian offensive, which the Jews immediately used as a pretext to publicly threaten and curse Ukrainians.[4]

According to the account of a Jewish survivor, however, about 1,100 Jewish men and women were ordered to assemble and then transported out to the barracks. Here they were assigned to various work tasks, and those who were sick (including some who hoped to avoid work by feigning ill health) were loaded onto 18 trucks and taken away. Subsequently it was learned that these people were shot in the Novitskii Forest.[5]

Two weeks later, on August 18, 1941, approximately 150 more young Jewish men and women were shot in the Novitskii Forest.[6] Another anti-Jewish Aktion took place in the town on September 2, 1941. On this day, Police Battalion 304, which was in the town from August 21 through September 4, captured and shot at least 500 Jews.[7]

In the fall of 1941, probably in late September or early October, a ghetto holding about 5,000 people was established in the town. This first ghetto consisted of a group of houses surrounded by barbed wire, guarded by the local police. It was located behind Middle School no. 8 and extended back to the Ikopot River. Conditions in the ghetto were very crowded: people had to sleep on the floor in rows. Ghetto inmates received little food. Only craftsmen were permitted to leave the ghetto, wearing a black stripe across their yellow circles to denote this privilege.[8]

At the beginning of 1942, the ghetto was moved to the district along Iziaslav Street, on the road to Shepetovka, not far from the Novitskii Forest. Here there were a few old Jewish houses and some barracks. The new ghetto had about three times the area of the old ghetto; however, conditions deteriorated, as inmates received no food or heating materials. The unsanitary conditions caused disease to spread. A Russian woman who had close relatives there smuggled some medical supplies into the ghetto. The new ghetto was also more closely guarded, making it harder for the Jews to barter illegally. On the inside, there was a Jewish police force that wore armbands and carried clubs. Outside, the barbed-wire fence was guarded by the Ukrainian police.[9]

Just before May 20, 1942, the Germans demanded from the Judenrat payment of a "war tax" of about 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold and 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of silver.[10] Then, also on May 20, 1942, another Aktion was carried out. A team of the Sipo and SD under the leadership of SS-Hauptscharführer Graf, aided by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot most of the Jews from the ghetto, as well as some of the Jews who were brought into Starokonstantinov from the surrounding Rayons at that time. Approximately 6,500 people were murdered on this day. The Jews were driven to the "red barracks" near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS), where a ditch had been dug. Skilled craftsmen and their families were separated and returned to the town (some lived outside the ghetto), and the remaining Jews were forced to lie down in groups of 10 in the ditch, where Graf and another SS man, Werner, shot them with submachine guns.[11]

At the time of the May 20 Aktion, Jews from the surrounding Rayons of Grizew, Ostropol, Staraja Sinjawa, and Polonnoje were brought into the ghetto. A Jewish survivor, Anna Nasarchuk, recalls arriving in the empty ghetto with about 400 others from Ostropol' just after the previous inmates had been shot. The German official in the ghetto, Hedrich, warned them that the others had been killed for refusing to work and carry out German instructions. No water was available in the ghetto, and people were permitted to fetch it from the river only once a day. Nasarchuk was made to work cleaning the German barracks. The guards mistreated the ghetto inmates, and on one occasion German soldiers raped two young Jewish girls.

Over the summer there were frequent shootings of Jews from the ghetto in the nearby Novitskii Forest. In the weeks before the ghetto's final liquidation, the Jews were assembled

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regularly on Sundays at the Zhdanov kolkhoz, where a few people were killed publicly as a warning. One Sunday, for example, 11 alleged saboteurs, all non-Jews, were hanged along with one Jew who had failed to report for the assembly.[12]

At the end of November 1942, the ghetto was completely liquidated. On this day, all the Jews in the ghetto were escorted to a field near the Novitskii Forest. The Jews were then led in groups of 10 to a ditch 300 meters (328 yards) away. They were forced to undress and lie down in the ditch, and then German and Ukrainian policemen shot them with carbines and submachine guns. The shooting was supervised by Graf. The Ukrainian Schutzmannschaftsbataillon 101 also took part in the operation, and its members, on the orders of the battalion commander Hauptmann Paul Salitter, cordoned off the execution site.[13] Approximately 4,000 people were shot during this Aktion.[14]

At the killing site, Anna Nasarchuk recognized another Jewish woman from her village of Chishniki who was trying to flee, but the cordon guards shot her. Anna subsequently fell into the grave unconscious, not seriously wounded. After dark she escaped with her child, and she was even helped by a local Ukrainian policeman, whom she convinced that she was not Jewish and had been arrested by mistake.[15]

Altogether, some 11,000 Jews were killed in Starokonstantinov during the years of 1941 and 1942.

The commander of the 8th SS-Infantry Regiment, SS-Standartenführer Hans-Wilhelm Sacks, the commander of the 1st battalion of this regiment, SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Schleifenbaum, and the commander of the 2nd battalion of this regiment, SS-Obersturmbannführer Erwin Tzschoppe, were primarily responsible for the Aktion of August 3, 1941. Sacks was fatally wounded in battle on August 19, 1941; Schleifenbaum died on August 30, 1943. The investigation in Germany regarding Tzschoppe was terminated following his death on August 21, 1972.

In the 1970s, in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), several former policemen of the 304th Police Battalion who participated in the murder of over 500 Jews in Starokonstantinov in early September 1941 were found guilty and sentenced. SS-Hauptscharführer Graf, who was primarily responsible for the annihilation of the town's Jews in 1942, died in Germany on November 19, 1953.

SOURCES A brief article on the annihilation of the Jews of Starokonstantinov can be found in *Podillia u Velykii Vimchyznianii viini (1941–1945 rr.). Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (L'viv, 1969), pp. 75–77.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Starokonstantinov can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 441/67 and 442/67); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64); YVA (M-33); and ZSSta-D (45 Js 20/73).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 441/67, Abschlussbericht, March 20, 1973. Gent died on April 11, 1956.

2. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report (Abschlussverfügung), August 10, 1976.

3. See the report of the 1. Mot. SS Brigade dated August 3, 1941, for the period July 30 to August 3, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 232.

4. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 59, August 21, 1941. According to the Einsatzgruppen Report, only 438 persons were shot (300 Jewish men and 138 Jewish women).

5. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, Galina M. Bolshovskaia, March 29, 1973.

6. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 20/73, Abschlussverfügung, August 10, 1976. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report of March 11, 1944, notes that 300 civilians were shot near the Nove Miasto Forest by the Gestapo and SD field units in August 1941 (DAKhO, R683-2-42, pp. 31–34); an English translation is available in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka Publishers, 1987), pp. 134–138.

7. See the verdict of Bezirksgericht Halle, October 26, 1978, concerning three members of Police Battalion 304, extract published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 300.

8. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 320-327, Aleksandra A. Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

9. Ibid., Bd. I, pp. 246–250, Nikolai Bugaishchuk, March 28, 1973; pp. 262–266, Iuvenalii Gulenko, March 29, 1973.

10. Ibid., Bd. I, pp. 320–327, Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

11. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report, August 10, 1976; Aleksandr Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia Kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii Sovet Ukrainy, 2000), p. 182.

12. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973.

13. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report, August 10, 1976. Most sources give November 28, 1942, as the date of the Aktion, but some date it just before or just after this. The commander of the local Ukrainian police in Starokonstantinov at this time was Kononchuk; see BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 358–362, Andrei Sagoruiko, March 29, 1973.

14. *Podillia u Velykii Vimchyznianii viini (1941–1945 rr.)*, p. 76.

15. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 320–327, Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

STEPAŃ

Pre-1939: Stepań, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Stepan', Sarny raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Stepan, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stepan', Sarny raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Stepań is located approximately 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Równe. According to the census, 1,337 Jews lived in

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Stepań in 1921. In mid-1941, assuming a natural growth rate of 9 people per 1,000 per year, there would have been some 1,600 Jews in Stepań.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Stepań in July 1941. Before the German infantry arrived, the Luftwaffe bombarded the town, killing several Jews and damaging many houses. In July and August of 1941, the town was governed by a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen). The military confiscated foodstuffs, bicycles, and other items from the Jews but did not treat them harshly. From September 1941, command was transferred to a German civil administration, and Stepań became part of Gebiet Kostopol. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Standartenführer Löhnert, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wilhelm Wichmann.[1] There was a Gendarmerie post in Stepań, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police. The head of the Gendarmerie post in Stepań from the fall of 1941 was Beckmann; in 1943, he was killed by partisans.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a number of anti-Jewish measures in Stepań: Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first, an armband bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow circle on their clothes); they were compelled to engage in forced labor (e.g., repairing the bridge over the Horyn River); and they were forbidden to leave the town. They were also subjected to systematic robberies and beatings by the Ukrainian police, who supervised them at work. The Ukrainian police chief was named Sasha Krumf. The Germans harassed the Jews, cutting off the beards of old men. On the orders of the head of the Gendarmerie post, Beckmann, Jews had to surrender all gold and valuables. Later, fur coats, cattle, and horses were confiscated as well. Jews from the surrounding villages were ordered to bring these items to Stepań to hand them over to the Germans.[2]

In early October 1941, a ghetto was created in the town.[3] The ghetto was located in the same district as the synagogue. The ghetto territory was surrounded by a 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) wooden fence, the top of which was covered with barbed wire. Another fence divided the ghetto into two parts: the synagogue and the adjacent street were reserved for adult men under the age of 55. The nearby streets were for women, children, and the elderly. A small group of skilled workers was allowed to live outside the ghetto. Not long after the construction of the ghetto, Jews from the surrounding villages—Chorost, Kryczylsk, Wołosza, Wielke Werbcze, and Kazimirka—were also concentrated there.[4] Altogether, there were approximately 2,000 Jews in the ghetto.[5]

A Judenrat was placed in charge of the ghetto. The Jews were brought together in the main synagogue and ordered to elect a chairman of the Judenrat. They chose Avraham Guz for this position, and Josef Vaks, who knew German well, as vice-chair. However, Guz stepped down under pressure from Vaks, who then assumed his position. Dodye Guberman was made secretary. A majority of the Jews saw Vaks as arrogant and unsympathetic and resented his leadership. A Jewish police force was organized to carry out the orders of the Judenrat and the Germans. An upper chamber of the synagogue was turned into a jail for Jews who disobeyed the ghetto police.[6]

Among the responsibilities of the Judenrat was the selection of able-bodied men to meet German demands for forced labor. Groups of Jews were sent out of the ghetto daily to work in the vicinity of Stepań and return in the evening. A large number of Jewish males was sent to a labor camp in Kostopol. At regular intervals, they would be returned to the ghetto and replaced by fresh workers.[7] Peasants could also "rent" Jews to work for them in the fields by paying the Germans a small fee.[8]

The Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger and severe overcrowding. The daily ration for men consisted of 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread and a bowl of soup with potatoes or onion. Women and children received only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and the same watery soup. Jews were forbidden to receive any fat, and the commandant of the Rayon even checked the bowls of the Jews to enforce this ban. Nevertheless, the Jews made a concerted effort to maintain public health in the ghetto. There was a hospital with a walk-in clinic run by Drs. Ashkenazi and Zamer. They sent nurses to maintain sanitary conditions and make house calls in the women's ghetto. A refugee from Łódź named Rayzman was in charge of sanitation for the men's ghetto.[9]

In the spring of 1942, the Jews made an effort to celebrate Passover. Local rabbis ruled that matzot could be made out of rye. There were also a series of self-declared prophets, mainly laymen, who pointed to various omens and numerological formulas to prove to their brethren that redemption was on its way.[10]

The ghetto was liquidated on the night of August 21, 1942: approximately 50 Jews incapable of marching were killed on the spot, several hundred Jews were able to escape, and the rest of the Jews were driven to Kostopol and shot near the village of Korczewie; on the way to the killing site, another 50 to 60 Jews were killed. As the Jews were taken to the killing site on wagons, many escaped simply by jumping off the wagons and running into the forests. Near Korczewie, approximately 1,500 Jews from Stepań were shot; some Jews were able to flee from the shooting place.[11]

The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police organized roundups for Jews who had fled, over the course of which several hundred Jews were captured and shot. In particular, one mass shooting of Jews captured during the roundups took place in September 1942 near Kolen'.[12] For informing on Jews, the occupants gave a reward of 1 liter (1 quart) of kerosene, and the punishment for hiding Jews was death. Despite this, several Ukrainian families hid Jews and provided them with produce, thanks to which these Jews were able to survive and lived to see the liberation in January 1944.

According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 731 civilians were killed in Rayon Stepan in 1941–1944, including 553 Jews (not counting those Jews who were taken to Kostopol and shot near Korczewie).[13]

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SOURCES An article about the annihilation of the Jewish population of Stepań can be found in: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 145–147. There is also a memoir of the Holocaust period by Moyshe Voshtshina (Michel Woszczyna): *Der mentsh iz shtarker fun ayzn: Mayne yorn unter di Natsis in Ukrayine* (Buenos Aires, 1991). The author is a Jew from the nearby village of Korost who was interred in the Stepań ghetto. As well as containing ample information about the ghetto, this memoir provides a rare look into the fate of village Jews in the Third Reich's Occupied Eastern Territories during World War II.

Documents and testimonies regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Stepań can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (see, e.g., the recollections of Mosze Woszczyna [also available at the USHMM, RG-02.208M, reel 16, no. 107] or 301/1268 and 2363); DARO; GARF (7021-71-71); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; Yehsa'yahu Fri, "Beyn mitsrey avadon ve-shikul," in Ganuz and Fri, eds., *'Ayartenu Stepan'* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Stepan yeha-servivah be-Yisrael, 1977), pp. 221–222. Also see Y. Fri, "Haftsatsot ha-Germanim ve-hakamat ha-Geto," p. 280; and Meir Grinshpan, "Aharitah shel Stepan," p. 299—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*.

2. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 222–225; Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299. Also see Y. Koyfman and Avraham Tekhor, "Hurbana shel kehilat Stepan," p. 274; and Yitshak Vaks, "Beyn hayim le-mavet," p. 286—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*. And see Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, pp. 51–52, 67.

3. The report of A. Dereczyński, AŻIH 301/1268, gives the date of October 5, 1941, for the establishment of ghettos in all the Rayon centers of Gebiet Kostopol.

4. M. Pinchuk, "Vtecha z pekla," in *Tsinoiu vlasnoho zhyttia* (Rivne: Uporiadnyk Kyrylo Kindrat, 1995), pp. 187, 191; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 223–226; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," p. 274; Fri, "Haftsatsot," p. 280; Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, p. 77. Note that according to Voshtshina and a few other sources, the ghetto was not created until January 1942 (see Vaks, "Beyn," p. 286; and Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299).

5. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:145–147, gives the figure of 3,000 Jews inside the ghetto.

6. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," p. 224; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," p. 275; "Yosef Vaks—Yoshev Rosh ha-Yudenrat be-Geto Stepan," in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*, pp. 300–301; Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, pp. 77–78. Note that while Koyfman states that the Judenrat was chosen in August 1941, Voshtshina claims that it was chosen in January 1942, around the time that the Jews were forced into the ghetto. Other accounts from the yizkor book also imply that the Judenrat was selected immediately before or after the establishment of the ghetto.

7. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 224–226.

8. Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, p. 82.

9. Ibid., pp. 78–81; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," p. 226; AŻIH, 301/1268.

10. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 228, 230; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," pp. 274–275.

11. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 4, 17–18; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 231–232. Also see Y. Fri, "Sipurey nitsulim" p. 293; and Batya Sheynboym, "Beriha me-malta'ot ha-rotsehim," p. 294—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*. Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299, gives the date of the liquidation as August 24.

12. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 8, 10; M. Pinchuk, "Tragediia y Stepani," in *Tsinoiu vlasnoho zhyttia*, p. 96.

13. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 1–3.

STOLIN

Pre-1939: Stolin, town and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Stolin is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) east-southeast of Pińsk. In 1921, 2,966 Jews were living in Stolin (62.4 percent of the town's total population).

The local population greeted the Red Army with joy when it occupied the town in the second half of September 1939. Under Soviet rule, about 20 Jewish families were deported to Siberia. In June 1941, the Jewish population was probably about 5,000, owing to the influx of many Jewish refugees from Poland in the fall of 1939.

Following the German invasion of June 22, 1941, the first German units passed through Stolin on July 12. At this time, local Ukrainians started a pogrom against the Jews, but the intervention of a Jewish Self-Defense force managed to contain the violence. A man named Urbanovich was appointed head of the local militia. His subordinate, Mitior, raped Jewish women repeatedly.[1]

On August 10, 1941, forces of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment conducted a mass shooting of Jewish men in the nearby town of Dawidgródek, after which the women and children were driven from the town. Many of these refugees, as well as some from other villages, made their way to Stolin, where the Jewish Council (Judenrat) prevailed on the authorities to permit them to stay.[2]

On August 22, 1941, the new German Gebietskommissar arrived in Stolin to set up a civil administration. Stolin became the administrative center of Gebiet Stolin, incorporating the Rayons of Dawid-Gorodok and Wysozk, in addition to Stolin itself. SA-Standartenführer Dziembowski was named Gebietskommissar, and his deputy was a man named Stark.[3] On his arrival, Dziembowski ordered the Jews to parade and appointed Nathan Bergner, a refugee from Łódź who spoke German, as chairman of the Judenrat. With the assistance of a small Jewish police force, the Judenrat had to pass on and enforce all the German demands and regulations. Immediately, Dziembowski imposed an extensive list of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David on

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their clothing. All Jews over the age of 16 had to perform forced labor. Jews were forbidden to pray in the synagogue, forbidden to eat fat or meat, and prohibited from engaging in conversation with Christian peasants. In addition, a "contribution" of 1 million rubles from the Jews had to be paid within 30 days.[4]

With great effort, the Judenrat managed to raise the contribution within a few days, but shortly afterwards 50 Jews were arrested by the local police as alleged Communists. Most were released after payment of a further ransom, but 2 young Jews were taken out and shot in the Zotishia Forest.

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Stolin, which took over responsibility for the local police (renamed Schutzmannschaft). Wilhelm Wacker served as head of the Gendarmerie post from April 25 to July 4, 1942. In August and September 1942, the 1st Squadron of Polizeireiterabteilung II was stationed in Stolin. Its commander was Oberleutnant der Polizei Heinz-Dieter Teltz. The anti-Jewish Aktions conducted in Gebiet Stolin in the summer and fall of 1942 were coordinated by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Pińsk, which from May to November 1942 was commanded by SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp. In July or August 1942, a Security Police post also was established in Stolin, subordinated to Rasp in Pińsk.

In the spring of 1942, the Gebietskommissar tried deputy police chief Mitior for his abuse of Jewish women and sentenced him to death. Shortly afterwards, the head of the police, Urbanovich, was killed by Soviet partisans on his way back from Pińsk. The Jews feared a terrible reprisal, as the Gebietskommissar took a roll call under the watchful eye of the German and Ukrainian police to see whether any Jews had joined the partisans. Since none were missing, the Gebietskommissar took other measures to restrain the Jews instead.[5]

In May 1942 (on the eve of the Shavuot holiday), Gebietskommissar Dziembowski ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto, which was surrounded by a tall barbed-wire fence. They were joined by Jews from the neighboring villages, raising the total population to around 7,000. The ghetto area, enclosed on one side by the Bank River, consisted of America Street, part of Kostsushki Street on both sides as far as the house of Rabbi Ephraim Tessler, and also Burkan Street and both sides of Dąbrowski Street. Jews were permitted to bring with them only what they could carry in their arms.[6] Living conditions were poor, with the inhabitants receiving a daily ration of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread. Typhus, dysentery, and diphtheria were rife.[7] The ghetto was closely guarded, and the Jews who worked outside could bring nothing in or out. As one survivor recalled, "[T]he death rate reached 12 per day. Many times I saw how a mother threw a wrapped bundle—a child—on the wagon. People were swollen, deformed." Jews were also forced to pay a poll tax of 10 rubles per month.[8]

By early September, news reached Stolin of the liquidation of the Dąbrowica ghetto nearby. Rebbe Moysheleh Perlov tried to raise people's spirits, exclaiming with complete faith, "Jews, we will once more merit the defeat of Amalek and imminent salvation!" (Amalek is a biblical figure who led his army to attack the Jews [Exodus 17:8–16]. Yizkor books frequently use the term *Amalek* [or *Amalekite*] to refer to Adolf Hitler or the Nazis, and the comparison is still made today.) One Jewish survivor made a memorable visit to the Rebbe on the eve of the Aktion. SS guards and Ukrainian policemen were already positioned around the ghetto. "Suddenly, the Rebbe raised both his hands in the air and called out with great feeling, 'Our Father, our King, have pity on us and our children' [a line from the prayer 'Avinu Malkeinu' ('Our Father, Our King'), traditionally said on the High Holidays and during times of extreme crisis], and burst into bitter tears."[9]

The Germans liquidated the Stolin ghetto on September 11, 1942. Just prior to the Aktion, the Gebietskommissar summoned the Judenrat. He had them arrested, and they were taken out and shot, becoming the first victims. Perhaps as a result, plans for resistance within the ghetto were not realized. On September 10, a detachment of the Security Police commanded by Rasp arrived from Pińsk. During the night, men of the 1st Squadron of Polizeireiterabteilung II and the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. Then at 4:30 A.M., about 6,000 Jews were driven into the marketplace in front of the ghetto. Those unable to walk were shot in their beds.[10] A doctor, a dentist, and about 10 artisans were released, as their work was still required. The Germans and their collaborators then marched the Jews in groups under close escort to a wooded area 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) northeast of town, where the SD men Petsch, Balbach, Dohmen, and Kotschi shot them in a large trench. The clothes of the Jews were collected in a pile to one side of the ditch.[11]

The next day, the Germans searched the ghetto, looking for Jews in hiding. They shot those they found.[12] Very few Jews managed to escape from the ghetto and survive with the partisans until the Red Army recaptured the area in 1944.

Wilhelm Rasp committed suicide in West Germany in the early 1960s while under investigation for war crimes. Adolf Petsch and Heinz-Dieter Teltz were sentenced to 15 years and to 3 years and 6 months in prison, respectively. Dohmen died not long after the war. The fates of Balbach and Kotschi remain unknown.[13]

SOURCES Articles about the Jewish community of Stolin and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Avatihi ve-Y. Ben-Zakai, ed., *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron li-kehilat Stolin veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Stolin veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1952); *Havah nizakherah: Tseror zikhronot u-firke havai 'al 'ayaratenu Stolin/mesupar 'al yede Pinhas Doron (Dorts'in)* (Jerusalem: P. Doron and Z. Blizovski, 1960); and "Stolin," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 271–273.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Stolin can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-L (B 162/4966); GABO; GARF (7021-71-70); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Shamai Tukel, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. Tukel, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community."
5. Ibid.
6. Second letter to Detroit from Michael Nosantchuk, January 15, 1946, published in *The Forward*, by Yakov Nosantchuk of Detroit; and Tukel, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community."
7. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59 (Ghetto Liquidation in Pińsk), p. 2528, statement of Willi Leister, August 20, 1964.
8. Second letter to Detroit from Michael Nosantchuk, January 15, 1946. Tukel, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community," however, cites a death rate of five persons per day.
9. Batyah Kampinski-Liberman, "The Last Days of the 'Rebbe' Moysheleh Perlov," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.
10. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59, p. 2522, statement of Willi Leister, February 15, 1962; BA-L, B 162/14495, verdict of LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, against Kuhr and others, February 6, 1973, pp. 103–107; and Esther Gissin Blizhuvsky, "In the Stolin Ghetto," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.
11. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59, statement of Rudolf Freyer, February 13, 1963, and statement of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961.
12. Ibid., p. 3359, statement of Ludwig Vorderbrügge, March 14, 1963.
13. BA-L, B 162/14495, verdict of LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, against Johann Kuhr and others, February 6, 1973.

SZUMSK

Pre-1939: Szumsk, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Shumsk, raion center, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schumsk, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Shums'k, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Szumsk is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,717 Jews in Szumsk. In the fall of 1939, several hundred Jewish refugees from Poland settled in Szumsk (in 1940 many of them were deported to the eastern part of the USSR). After Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, several Jewish families evacuated to the east; however, most Jews did not want to or were unable to evacuate (owing to the rapid advance of the German forces). At the start of the German occupation, there were probably more than 2,000 Jews still present in the town.

Units of the Wehrmacht occupied Szumsk on July 2, 1941. In July and August, a German military administration governed the town; as of September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Szumsk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. The Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec was Regierungsrat Müller.[1] The Germans established a Ukrainian local council and local police force in Szumsk, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (created in September 1941), consisting of several German Gendarmes.

Immediately after the occupation of the town by German forces, local Ukrainians looted Jewish houses despite German public announcements forbidding this. A few days later, antisemitic Ukrainians organized a pogrom during which several Jews were killed as they attempted to defend their property.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Szumsk. They established a Judenrat, whose chairman, Weissler, was a refugee from the Polish town of Katowice. The German authorities used the Judenrat to convey their orders and demands to the Jewish population. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (initially an armband, then from September 1941, yellow patches). Jews were prohibited from trading or otherwise communicating with non-Jews. They were forbidden to use the sidewalks and were required to bow before passing Germans. All Jewish women were forced to cut their hair.

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) formed a Labor Office (Arbeitsamt) headed by Szuldrein, a refugee from Łódź. This office assigned Jews to forced labor tasks, for example, in the sawmill, on farms, or clearing snow in the winter. Ukrainians were able to request Jews from the Arbeitsamt to do any kind of work for them. After about three months, a Jewish police force of 15 to 20 people was established, commanded by a man named Horowitz.[3] One of the tasks of the Jewish Police was to collect the "contributions" of items, such as gold, silver, and furs, demanded by the civil administration and also by Gestapo officials on regular visits.

In early March 1942 (at the time of the Purim holiday), the German administration issued orders for all the Jews from Szumsk and the surrounding villages (approximately 2,000 people) to be enclosed within a ghetto by March 12.[4] The ghetto was located in the poorest section of the town, near the synagogue and the baths. Living conditions were terrible. Jews had to live 10 or 12 people to a room, with many dying of hunger and widespread disease, especially typhus.[5] There was no hospital, but the Judenrat organized soup kitchens for the poor, which many people attended. To survive, Jews had to smuggle into the ghetto food that was bartered for their last possessions from local peasants. The smugglers were often children who escaped the ghetto through tunnels dug under the fence. When caught by the Ukrainian police, the Judenrat had to pay a "ransom" for their release.

On German instructions, several workshops for Jewish craftsmen were established for tailoring and the repair of shoes and watches. Most of the production from these workshops became gifts for the Ukrainian and German police.[6]

After five months the ghetto was liquidated. On the night of Saturday, August 8, 1942, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, shooting 11 Jews who tried to escape; they were buried in a grave within the ghetto. The Jews were forbidden to bury them in the Jewish cemetery (outside the ghetto borders) to prevent the Jews from seeing the mass grave that had been

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prepared for them there. However, several Jews saw peasants returning with shovels and guessed what was happening. After the mass grave was dug, on August 13, 1942, a team of Security Police and SD from Równe, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, gathered the Jews near the large synagogue under the pretext of transferring them to another location; from there, they were taken in columns to the grave behind the Christian cemetery, where they were shot. Altogether, 1,792 Jews were shot on that day (496 men, 724 women, and 572 children).[7] Some of the Jews were able to hide in previously prepared bunkers. Without food or water, those in hiding had to drink their own urine to quench their thirst. To catch the hidden Jews, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police regularly combed the territory of the former ghetto over the ensuing few weeks. Some Jews were betrayed by the cries of their own children. The Gendarmerie and local police successively shot all the Jews who they found and captured. The last Jews, including about 100 who had been temporarily spared to help clear up the ghetto and sort the remaining possessions, had all been shot by October 1, 1942.[8] Only a couple of dozen Jews from Szumsk managed to escape from their places of concealment and survive the ensuing dangers either in hiding or with the partisans, to be liberated by the Red Army in 1944.

SOURCES The yizkor book for Szumsk, edited by H. Rabin, *Szumsk . . . sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Szumsk* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szumsk in Israel, 1968), contains much information regarding the Jewish community of Szumsk; there is also a brief article in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 206–208.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Szumsk during the Nazi German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/2467 and 4863); DATO; GARF (7021-75-15); IPN; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2362; M-1/Q-1812/364; M-1/E/1500; O-3/2219; and O-22/54).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. AŻIH, 301/2467, testimony of Ruth Melchoir, and 301/4863.
3. Ibid., 301/2467; Rabin, *Szumsk*, p. 60, indicates that in the ghetto the head of the Jewish Police was named Ackerman.
4. AŻIH, 301/2467; GARF, 7021-75-15, p. 35.
5. YVA, M-1/E/1500.
6. AŻIH, 301/2467.
7. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów Szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, Sygn. 77, p. 2. The document has also been published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 395, report by SS-Untersturmführer Selm, August 15, 1942.
8. GARF, 7021-75-15, pp. 37 verso, 42 verso. Altogether, according to the documents of the ChGK, 2,732 people, including 2,432 Jews, were killed in the Szumsk raion during the occupation; therefore, Jews comprised 89 percent of all the victims recorded (see GARF, 7021-75-15, p. 24).

TEOFIPOL'

Pre-1941: Teofipol', *town and raion center*, *Kamenets-Podolskii oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Teofipol*, *town and Rayon center*, *Gebiet Isjaslaw*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien*; *post-1991: Teofipol'*, *Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Teofipol' is located 63 kilometers (39 miles) northwest of Proskurov. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,266 Jews living in the town (36.9 percent of the total population). An additional 183 Jews lived in what was then the Teofipol' raion.

In early July 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied the town. During the two weeks from the start of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Probably around 1,000 Jews remained in Teofipol' at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force, commanded by P.T. Pasechnik. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Teofipol' was incorporated into Gebiet Isjaslaw; SA-Oberführer Knochenhauer became the Gebietskommissar.[1] In Teofipol' itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, under which the Ukrainian auxiliary police served.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Teofipol'. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing marks bearing the Star of David, and they were ordered to perform forced labor. Jews could not leave the borders of the town; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local Ukrainian police.

In late 1941 or in January 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Teofipol'.[2] Jews from the surrounding villages were also resettled there. For example, 29 Jews were brought in from the village of Shiben.[3] The ghetto was liquidated on January 21 and 22, 1942. On January 21, all the men—more than 400 people—were shot. On January 22, the women and children were shot.[4] In total, 970 people were killed.[5] In June 1942, another 85 Jews were shot in the village of Iampol'.[6]

SOURCES A brief article on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Teofipol' can be found in *Navichno v pam'iati narodnii: Teofipol'shchyna u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini 1941–1945 gg.* (L'viv, 1995). The concentration of the Jews from the surrounding villages and the ghetto in Teofipol' are also mentioned in I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa*

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i soprotivlenie ukrainskogo evreistva (1941–1944) (Kiev, 1999), p. 77; and in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 87.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Teofipol' can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (3784-1-32, pp. 19, 35; R863-2-38, p. 128); and GARF (7021-64-816).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200; *Navichno v pam'iati narodnii*, p. 95.
3. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 169.
4. *Navichno v pam'iati narodnii*, pp. 95–96. DAKhO, 3784-1-32, pp. 19, 35, indicates that the Jews were brought into Teofipol' from the surrounding villages on Janaury 10, 1942, and that 1,540 people were shot there only two days later, as cited by Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii," p. 77.
5. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200. According to another source, there were 1,400 victims; see *Navichno v pam'iati narodnii*, p. 95. This figure, however, is likely too high because the total Jewish pre-war population was 1,449, and a few hundred people were able to evacuate or enter the army.
6. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200.

TOMASZÓWKA

Pre-1939: Tomaszówka, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Tomashovka, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tomaschowka, Rayon Domatschewo, Gebiet Brest Litowsk (Land), Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Tamashouka, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Tomaszówka is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the south of Brześć, just on the eastern side of the Bug River. There were probably a few hundred Jews living in Tomaszówka just prior to the German invasion.

German troops occupied Tomaszówka on June 22, 1941. Soon a local police force was established, initially consisting of just a few policemen, but by 1943 there were 22 policemen serving there, commanded by Gregori Tabala.[1] In the fall of 1941, a German civil administration was established. Tomaszówka was in Rayon Domatschewo within Gebiet Brest Litowsk (Land). The agricultural leader (Bezirkslandwirt) responsible for Rayon Domatschewo was Werner Dressler. From the summer of 1942, a German police cavalry squadron was based in the town, primarily to conduct operations against partisans.

Local inhabitant Kiril Karvat has described the ghetto: "[F]rom the very first days of the occupation, the whole Jewish population living in Tomaszówka was herded by the Germans into a camp, which was called a ghetto. The Jewish ghetto was in the western part of the settlement. . . . The Germans put up a barbed wire fence around it. German police and soldiers patrolled the fence the whole time."[2] "I can't say exactly how many houses were in the ghetto. . . . Very strict restrictions were introduced; the local people were forbidden to go into the ghetto; if caught they might be shot."[3]

The Jewish survivor Nachum Knopmacher from Włodawa, who was in the ghetto from the fall of 1941 until the summer of 1942, described his work for the Organisation Todt (OT), including bridge and housing construction. Jews worked outside the ghetto during the day and had to return in the evening. In the fall of 1941, he saw how the German civil official in charge, Hecht, murdered a Jew named Tuwia in a cruel manner, setting his dog onto the man when he was helpless to resist.[4]

In the early summer of 1942, some 400 Viennese Jews were brought into the ghetto from the Włodawa ghetto in the Generalgouvernement for forced labor.[5] According to Knopmacher, in April 1942, all the Jews of the ghetto were assembled, and Hecht selected some 80 women, children, and old people, who were then taken out of town and shot nearby. Knopmacher mentions also that some 50 Jewish workers (mostly those from Vienna) were shot at the discretion of Krystop, a Reich German in charge of bridge construction.[6]

Kiril Karvat also describes a shooting Aktion at the end of April 1942, although in his opinion the victims probably came from the Domaczów ghetto. He saw three or four German trucks arriving from the direction of Tomaszówka. The trucks turned into a field in which a long antitank ditch had been dug by Soviet soldiers. The people dismounted from the trucks, guarded by Germans and policemen. The victims, men, women, and children, were made to undress and forced to get into the ditch in groups of about 20 people. The policemen and the German soldiers shot the Jews with submachine guns.[7]

According to a German report for June 1942, about 1,000 Jews (men and women) were engaged in construction work for the OT on the bridge in Tomaszówka, having partly been removed from the ghetto there and placed in a separate labor camp.[8]

The available sources differ as to the date of the ghetto's liquidation. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) places it in July 1942, in antitank ditches just off the road from Tomaszówka to Brześć. However, there may be some confusion between the ghetto liquidation and the shooting of Jews working on road construction in the area. Some 500 Jews were taken from the Domaczów ghetto in May 1942 for work on the Brześć-Kowel highway. Apparently those who were exhausted and weakened were shot shortly afterwards.[9]

Most eyewitness accounts, however, confirm the dating given in a contemporary German report. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Brześć stated that "on September 19 and 20, 1942, about 2,900 Jews were shot in Domaczów and Tomaszówka by a special command of the SD in connection

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with the cavalry squadron stationed in Domaczów, the Gendarmerie, and the Schutzmannschaft. The 'Jewish Aktion' took place without any disturbances."[10] One member of the cavalry squadron based in Tomaszówka reportedly committed suicide shortly after the liquidation of the Jews there.[11]

A Jewish survivor from Domaczów stated that the Aktion in Tomaszówka took place on the day after the liquidation of the Domaczów ghetto. A driver for the Gendarmerie in Brześć dated the ghetto liquidations in Tomaszówka and Domaczów both in September, adding that in Tomaszówka the Jews were killed in an antitank ditch.[12]

Most significantly, the key local witness, Kiril Karvat, confirmed in the 1990s that "in September 1942, together with my friend . . . we saw the Jews from the Tomaszówka ghetto being escorted by Gestapo soldiers and policemen. . . . A very big group of Jews from Tomaszówka were shot on that day. The massacre took place in the same field and ditch as the shooting of April 1942."[13]

One German witness who served in the cavalry squadron based in Tomaszówka from August 1942, Karl Vehrenberg, stated that "Jewish artisans and families, about 30 people in all, were accommodated in several houses on the outskirts of Tomaszówka, surrounded by barbed wire. They did all the work that the squadron needed doing." If his recollection is correct, this was either a remnant left after the main Aktion or those left after the bulk had been transferred to a labor camp closer to their work site. Another squadron member, Erwin Hentschke, recalls that members of the squadron served as perimeter guards during the Tomaszówka ghetto liquidation.[14]

It is not possible to determine precisely how many Jews were confined within the Tomaszówka ghetto or how many were killed. Personal accounts of the liquidation of the Tomaszowka ghetto estimate that somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews were killed during this Aktion.[15] This would imply that additional Jews must have been brought in from elsewhere, apart from the 400 or so Jews from Vienna who were sent across the Bug in April 1942. There is evidence to suggest that some Jews were transferred from Domaczów to Tomaszówka to work on road and bridge construction there.[16]

Given that several hundred Jews from the Tomaszówka ghetto probably died or were killed during the course of the summer, the figure of 2,900 killed in Domaczów and Tomaszówka on September 19–20, 1942, seems fairly reliable. Estimates for the numbers killed in Domaczów vary quite considerably.[17] From the conflicting sources, however, it seems that there were probably about 1,800 Jews in Tomaszowka,[18] including any in nearby labor camps, just prior to the Aktion.

After the ghetto liquidation, the Germans and policemen brought the clothes and underwear of those who had been shot back to Tomaszówka by truck and sold them to the inhabitants in exchange for local produce.[19]

SOURCES Fragmentary information on the Tomaszówka ghetto can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBBO; BA-BL; BA-L; GABO; NA (WCU, trial of Andrzej Sawoniuk); and WASt.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. GABO, 201-1-3, p. 58, Verzeichnis der Schutzmänner der Schutzmannschaft in Tomaschowka, Rayon Domatschewo, August 8, 1943.
2. BA-L (ZStL), II 204 AR-Z 472/67, K. P. Karvat (Karwat), June 17, 1968.
3. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat, February 18, 1997.
4. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67 (Hecht investigation), Bd. I, pp. 31–38, Nachum Knopmacher, June 15, 1965.
5. Ibid. Knopmacher dates this transfer in March 1942, but it is unlikely to have been before May, as the transport of 998 Jews to Włodawa from Vienna did not leave the city until April 27, 1942; see Florian Freund and Hans Safrian, "Die Verfolgung der österreichischen Juden 1938–1945: Vertreibung und Deportation," in Emmerich Talos et al., eds., *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich: Ein Handbuch* (Vienna: öbv & hpt, 2001), pp. 767–794, here p. 793.
6. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 31–38, Nachum Knopmacher, June 15, 1965.
7. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat, February 18, 1997.
8. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Brest Gebietskommissar, section Arbeitsamt, for June 1942.
9. GABO, 514-1-195, pp. 4–7.
10. BA-BL, R 94/7, Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest report, October 6, 1942.
11. WASt, Verlustmeldungen, Polizei Reiterabteilung.
12. AUKGBRBBO, Criminal File 2905, case no. 69 (Nikolai K. Lialko), p. 40, Boris S. Grunstein, September 27, 1944; and file no. 466 (Ivan E. Chikun), vol. 2, pp. 89–93, Ivan S. Khvisyuchik, March 16, 1983. See also the statement on March 24, 1970, of Erwin Glass, a former cavalry squadron member, who recalls that his comrades told him that the Jews of Tomaszówka were killed at the same time as those of Domaczów—BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 180–182.
13. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat on February 18, 1997.
14. See BA-L, 204 AR-Z 369/63 (Hahn investigation), Bd. V, pp. 178–198; ZStL, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 165–167, statement of Erwin Hentschke on March 16, 1970.
15. See the ChGK reports for the Domachevo raion and accompanying witness statements, in GABO, 514-1-195.
16. NA, WCU, statement of Baruch Greenstein, October 9, 1996. Greenstein's testimony, however, was problematic and not used during the trial of Andrzej Sawoniuk in London in 1999.
17. German witnesses, who were keen to minimize the scale of the Aktion, mention only some 500 Jews in Domaczów at the time of the ghetto liquidation. The ChGK report, however, gives the figure of 2,700 Jews killed in Domaczów; see BA-L, 204 AR-Z 369/63, Bd. I, pp. 194–196; and ChGK report, GABO, 514-1-195.
18. NA, WCU, officer's information, K.P. Karvat, February 10, 1995. Karvat in this interview gave the figure of 1,800 Jews killed in Tomaszówka.
19. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 472/67, K.P. Karvat, June 17, 1968.

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TORCZYN

Pre-1939: Torczyn, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Torchin, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tortschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Torchyn, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Torczyn is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west-northwest of Równe. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,480 Jews living in Torczyn. By the middle of 1941, it is estimated that around 1,700 Jews were living there.

The village was occupied by parts of the German 6th Army at the end of June 1941. In July and August 1941, Torczyn was administered by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, control was passed to a German civil administration: Torczyn became a Rayon center within Gebiet Luzk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Łuck was Regierungsassessor Heinrich Lindner.[1]

In Torczyn, a local Ukrainian administration was formed with a Rayonchef and a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post after its establishment in the fall of 1941.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Torczyn: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, headed by Leizer Karsh, through which the German occupation authorities conveyed orders and instructions to the Jewish population. A Jewish police force was also established to assist the Judenrat. The Jews were forced to wear distinguishing marks, initially an armband bearing the Star of David, after September 1941, a yellow patch on their chests and backs. Jews were ordered to hand over all their gold and valuables. They had to perform forced labor, such as laying cables, for which they received only some bread and a watery soup. They were forbidden to leave the limits of the settlement; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and beatings by the Ukrainian police.

On August 2, 1941, German security forces conducted an Aktion in Torczyn. They arrested 284 people accused of collaborating with the Soviet authorities and shot them in the woods near the village of Buiani.[2] The mass shooting probably was carried out by a detachment of the Security Police that was deployed at that time in Łuck.

In February 1942, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Torczyn. The approximately 1,500 Jewish inhabitants of the settlement were given only 10 minutes to dress and grab some of their belongings before being forced into a few Jewish houses in the center of the settlement, which were surrounded with barbed wire. In addition, a number of Jews from neighboring villages were brought to Torczyn, raising the population of the ghetto to more than 2,000 people. There was considerable overcrowding, with five or six families sharing each house. A river ran through the area of the ghetto, but the water was undrinkable. The only Jews permitted to leave the ghetto were those on work details organized by the Judenrat and some craftsmen who also received better food.[3]

At the time of Passover (April 2, 1942), the Jews of Torczyn were able to obtain flour to bake matzot with the permission of Gebietskommissar Lindner in Łuck. There was also a kitchen organized by the Judenrat, which distributed soup and bread. Some Jews managed to barter their remaining possessions for food with the local non-Jews and sneaked the food in past the guards.[4] In May 1942, 150 young Jews who were fit for work were sent away, allegedly to a labor camp.

On August 23, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Łuck arrived to liquidate the ghetto, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.[5] The police forces surrounded the ghetto; after selecting out about 14 specialist workers, who were put into a warehouse, the remaining Jews were taken away on trucks to the old Jewish cemetery at the end of Sadovskaia Street. Here a large pit had been prepared the day before. Nearly 2,000 people were ordered to undress and then shot in the pit.

There was little in the way of organized resistance in the ghetto, but a number of Jews managed to escape on the night before the Aktion, and many others went into hiding at the time of the roundup. Unfortunately, most of them subsequently were caught by the Ukrainian police and shot over the ensuing days and weeks. Few Jews were able to survive. Some Ukrainian families (for example, the Krut' family) hid Jews and helped them survive until the Germans were driven from Torczyn in February 1944.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Torczyn can be found in the following publications: "Torczyn," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 95–97; and V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Torczyn in the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-10); VHF (# 2672, 2839, 27130); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. "Torczyn," 5:96; Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 31.
3. VHF, # 27130, testimony of Henry Karsh (born 1922), 1997; # 2672, testimony of Aaron Katz (born 1921), 1995.
4. Ibid., # 2839, testimony of Toby Kolnick (born 1923), 1995.
5. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:97; DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, report to the Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942.

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TUCZYN

Pre-1939: Tuczyn, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1991: Tuchin, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tutschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Tuchyn, Hoshcha raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Tuczyn is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Równe. The 1921 census recorded 2,159 Jews living in Tuczyn. Allowing for a natural increase in the population of about 0.9 percent per year, there were probably around 2,600 Jews living in the town in June 1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Tuczyn on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). On September 1, 1941, the area around Tuczyn was transferred to a German civil administration. Tuczyn became the center of Rayon Tutschin in Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Werner Beer.[1] The German Gendarmerie maintained an outpost in Tuczyn, to which the local Ukrainian police force was subordinated.

In the first days of the German occupation, antisemites from among the town's Ukrainian population organized a pogrom. In the course of the violence, about 60 or 70 Jews were killed and many homes looted. The next day, an Einsatzkommando of the Security Police (Sipo) and Security Service (SD), drawing on lists prepared by Ukrainians, arrested and shot 20 Jews and 5 Ukrainians as Soviet activists and Communists.[2]

Other anti-Jewish measures that followed in the summer and autumn of 1941 included the appointment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), the requirement that Jews wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later, a yellow patch), the conscription of Jews to perform forced labor, and the restriction of Jews to the limits of the town. Jews were also subjected to systematic plundering and beatings by the Ukrainian police.

According to one survivor, soon after the start of the occupation, local non-Jews stopped recognizing their Jewish acquaintances. The Germans confiscated Jewish valuables and their livestock, which led to shortages of food. A clothing factory for the German army was established in the town, which used Jews as laborers.[3]

Until the late summer of 1942, the Jews of Tuczyn lived in a form of open ghetto. Herman Wajcman recalled: "[T]he ghetto was an open ghetto. You could come in and out. We actually moved into the ghetto, but we had passes to go to the factory, where we lived half of the time. It wasn't like the ghettos that were surrounded by police."[4] Apparently, with the aid of bribes, the Judenrat managed to postpone the establishment of a formal ghetto until early September 1942. Then a ghetto was established in about 50 small houses along Waskadawska Street. Living conditions were very crowded, with many people having to sleep on the floor.[5] At about this time, all the Jews from the surrounding area were also concentrated there, including from the village of Antonówka, raising the Jewish population in the ghetto up to around 3,000 people.[6]

On September 24, 1942, a unit from the regional Sipo-SD headquarters in Równe liquidated the Tuczyn ghetto with the assistance of the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. An organized resistance effort on the part of the ghetto inhabitants enabled many of Tuczyn's Jews initially to flee.

Following the murder of the Jews in Równe in mid-July 1942, refugees arriving from there told the Jews in Tuczyn what had happened. When news arrived that the Germans were preparing mass graves nearby, the leaders of the Tuczyn community decided to resist. Among the principal organizers of resistance were the chairman of the Judenrat, Hershel Schwarzman, and his deputy, Meir Himmelfarb. They planned to set fire to the houses and to attack the Germans with available weapons to enable the bulk of the ghetto residents to flee into the nearby forests. With Judenrat funds, kerosene was purchased, and some weapons, including five rifles and more than 20 revolvers, were obtained. A group of Jews who worked felling trees in the forests attempted to contact the Soviet partisans to gain some outside support. When the Jews went to pray together for the last time on Yom Kippur (September 21, 1942), Schwarzman and the other resistance leaders revealed their plans to the assembled Jews.

On the evening of September 23, the Germans surrounded the ghetto. The leaders of the uprising alerted the Jews, and those with weapons prepared to resist. At dawn the following day, the Germans and Ukrainian police entered the ghetto. In response, the Jews set fire to the houses in the ghetto and German warehouses nearby. When the Jewish fighters opened fire on their advancing foes, other Jews used the ensuing chaos of fire, smoke, people yelling, and rifle fire to break through the wooden barricades around the ghetto and flee. Herman Wajcman used some of the tombstones in the cemetery as cover as he tried to reach the forests. Several Germans and Ukrainian policemen were killed and wounded.[7] It is estimated that initially up to 2,000 Jews, including many women and children, reached the forest. Most of the fighters stayed behind to tie down the Germans, and they fell in battle or were captured and then shot. This was the fate of Schwarzman and Himmelfarb as the uprising ended on September 26.

The Germans and Ukrainian police soon organized a manhunt for the Jews who had escaped. Within three days, around half of them had been captured and killed, and many, especially women with children, realized that they could not survive in the forest and returned to Tuczyn, where they were also shot. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 753 Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery in Tuczyn during the autumn of 1942, while Ukrainian nationalist partisans in the Kudrinka Forest killed about 240 Jews. The German Gendarmerie shot more than 300 Jews, Ukrainians, and Poles in the town park.[8]

A number of Jews held out in the woods into the winter, but some died of hunger and cold, and others were denounced to the Germans or killed by peasants. A few of the younger Jewish escapees eventually joined Soviet partisan units. When

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Tuczyn was liberated on January 16, 1944, only around 20 Jews remained in the area.

SOURCES Information about the revolt of the Jews in the Tuczyn ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Tutschin," in Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 1518–1519 (a shorter version is available in German as "Tutschin," in *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordrung der europäischen Juden* [Munich: Piper, 1995], pp. 1442–1443); Benzion H. Ayalon, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilot Tutshin-Kripeh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Tutshin-Kripeh veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1967); Avraham 'Sadeh and Levi Deror, eds., *Yehude Tuts'in u-Kripah mul rotshehem: 'E'srim ve-arba' 'eduyot, gavah 'eduyot ve-khines* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad yots'e Tuts'in u-Kripeh, Moreshet Bet-'Edut 'a. sh. Mordekhai Anilevits, 1990); "Tuczyn," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 93–95; and Ze'ev Portenoy, "The Revolt of the Totszcin Ghetto" [in Yiddish], in Yehuda Merin and Ben Zion Kaminsky, eds., *Yalkut Vohlin 55–60* (Tel Aviv: Arkhiyon Vohlin be-Erets-Yisrael, 1998), pp. 38–40.

Documents about the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Tuczyn can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/2901, 3178); DARO; GARF (7021-71-68); USHMM (RG-50.030*0243); VHF (# 7774, 30371, 34403); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of the Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), pp. 64, 67; AŻIH, 301/397. According to materials of the ChGK, 72 Jews were killed; see GARF, 7021-71-68, p. 4.
3. VHF, # 7774, testimony of Avraham Elbert; # 30371, testimony of Arych Katzav.
4. USHMM, RG-50.030*0243, testimony of Herman Wajcman (born 1926).
5. VHF, # 7774; # 30371.
6. USHMM, RG-50.030*0243.
7. Ibid.; VHF, # 7774.
8. GARF, 7021-71-68, pp. 4, 16, 17, 74.

TURZYSK

Pre-1939: Turzysk (Yiddish: Trisk), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Turiisk, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Turisk, Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Turiis'k, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Turzysk is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) southwest of Kowel. According to the 1921 population census, 1,173 Jews were living in Turzysk. By the middle of 1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 to 10 persons per thousand, the Jewish population was probably around 1,400.

German forces occupied Turzysk on June 28, 1941. Soon after their arrival, German soldiers and Ukrainians looted the empty stores, and some Jews were also robbed. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town's affairs. In September 1941, power was transferred officially to a German civil administration. Turzysk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf was the Gebietskommissar in Kowel until June 1942, and Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp was appointed Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews and executed shortly thereafter. His successor as Gebietskommissar was his chief of staff (Stabsleiter) Erich Kassner.

In Turzysk, the civil administration was represented by a Sonderführer (agricultural leader), who proved to be a great enemy of the Jews. A Ukrainian local authority was also established in Turzysk. In addition, the Germans recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post, composed of several German Gendarmes.

At the end of July 1941, shortly after the occupation of the settlement, 10 Jews alleged to be Soviet activists were shot in Turzysk.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was made up primarily of pre-war social activists. Jehuda-Leyb Ginzburg served as chairman. An unarmed Jewish police force was also established. Among the first tasks assigned to the Judenrat was the obligation to deliver a daily quota of forced laborers. These men initially were used to assist German railway officials to convert the railway to a narrower gauge, for which they were not paid. Jews were issued work cards, on which their assigned days were marked. Other forced labor tasks included agricultural work and the construction of roads and bridges.

Jews were required to wear distinctive markings in plain view from the first days of the occupation. Initially they wore white armbands with a blue Star of David, and later these were replaced by yellow patches sewn onto the front left side and the middle of the back of their outer clothing. Jewish houses were also marked with yellow symbols. The Jewish Council was required to meet onerous "contributions" in money, valuables, and useful items demanded by the German authorities. After a time the Germans started to send some Jews away to work, and these people did not return.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the Germans spread vicious antisemitic propaganda on posters and leaflets in the town, which scornfully accused the Jews of having assisted the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and threatened their destruction. Further new regulations ordered Jews to surrender all their cows and goats and banned them from leaving the limits of the town. Initially the Jews received a bread ration of 200 grams (7 ounces), but this was subsequently reduced to only 100 grams (3.5 ounces). In the winter of 1941–1942,

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the Germans also required the Jews to surrender all their fur items for the use of the German army. After the German advance was halted in front of Moscow in December 1941, a rumor spread among the Jews that some of their surrendered furs had been recaptured by the Soviets and were being worn by the Red Army. This news was repeated with some satisfaction among the Jews. As no access to radio or newspapers was available, most information was spread by way of gossip and rumors, recycling snippets picked up by eavesdropping on the conversations of non-Jews.[4]

At some time before mid-August 1942, the German authorities established an open ghetto in Turzysk, forcibly resettling Jews there from neighboring villages. The ghetto remained unfenced, and Jews with work cards were still permitted to leave to visit their assigned work sites. For example, a number of Jews were employed regularly digging peat outside of the town.

On August 19, 1942, the Judenrat in Turzysk was confronted by a demand from the German authorities to produce half a million Karbowanez (German occupation currency), 500 good suits, and 500 pairs of shoes within 24 hours. If this demand were not to be met promptly, the Germans threatened to destroy the entire community. With great effort, the Jews managed to collect the required clothes and shoes but were unable to gather such a large sum of money.

The next day, Ukrainian police sealed off the town, not permitting any Jews to leave, shooting those they caught attempting to sneak out. Then on August 23, 1942, German forces arrived in Turzysk to liquidate the ghetto. First the Jews were ordered to assemble on the square in front of the Bet Midrash. They were instructed to bring food for one day and also to take along their most valuable possessions, as they were told that they would be transferred to the Kowel ghetto. The Germans tried to select a few specialist workers who they still needed, but at least one carpenter refused to leave his fellow Jews and remained with the main group. Then the Jews were marched in a column under close guard by the Ukrainian police in the direction of Kowel. After about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles), the Jews were ordered to stop near a clay pit used for making bricks, where a group of 10 Jews were ordered to undress and then shot. Under the supervision of several German officers, the rest of the Jews were then shot in turn. Realizing their fate, some of the Jews tried to commit suicide, and 1 even managed to seize a weapon from one of the Ukrainian guards. In the ensuing confusion, many Jews tried to flee, but most were gunned down before they could get far.

A number of Jews had hidden inside the ghetto, and when some local Ukrainians started to loot the ghetto, it seems that a few Jews may have set fire to the houses, either to deny the Ukrainians their possessions or perhaps to mask their escape. However, the Ukrainian police were still guarding the ghetto perimeter, and some fleeing Jews were forced back into the flames. When the fires eventually died down, many Jews lay dead in the ghetto and the surrounding fields. Local Poles and Ukrainians were instructed to gather the corpses and take them to the pit. They were rewarded with the possessions they found on the bodies. A number of fleeing Jews sought shelter with peasant acquaintances in the surrounding countryside, but most were caught and killed by patrols of the Ukrainian police, which scoured the area for escaped Jews over the following weeks.[5]

According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 1,512 Jews were shot altogether in Turzysk during the ghetto liquidation and its aftermath.[6] The mass shooting Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian auxiliary police. Also participating in the Aktion was Schutzmannschaft-Bataillon 103 from Maciejów. In 1948, four former policemen from this battalion were tried: Zaichuk, Leskovskii, Maksimchuk, and Sokhatskii.[7]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Turzysk can be found in the following publications: Nathan Livneh, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, *Trisk: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun Yots'e Trisk be-Yisrael, 1975); V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003); and Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Turzysk Jews can be found in the following archives: DAVO; and GARF (7021-55-1).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Spector, *The Holocaust*, p. 73; Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilat*, *Trisk*, p. 322.
3. Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilat*, *Trisk*, pp. 320–323.
4. Ibid., pp. 321–324.
5. Ibid., pp. 325–328, 349.
6. GARF, 7021-55-1, pp. 70–71 and reverse.
7. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 13.

UŚCIŁUG

Pre-1939: Uściług, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ustilug, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ustilug, Rayon center, Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ustyluh, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Uściług is located on the Bug River, 13 kilometers (8 miles) west of Włodzimierz Wołyński. According to the 1921 census, 2,723 Jews resided in Uściług. Allowing for natural increase and the effects of emigration in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the influx of refugees in 1939, there were probably slightly less than 3,000 Jews in the town in June 1941. In September 1939, German forces bombarded Uściług, killing several Jewish and non-Jewish civilians and destroying almost

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half the buildings in the town. The German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact placed Uściług just on the Soviet side of the border with the newly created Generalgouvernement. The Soviets deported about one third of the Jewish population, including many refugees from central Poland, primarily to the nearby town of Włodzimierz Wołyński.[1]

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, they bombarded Uściług a second time. The town caught fire, and a majority of the houses were destroyed. Units of the German 6th Army entered the town on June 23. In July and August, a German local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Uściług, and in September 1941, authority was officially transferred to a civil administration. Uściług then became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk. The Gebietskommissar was Wilhelm Westerheide, who had assumed his post by the beginning of November 1941, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer from July 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Grigat. He was in command of 18 Gendarmerie officials spread over several Rayons, including Rayon Ustilug; this post, manned by three or more Gendarmes, was in charge of a squad of local Ukrainian police (a few dozen men).[2]

In the summer and autumn of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Uściług: Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing symbols such as the Star of David (later on, a patch in the shape of a yellow circle), they were assigned to forced labor largely without pay, and they were not allowed to leave the boundaries of the town. They were also subjected to systematic looting and beatings by the Ukrainian police. Local Gendarmerie officials organized a Judenrat, appointing Mikhel Shafran as its chairman.[3]

In the first large anti-Jewish Aktion in Uściług, German security forces shot 30 Jews in late June 1941 for allegedly having collaborated with the Soviet authorities. In October 1941, approximately 890 Jews were gathered together and marched out of town. They and their families were told that they were being relocated to a forced labor camp. In fact, they all were shot.[4]

In March 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Uściług. Soon the severe overcrowding and atrocious living conditions in the ghetto led to an outbreak of typhus. To prevent the further spread of the disease, the German Gendarmes sent Ukrainian police into the ghetto to kill anyone who was running a fever.[5] In the first half of September 1942, a unit of the Security Police and SD from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, murdered 1,847 Jews.[6] A few hundred Jews escaped to the forests, hid in bunkers, or were temporarily spared as forced laborers. The last two groups were put in a Wehrmacht forced labor camp that was liquidated in the winter of 1942–1943. Of those who escaped to the forest, some were killed by members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); others succeeded in joining units of the Polish Armia Krajowa.[7]

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of Uściług can be found in these publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 32–34; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 323; and in the yizkor book edited by Arye Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila: Bevinvanah uvehurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ustila be-Yisrael uve tefutsot, 1961).

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Uściług can be found in DAVO and GARF (7021-55-8).

Alexander Kruglov and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Arye Avinadav, "Sippuran shel Shetey Ahiyot," in Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila*, p. 139; Nahman Burlvant, "Hurban Ustila," also in *Kehilat Ustila*, p. 239.
2. LG-Dort, Ks 45 Js 32/64, Bd. LXIII, Indictment in the case against Wilhelm Westerheide.
3. Yeshayahu Meltsman, "Al Hurvot Ayartenu," in Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila*, pp. 125–126; Avinadav, "Sippuran," p. 140; Burlvant, "Hurban Ustila," pp. 240–241.
4. See Meltsman, "Hurvot," p. 126; and Avinadav, "Sippuran," p. 140. The Germans were relatively successful at concealing this Aktion from the remaining Jews, so these two testimonies do not refer to it as such, only to a large-scale deportation. The figures from the ChGK report, however, support the figure posited by Spector in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* and given here.
5. Meltsman, "Hurvot," p. 126.
6. GARF, 7021-55-8, pp. 35–37. According to the ChGK report for the Ustilug raion, 2,535 people were killed in total during the occupation; see also Meltsman, "Hurvot," p. 126; Avinadav, "Sippuran," pp. 140–141; and Burlvant, "Hurban Ustila," p. 240.
7. Meltsman, "Hurvot," pp. 140–141; Burlvant, "Hurban Ustila," p. 241.

VIN'KOVTSY

Pre-1941: Vin'kovtsy, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Winkowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vin'kivtsy, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Vin'kovtsy is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) south-southeast of Proskurov. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 2,251 (52 percent of the total).

Forces of the German 17th Army occupied Vin'kovtsy in mid-July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, establishing a town council and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Vin'kovtsy became a Rayon center within Gebiet Dunajewzy, where the Gebietskommissar was Gemeinschaftsführer Eduard Eggers.[1] There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Vin'kovtsy, which assumed control over the local detachment of Ukrainian police.

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At some time in the summer or fall of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Vin'kovtsy. According to the account of Sima Lerner, she returned from another village one day and was informed by a Ukrainian policeman that she would have to join all the other Jews in the ghetto. He escorted her personally to the ghetto, where she was given yellow patches to wear on her chest and back to show that she was Jewish. The Germans fenced in the ghetto, so that nobody could leave. In her apartment, three families lived together in overcrowded conditions. They were required to perform various forced labor tasks, such as building bridges and roads. In April 1942, all the children were rounded up and escorted to the main square. Here they were told that they could only walk in certain parts of the town, whereas the dogs were allowed to go wherever they wanted. Then they were all sent back to the ghetto.[2]

In May 1942, there was another roundup. Sima's father said to her that she should not report for the roundup, as she had not done anything wrong, so he hid her and everyone else left. Soon she heard many gunshots and immediately understood what was happening. There was a pit prepared in the forest near Vin'kovtsy, and the Jews were escorted to this pit and then shot. Sima meanwhile escaped to the house of her non-Jewish aunt, where she went into hiding. Subsequently she was moved to another house nearby. Here she stayed in the basement and never went outside. During a subsequent roundup, her uncle and grandfather were killed. Sima was not found during this roundup but then fled from Vin'kovtsy.[3]

Soviet and other sources indicate that there were two or three Aktions conducted against the Jews in Vin'kovtsy in the late spring and summer of 1942. These Aktions reportedly took place on April 14, May 9, and August 6. The Aktions were probably organized by a squad of Security Police and SD from the outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. Soviet sources indicate that 1,875 Jews were killed in April and 450 in May, but these figures are probably too high. According to a German report, 703 Jews were shot in "Wonkiwzi" (probably Vin'kovtsy) and Sibkiwzi on August 6, 1942. These last Jews to be shot were probably the remaining skilled craftsmen and their families. It is likely that around 1,875 Jews were shot in Vin'kovtsy in 1942.[4]

Another Jewish survivor, Iosif Shalita, has given a brief description of the ghetto in Vin'kovtsy. He states that it consisted of about five or six houses grouped together, which contained about 300 people. Around the yards of the houses there was barbed wire and beyond that a gate. The food the Jews had available to them was horrible and limited, as there were so many people. Living conditions were deplorable due to the overcrowding; people slept very little, lying down wherever they could find space on the floor. The Jews worked at a nearby kolkhoz. The work was absolutely terrible, but people thought they were safer if they made themselves useful. In the ghetto there was order; people would go to each other for help. Somehow people learned that the police were planning another Aktion two days in advance. Shalita knew he had to escape and managed to crawl through the barbed wire and left Vin'kovtsy. His testimony, however, is problematic, as he dates his escape from the ghetto in September 1943, having been there for only one month. It is possible that he was mistaken by just over one year and is describing the ghetto in the period leading up to its liquidation in early August 1942; or perhaps he is describing a subsequent forced labor camp or remnant ghetto for Jews in Vin'kovtsy in 1943.[5]

SOURCES The main sources for this entry are two VHF testimonies (# 6955 and 32327), which mention a ghetto in the town. Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-64-795); and IPN.

Martin Dean
trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 6955, testimony of Sima Lerner.
3. Ibid.
4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 2, Sipo-Aussenstelle Kamenez-Podolsk to KdS Dr. Pütz in Rowno, August 6, 1942; GARF, 7021-64-95, pp. 208–209.
5. VHF, # 32327, testimony of Iosif Shalita.

VOLOCHISK

Pre-1941: Volochisk, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wolotschisk, Rayon center, Gebiet Proskurow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volochysk, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Volochisk is located 126 kilometers (78 miles) south of Równe. In 1926, 2,068 Jews lived in Volochisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 753 Jews living there. The same census recorded 2,926 Jews living in the entire Volochisk raion, including those in Volochisk itself. About half of the Jews in the villages of the raion lived in Fridrikhovka, where there were 521 Jews, and in Kupel'.

Volochisk was occupied by units of the German 6th Army in early July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the town. The Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Volochisk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Proskurow, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck was appointed as the Gebietskommissar.[1] In Volochisk itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, to which the Ukrainian auxiliary police unit was subordinated.

The Aktions targeting the Jewish population of Gebiet Proskurow, which included Volochisk, were carried out in 1942 by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle)

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in Starokonstantinov. This outpost was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Volochisk. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David and later yellow patches. The German authorities established a ghetto in Volochisk. According to the child survivor Frima Laub, shortly after the arrival of the Germans, they "fenced in about 20 blocks or so—and all the Jewish people had to move out of their homes and go to live in that area."[2] Jews were taken every day for forced labor at work sites outside the ghetto. Otherwise, they were not permitted to leave the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police.

In Volochisk, German security forces conducted at least two large-scale Aktions against the Jews. Laub describes one Aktion when many of the Jews were driven out of the ghetto and collected together in an empty factory building, where they were forced to undress and surrender all their valuables. From there the Jews were marched in a column to a site outside the town to be shot. Frima, together with her sister and her mother, managed to avoid being shot by claiming to be non-Jews who were taken there by mistake; but they were kept in prison under investigation for several weeks afterwards until they managed to escape and returned to the ghetto. Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation in September 1942, Laub escaped through the barbed wire of the ghetto and was put into hiding by her mother, initially with a non-Jewish woman in return for payment but separated from the rest of her family. However, because of German threats of the death penalty for anyone caught hiding Jews, the woman became very scared and turned Laub out on the street, and she had to find refuge elsewhere for several months. To avoid endangering another family that helped to keep her alive, Frima slept for some time under a house with a dog for warmth, until she managed to rejoin her family in the spring of 1943.[3]

In August 1942, Jews from neighboring villages—including from Kupel', Fridrikhovka, and Voitovtsy—were resettled into the ghetto. On September 11, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto, shooting all the remaining Jews. The number of Jews killed was probably around 3,000 people, although Soviet sources give numbers that are somewhat higher.[4] The mass shootings were carried out by a detachment of the Sipo outpost in Starokonstantinov, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. In the fall of 1942, Ukrainian policemen arrested and shot several hundred additional Jews who were found in hiding.

In July 1944, nine men who served in the local police in Volochisk during the German occupation were tried by the Soviet authorities. All of them were found guilty, and six of them were sentenced to death and hanged in Volochisk, while the other three received terms of hard labor. According to evidence presented during the trial, some 4,000 Jews had been murdered in Volochisk in the summer of 1942.[5]

SOURCES The ghetto in Volochisk is mentioned in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:277–278.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Volochisk can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-795); USHMM (RG-50.030*0123); and YVA (M-33/173).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-50.030*0123, interview with Frima Laub, May 7, 1990.
3. Ibid.
4. The documents of the ChGK indicate that more than 8,000 Jews were shot in one day. In our view, this number of victims is significantly too high. See GARF, 7021-64-795, pp. 94–96, 139.
5. YVA, M-33/173, as cited by Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 584.

WARKOWICZE

Pre-1939: Warkowicze, *town*, *województwo wołyńskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Varkovichi*, *Dubno raion*, *Rovno oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Warkowitschi*, *Rayon Dubno*, *Gebiet Dubno*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Varkovychi*, *Rivne oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Warkowicze is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Równe. In 1921, there were 886 Jews living in Warkowicze (80.6 percent of the total population).

In September 1939, the Red Army occupied Warkowicze, and the area was soon annexed by the Soviet Union. At this time a Jewish kolkhoz was established near the town. On the eve of the German invasion in June 1941, including Jewish refugees that had arrived from central and western Poland in 1939, there were probably more than 1,200 Jews living in Warkowicze.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Warkowicze on June 27, 1941. On July 8, German security forces conducted an Aktion against members of the Jewish intelligentsia in which they shot at least three men and two women.[1] In July and August 1941, the town was under the control of a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The German military authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and demanded the surrender of valuable gold and silver items, which were forwarded to Berlin.[2]

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Warkowicze was incorporated into Rayon Dubno within Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was Nach-

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wuchsführer Brocks, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 was Leutnant Eberhardt.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German administration introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Warkowicze. Jews were required to wear distinguishing armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow patch on their chests and backs.[4] Jews were forbidden to leave the limits of the town or to trade with non-Jews and were obliged to perform forced labor.

In April or May 1942, the Germans ordered the Jews to live in a certain part of the town, which became known as the ghetto.[5] The ghetto was enclosed by a fence reinforced with barbed wire, but it was not always strictly guarded.[6] About 20 families of Jewish artisans lived outside the ghetto. The Jews were required to perform the dirtiest jobs and were frequently beaten by the German and Ukrainian police. The two most notorious German policemen in the region were Papken and Hammerstein, who also participated in the liquidation of the Warkowicze ghetto.[7]

Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation, the Jews of Warkowicze began to learn from various sources, including the German press, about other towns in the region that had been rendered "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*). Then a group of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were instructed to prepare ditches at a sandpit about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town. Some Jews, especially the refugees from central and western Poland, understood these signs and fled the ghetto or went into hiding.[8]

One day in early October 1942,[9] German and Ukrainian police forces surrounded the ghetto in the early morning hours and proceeded to round up the Jews. The Jews were then escorted to the ditches on foot, with the elderly and infirm transported on trucks. On their arrival, the Germans and their collaborators shot them into the mass graves. Because many Jews went into hiding or tried to escape, the Aktion lasted two or three days, as repeated searches were made for Jews in the ghetto and the surrounding area.[10]

According to Soviet sources, around 1,500 Jews from Warkowicze were shot together with up to 1,000 Jews from the neighboring village of Ozeriany.[11] Of the many Jews who were able to escape on the eve of the Aktion, most were recaptured with the aid of Ukrainian collaborators and other local inhabitants and subsequently were shot. About 25 escaped Jews, including several from Warkowicze, found shelter with sympathetic Czechs and Poles in the nearby village of Kurdyban. During 1943, this village came under frequent assault from Ukrainian nationalist partisans (*Banderowcy*) who attacked the Polish and Czech peasants. The Jews took up arms and fought with the peasants to resist these Ukrainian attacks.[12] The Red Army drove the Germans out of Warkowicze in early 1944. According to one estimate, about 200 Jews from Warkowicze managed to survive the German occupation.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Jewish community of Warkowicze can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 75–77; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:207; and 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), p. 1425. The Warkowicze ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 137.

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Jewish population of Warkowicze during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2896); BA-L (B 162/5211); DARO (R436-1-4 and R534-1-4); GARF (7021-71-48); VHF (# 9590); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. DARO, R436-1-4, p. 78, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, December 4, 1944.
2. BA-BL, R 2104/21, pp. 341–462.
3. Ibid., BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. VHF, # 9590, testimony of Anna Goldenberg-Schwarcz.
5. DARO, R436-1-4, p. 78.
6. Boris Zabarko, ed., "*Nur wir haben überlebt*": *Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 335–336, testimony of Jefim Sacharow-Saidenberg; VHF, # 9590.
7. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 1–2, Esther Krik, New York, May 27, 1959.
8. AŻIH, 301/2896, testimony of F. Tabacznik.
9. Sources disagree on the precise date. DARO, R534-1-4, p. 81, dates the Aktion on October 7, 1942; another gives October 3, 1942.
10. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 1–2, Esther Krik, May 27, 1959.
11. GARF, 7021-71-48, pp. 52 and verso. According to Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, only 400 Jews were shot, while 1,600 escaped. In 1921, there were 796 Jews living in Ozeriany; see *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 221.
12. AŻIH, 301/2896; and Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 250–252.

WERBA

Pre-1939: Werba, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Verba, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Werba, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Verba, Dubno raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Werba is located about 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) southwest of Dubno. According to the 1921 census, there were 228 Jews living in Werba (57 percent of the total population). By the

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middle of 1941, allowing for a natural increase of 9 to 10 persons per thousand per year, there would have been around 270 Jews living there.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Werba on June 24, 1941. In July and August 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Werba was incorporated into Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks became the Gebietskommissar, and Gendarmerie-Leutnant Eberhardt was appointed as the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in 1942.[1] A Gendarmerie post and a Ukrainian police unit were established in Werba.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of antisemitic measures in Werba. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David, later, two yellow patches, to be worn one on their chest and one on the back of their clothing. The Jews had to perform forced labor, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. The German authorities also ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was responsible for assigning Jews to forced labor tasks. Sometimes those sent out to perform forced labor did not return. Forced labor tasks included chopping wood for the Germans and agricultural work. No schools were permitted by the German authorities, but Jewish children still went clandestinely to Hebrew school in the teacher's house.[2]

On May 20, 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in the town on two streets. Jews from neighboring villages also were resettled there. In total, there were 367 Jews in the ghetto.[3] Accounts of survivors differ on whether there was a fence surrounding the ghetto. The ghetto inmates suffered from severe overcrowding, with around 10 people sharing a single room and others crammed into attics and sleeping on floors. There was no running water in the ghetto houses, and all water had to be collected from the well. No ration cards were issued to the Jews, but some Jews were able to sneak out and obtain food, such as bread, potatoes, and butter, from Czech colonists living nearby. The craftsmen and their families lived in a separate section of the ghetto apart from the rest of the Jews. The ghetto was guarded by the Ukrainian police who imposed a strict curfew and were tougher on the Jews than the few Germans based in the village.[4]

On May 30, 1942, the Germans conducted an Aktion against the Jews in the ghetto, resulting in around 285 Jews being shot near the village of Granovka.[5] The mass shooting was carried out by an SD detachment from Równe, with the assistance of a platoon from the 1st Company of the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion.[6]

The craftsmen and their families in the separate section of the ghetto were not shot at the end of May. After the Aktion, the German authorities promised not to kill those who had survived, and the few Jews who had hidden themselves successfully joined the craftsmen in the remnant ghetto. However, in August 1942, the German and Ukrainian police conducted a second Aktion, shooting the remaining Jews. Including those discovered and shot in searches just after the Aktion, around 80 more Jews were arrested and shot.[7]

Some Jews managed to escape from the ghetto in time, most of them hiding and working with local peasants. However, some of these Jews were betrayed and subsequently killed; only a few survived until the return of the Red Army in March 1944.

SOURCES Articles about the Jewish population of Werba can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 86; and in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:230.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Werba can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3057); DARO; GARF (7021-71-43); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 27031, 33586); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 33586, testimony of Nathan Alterman; and # 27031, testimony of Fred Manus.
3. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:230.
4. VHF, # 33586 and # 27031.
5. GARF, 7021-71-43, p. 2, gives the figure of 350 Jews killed. The actual number was probably slightly less; see *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:230.
6. See the report of the HSSPF in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
7. VHF, # 27031.

WIŚNIOWIEC

Pre-1939: Wiśniowiec (Yiddish: Vishnivits), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vishnevits, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wischnewez, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vyshnivets', raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Wiśniowiec is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Tarnopol. In 1937 there were 3,000 Jews in Wiśniowiec, and at the time of the German invasion there were probably about 4,000 Jews living in the town, including some refugees from central and western Poland.

German forces captured Wiśniowiec on July 2, 1941. Almost immediately, local Ukrainian police and other collaborators, with support from the Germans, began a reign of terror: plundering, abusing, torturing, and murdering Jews.

In September 1941, power was transferred to a civil administration. Wiśniowiec was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. The senior German official in the town was the German agri-

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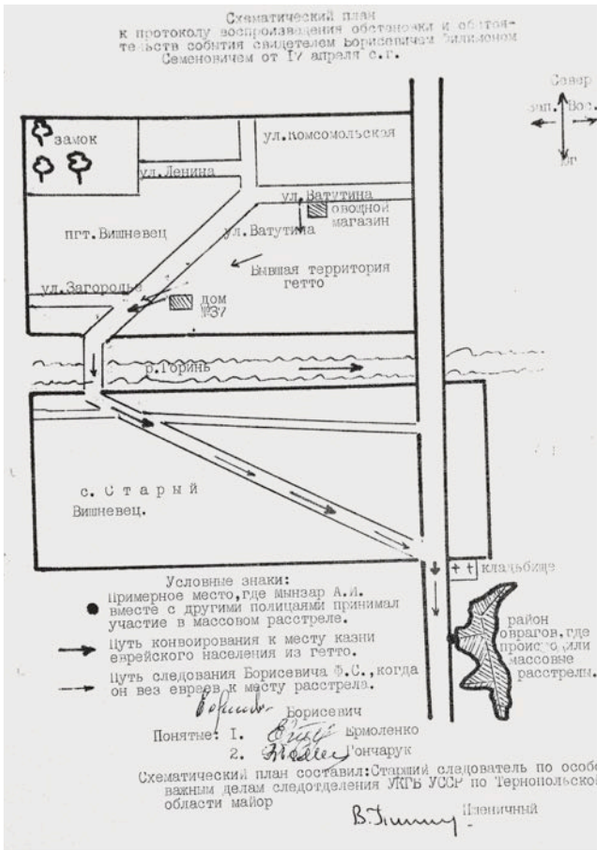

Sketch map of the Wiśniowiec ghetto, produced for a Soviet war-crimes investigation in 1984. The ghetto is located in the southeast quadrant of town, north of the Hoyrn River. The route taken to the killing site is marked by arrows, and the ravines where the shootings took place are indicated by hatching.
USHMMA/RG-31.018M

cultural leader Steiger, who also exercised authority over the ghetto in Wiśniowiec. Steiger received his instructions from the Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec, Regierungsrat Müller. The Ukrainian chief of the Rayon was Borisenko, and the head of the police was Bukovsky. The Ukrainian police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie.[1]

On March 16, 1942, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Wiśniowiec within only three days.[2] Several hundred Jews from the surrounding villages, including Świniuchy, Wyżgródek (Jewish population of 944 in 1921), and Oleśkincy, were relocated to Wiśniowiec around this time. Once the Jews had constructed the ghetto, more than 4,000 Jews were forced inside, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) took charge of its internal affairs.[3]

In Wiśniowiec the Jews were ordered to choose their officials from among their own ranks; however, initially nobody agreed to serve. In the end, a few Jews drew up a list of candidates, and when the candidates did not consent, the Jews entreated them to accept the positions, lest the Germans punish the town's Jews for not choosing representatives.

Among the members of the Judenrat were Shlomo Ayzenberg (the treasurer in charge of collecting the fines imposed on the Jews), Hershl Margoliot (who was in charge of the conscription of workers to meet the Germans' demands), and Yaakov Markbayn (who ran the bakery). The chairman of the Judenrat was Koylnbrener, a refugee from Łódź who spoke German. According to the view of another Judenrat member, he was reportedly warmhearted and acted in the best interests of the community, which in turn offered him loyalty.[4]

The ghetto consisted of a narrow area of the town and extended along the length of one street—from the house of Alter Leyter to the house of the Mazurs. A high fence surrounded it, and any windows along the perimeter were blocked off. Every day the Judenrat had to send between 50 and 70 Jews for forced labor. At times the Jews were subjected to brutal and arbitrary beatings from the Ukrainian police.

The houses in the ghetto were always dark and very overcrowded. Tens of people lived in one room. Cleanliness was impossible to maintain, and everyone became infested with lice. Hunger was great, and there were few possibilities of getting food from any other sources. Initially, the Jews received 140 grams (4.9 ounces) of bread per day, some salt, and water. However, the rations were progressively reduced to 100 grams (3.5 ounces), then 60 grams (2.1 ounces). The children became swollen from prolonged hunger, and the women in particular got abscesses on their skin, which bled incessantly. Every day, there were four or five funerals—all for victims of hunger and disease.

The funerals were connected with mortal danger. The Ukrainian guards also came along to the Jewish cemetery, which was outside the ghetto, to further oppress and torture the few Jews who buried the dead, making sure that nobody escaped. The pallbearers also had barely enough strength left to carry the swollen corpses, but they still carried out this solemn obligation with great care. It was also necessary to bury the bodies to prevent the spread of epidemics.[5]

Jews working outside the ghetto were able to smuggle some food in, but they had to run the gauntlet of the Ukrainian guards, who took special pleasure in breaking any eggs they found and beating up the offender. Some Ukrainian guards also exploited the hunger of the Jews and made a vast profit by selling small amounts of food or accepting bribes.

On August 11, 1942, 10 SS men arrived from Krzemieniec and brought with them scores of armed Ukrainian policemen from the entire Gebiet. According to Zev Sobol's account, one of the SS men, who stood close to Herr Steiger, the scourge of the Jews of Wiśniowiec, gave a brief speech: "Today, we are putting an end to all the Jews in the ghetto. Go and bang on every window and door, and say, 'Get out, Jews, communists, traitors! Out of your houses!' Beat with clubs and whip the Jews who do not want to come out. But pay attention not to kill them in the ghetto. Take them outside of the town, to the assigned place, and annihilate them there."[6]

The Jews were beaten severely as they were gathered together and then marched out of the town under close escort.

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As they went along, a truck circled around them, and the elderly, infirm, and children were brutally loaded onto it, thereby separating children from their parents. The Jews were taken to the valley beneath the old city, in the direction of Zbaraż. The Germans used the valley as a grave—prepared carefully for this purpose. The Jews were led to the pit in groups. Two policemen ordered them to strip down to their underpants. The clothes were placed together in a pile on the side. The victims were made to lie facedown in the pit, where Ukrainian police fired on them with automatic weapons, shooting them in the head. At the end the police also checked to make sure everybody was dead. The Ukrainians carried out their work with dispatch and were rewarded with some of the clothes of the people who were shot.[7]

According to a German report prepared by SS-Untersturmführer Selm for the Commander of the Security Police and SD in Równe, during this first Aktion against the Wiśniowiec ghetto on August 11–12, 1942, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators shot 2,669 people (600 men, 1,160 women, and 909 children).[8]

Some Jews managed to hide in bunkers during the initial ghetto clearance, while Steiger selected a few others at the grave as useful craftsmen. However, according to the testimony of Ukrainian policemen, there were several follow-up Aktions over the ensuing weeks, in which the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police murdered several hundred Jews in the same manner. By November 1942 the ghetto itself was almost completely destroyed, and no more Jews were living in the town.[9]

Only a handful of Jews managed to escape the systematic murder campaign of the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators. Sobol managed to escape twice: first by falling from the bridge into the river as the column of victims was being marched to the grave site. A non-Jew subsequently denounced him to the Ukrainian police after initially hiding him, but Sobol then also managed to escape from the synagogue where he was being held. After that he hid mostly on farms, taking food from the animals. He did not make contact with the Soviet partisans until shortly before the town was liberated. Unfortunately, his brother was tracked down by a German police dog and murdered just before the arrival of the Red Army.[10]

A number of local policemen from Wiśniowiec were tried after the liberation. Among those tried were Yakov Ostrovsky and the Poslovsky brothers, who were captured and handed over to the Soviet authorities by some of the few remaining Jewish survivors. Other Ukrainian policemen sentenced by the Soviets included Aleksandr Khomits'kii and Kyrylo Filyk. Most were sentenced to 25 years of hard labor but were then released during the 1950s.[11]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Wiśniowiec, edited by Chaim Rabin, *Vishnivits: Sefer zikaron li-kedoshe Vishnivits she-nispu be-sho'at ha-natsim* (Tel Aviv: Irgun 'ole Vishnivits, 1979), contains several survivor accounts relevant to the period of the Holocaust.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF; USHMM (RG-31.018M and RG-22.002M); and YVA.

Martin Dean and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk, statement of Yakov Y. Ostrovsky (frame 8602).
2. "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec," by a survivor, in Rabin, *Vishnivits*, pp. 311–325.
3. The figure of at least 4,000 is given both by the Jewish survivor Zev Sobol and the Ukrainian policeman Yakov Ostrovsky. According to the ChGK report, the ghetto initially held about 4,000 Jews but then expanded to up to 6,000, as Jews arrived from the surrounding villages; see GARF, 7021-75-3, pp. 28–32. The anonymous survivor, who appears to have been linked to the Judenrat, also estimates more than 4,000 Jews in the ghetto, including some 1,000 from Wyżgródek; see "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec."
4. "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec."
5. Ibid.
6. Zev Sobol, "The Ghetto in Wisniowiec," in Rabin, *Vishnivits*, pp. 298–310.
7. Ibid.
8. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 2–3, transcription of a Security Police report dated Rowno, August 15, 1942, on the "special treatment" of Jews in the Krzemieniec district.
9. USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk, statement of Yakov Y. Ostrovsky (frame 8602); D-27414, case against Aleksandr V. Khomits'kii, ChGK report from 1944 (frame 9417); and reel 24, Arch. no. 33533, D-91, case against Aleksandr Ivanovich M'inzar (1984).
10. Sobol, "The Ghetto in Wisniowiec."
11. Ibid.; USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-27414, case against Aleksandr V. Khomits'kii; D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk.

WŁODZIMIERZEC

Pre-1939: Włodzimierzec, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vladimirets, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wladimirez, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volodymyrets', raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Włodzimierzec is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) west-northwest of Sarny. In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,262 (43 percent of the total population). Allowing for a natural increase of approximately 9 or 10 people per 1,000 each year, by the middle of 1941 there would have been approximately 1,500 Jews in Włodzimierzec. They were joined by a number of refugees from Brześć and other towns following the German occupation of central and western Poland.

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Four days after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, about 500 young men, Jews and non-Jews, were mobilized in Włodzimierzec. They were sent to Sarny and organized into a battalion. As the Red Army withdrew, German forces captured the battalion. The Jews were then separated out and murdered.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Włodzimierzec on July 17, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. By September 1941, the German civil administration had taken over and incorporated the town in Gebiet Sarny as a Rayon center. Kameradschaftsführer Huala became the Gebietskommissar, and from the spring of 1942, Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Albert Schumacher was the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] In the town, a German Gendarmerie post was established, with several Gendarmes, who also supervised the activities of the local Ukrainian police.

Following the retreat of the Red Army, a period of anarchy ensued, during which a mob of local Ukrainians started a pogrom, tormenting and robbing Jews and killing two who attempted to resist. The looting continued until the entry of German forces. A small delegation of Jews led by Yakov Eisenberg asked the priest, Sokhazhanit, to intervene. He promised to protect Jewish lives but not their property.[2]

The summer and fall of 1941 saw the implementation of a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. First, the German authorities registered the Jews. They ordered them to wear distinctive markings: initially, armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow patch on their chest and back. Jews also had to mark their homes with a blue Star of David. They were prohibited from going beyond the limits of the town. They were not permitted to buy food from non-Jews, and as a result, they lived in a state of near starvation. The Ukrainian police subjected Jews to systematic requisitions, lootings, and beatings.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the village, with Eisenberg as its head.[3] The Judenrat served as the channel of communications between the German occupation authorities and the Jewish population, transmitting their regulations and demands. A Jewish police force for maintaining security, consisting of a few Jews, was set up under the authority of the Jewish Council.

The German authorities levied a "fine" of 4 grams (0.14 ounce) of gold for every Jew, which the Judenrat fulfilled with the aid of community members who had the means to assist. All livestock belonging to Jews was confiscated. The Jews were required to report each morning for forced labor, such as street cleaning, road repair, and work at the sawmill. Workers received payment in the form of a daily ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread. Some Jews planted vegetable gardens as a source of additional food. In December 1941, Jews were ordered to turn in their fur garments and pay another fine in the form of fabric for clothing, jewelry, winter coats, and 5 grams (0.18 ounce) of gold and 100 rubles per head. Lacking the means to meet this demand, the Judenrat received some aid from the local Polish priest, Dominik Wałcinowicz, who also asked his parishioners to help the Jews. The head of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, Andrei Mokha, was a friend of Eisenberg and placed some restraints on the behavior of the men under his command.[4]

In late April 1942, right after Passover, the German authorities established an "open ghetto" in Włodzimierzec. Jews from the surrounding smaller communities were also taken from their homes and forced into the ghetto. An estimated 3,000 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto area.[5] The ghetto in Włodzimierzec existed for scarcely more than four months. As their impending fate became increasingly clear from news of massacres in the other communities of the region, the Jews of the town prayed and wept behind closed doors, reciting from Torah scrolls that had been kept hidden. In mid-August, a local Ukrainian brought word that pits were being dug on the road to Żołkinie. Eisenberg asked the German police for an explanation but was assured that this report was a false rumor. As the workweek began on Sunday, August 23, the number of Ukrainian police guarding the forced labor groups increased. They told the Jews of a plan to remove all those who were unfit for productive labor. Confronted with this threat, the Judenrat considered setting the ghetto on fire in the event of an Aktion, hoping to create enough confusion for people to flee. But after careful consideration, this idea was rejected.[6]

On August 27, 1942, all the Jews were ordered to gather on the market square, which was cordoned off by the police. The Jews were held there for a day and a night. At about 10:00 or 11:00 A.M. on August 28, some Jews tried to escape following an accidental shot, but the police opened fire, killing many Jews on the town's streets as they fled in all directions. Local policemen also finished off any Jews they found in hiding, including the nine-month-old baby of a Jewish woman named Burko, which she had entrusted to the Christian resident Anna Yerofeyevna Guzey as she fled.[7]

The Germans divided the remaining Jews into separate groups: one for the Judenrat and their families, one for specialist workers, and a third for "worthless Jews." Suddenly a Ukrainian policeman called out, "Whoever has hidden gold, silver, or other valuables can come with us and remove them from the hiding places. Those who do this will be allowed to remain alive." Some Jews also tried to move discreetly from the group of "worthless Jews" to that of specialist workers.[8]

However, the hopes that some might be preserved were soon dashed. Later that day the remaining Jews, starting with the Judenrat members and their families, were escorted by the German and Ukrainian police in the direction of the village of Żołkinie. The Ukrainian police chief had offered his friend Eisenberg a place to hide, but Eisenberg declined, saying that "the fate of my people shall be my fate as well."[9] The Jews were led to the Smoliarna Forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the town, where three mass graves had been prepared. Here the men and women were separated and made to undress; then a German shot them in the trench in groups of 5 with a machine gun. Local peasants also collected the bodies of those killed in the town, taking them to be buried in

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the same mass graves. In total, some 2,000 Jews were murdered during the "ghetto liquidation."[10]

Apparently the shooting was directed by a squad of Security Police and SD from the office in Równe and was carried out with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. Only a few dozen Jews were able to evade the Aktion and the relentless searches that followed. Amazingly Mordechai Weissman survived by simply running as fast as he could just moments before he was due to be shot.[11]

Ukrainian Baptists and Polish peasants aided some of the escapees. Others joined various partisan units: Soviet, Soviet-Polish, and Jewish. Soviet partisan forces liberated the town on January 12, 1944. One survivor who returned, Eliahu Kutz, assisted the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in identifying collaborators and murderers. A Soviet court in Rovno tried those who were caught, sentencing them to hard labor in Siberia.[12]

SOURCES A number of personal testimonies can be found in the yizkor book edited by A. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets, galed lezekher iranu* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Vladimirets in Israel, 1963). There is also an article on the history of the town with some information about the annihilation of the Jewish population in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 84–86.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: ANA; AŻIH; BA-BL; DARO; GARF (7021-71-44); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. Schumacher (born January 29, 1891) apparently died on April 8, 1945; see BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), p. 7.
2. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, pp. 312, 356.
3. Ibid., p. 313. Other Judenrat members were Natan and Yaakov Cherniak (brothers) and Ben Zion Tchuk.
4. Ibid., pp. 314, 339.
5. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:86. The figure of 3,000 ghetto inhabitants is probably too high.
6. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, pp. 316–317.
7. ANA, Special Investigations Unit, PU104/O, statements of Pavel Grigoryevich Kozoriz, Alexey Vasilyevich Khutky, and Olga Fyodorovna Dulyanitskaya, taken by the Soviet authorities in Vladimirets in January 1988.
8. Mordechai Weissman, "My Escape from the Ditches of Slaughter," in Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*.
9. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, p. 317.
10. Testimony of K.O. Koshmak in M. Gon, ed., *Holokost na Rivnenshchyni* (*Dokumenty i materialy*) (Dnipropetrovsk: Tsentr "Tkuma"; Zaporizhzhia: Prem'er, 2004), pp. 57–58. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the Germans massacred about 2,000 Jews; see GARF, 7021-71-44, p. 4.
11. Weissman, "My Escape from the Ditches of Slaughter." An English translation of this account is also available in Jack Kugelmass and Jonathan Boyarin, eds., *From a Ruined Garden: The Memorial Books of Polish Jewry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 208–212.
12. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, p. 359.

WŁODZIMIERZ WOŁYŃSKI

Pre-1939: Włodzimierz Wołyński, town, Włodzimierz powiat, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Vladimir-Volynskii, raion center, Volyn oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wladimir-Wolynsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi, Volyn oblast', Ukraine

Włodzimierz Wołyński is located about 77 kilometers (48 miles) west of Łuck. In 1937, more than 11,500 Jews lived in Włodzimierz, comprising 39 percent of the total population; Poles accounted for 43 percent; Ukrainians, 14 percent; and there were also a few Czechs, Germans, and Russians.

On June 23, 1941, the 298th Infantry Division captured Włodzimierz, receiving a warm welcome from the town's Ukrainian population. Very few of Włodzimierz's Jews could flee or be mobilized for military service beforehand.

For the next 10 months, first under military administration and then (after September 1, 1941) under civil administration, the Jews of Włodzimierz suffered systematic persecution, forced labor, and murder. Between 1,600 and 2,000 Jews were killed in this period by Wehrmacht troops, Sipo-SD murder squads, and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (many of whom were members of the Andrii Mel'nyk faction of the extremist Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, or OUN). The victims included most members of the first Judenrat, which the Germans had installed on or about July 7.

The establishment of a ghetto in Włodzimierz is dated to April 13, 1942. A 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fence surrounded it. The external guards were Ukrainians; Jewish Police patrolled inside. Judenrat members and doctors were allowed to live outside the ghetto, but some of their female relatives found that the ghetto gave them more protection against harassment. The overcrowded ghetto was soon racked by hunger and a typhus epidemic, which was exacerbated by a shortage of medicine. Anybody caught trying to smuggle food into the ghetto was punished. The Germans assumed a ghetto population of at least 15,000 Jews in mid-1942; members of the Judenrat estimated about 18,000 Jews living there.[1]

At the end of May, the ghetto was divided into two sections. These were known to Jews as the "living ghetto" for skilled workers (set off by the right side of Katedralna Street, as well as Wodopójcza, Pawłowskiego, Browarna, and Gorka Streets) and the "dead ghetto" for unskilled workers (defined by the left side of Katedralna Street, as well as Strzelecka,

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Kolejowa, and Farna Streets). The gates between the ghettos were guarded by the Jewish Police. Passage between the ghettos was limited to specific hours.[2]

Only Jews holding work permits could exit the ghetto, leaving and returning daily in groups. Forced labor assignments included such tasks as cleaning for the German police, working in a marmalade factory, delivering mineral water, and agricultural work. In August 1942, some Jews were assigned to dig sections of a ditch for a secret cable from Berlin to Kiev, which cost most of them their lives.[3]

In the last week of August 1942, hundreds of Jews were ordered to Piatydnie, several kilometers west of Włodzimierz, where they had to dig three large pits. The Jews were told that they were for a fuel depot. When the workers returned, Jews in the ghetto began to panic and to prepare hideouts. The Judenrat met with the Gebietskommissar (Wilhelm Westerheide, a 33-year-old former salesman) daily in late August. In an effort to delay the Aktion, council member Symcha Bergman gave Westerheide the best diamonds he could find. In the meantime, Jews working in agriculture were brought back to Włodzimierz, as were Jews from villages where no ghetto had been set up, such as Błażenik.[4]

In the early hours of September 1, 1942, the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. At 6:00 A.M., the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police stormed the ghetto for unskilled workers. The Jews were forced out of their houses, rounded up at one of the gates, loaded onto trucks, and driven off to Piatydnie. The forced laborers in the ghetto for skilled workers were not allowed to go to work. As the day wore on, trucks full of clothing began to return to Włodzimierz. That afternoon, the Germans and Ukrainian police entered the ghetto for skilled workers as well.[5]

At Piatydnie, the Jews were forced to undress and were shot into the pits. According to survivors, one Jew refused to undress. When confronted by a German, the Jew struck his tormentor, but he was promptly beheaded by Ukrainian policemen. Zipporah Veinshtok was one of only two Jews who escaped from the pits. Both were slightly wounded and got away under cover of darkness. They recount that members of the German administration had set up a table at the killing site so they could eat and drink during the shooting.[6]

The operation in Włodzimierz and its vicinity lasted two weeks. It is estimated that by September 15, 1942, 14,000 Jews had been murdered at Piatydnie, most from the Włodzimierz ghetto. Another 4,000 Jews were murdered in the Włodzimierz prison. As word spread that the Aktion was over, Jews emerged from their hiding places and returned from the countryside. The Jews were assured that the survivors would be left alive, and gradually the number of Jews swelled to several thousand. Many were put to work cleaning up the ghetto and sorting the belongings of the murdered Jews. Clothes and furniture were given away or sold at low prices to the local population. In November, the ghetto was divided into two, one half for skilled workers and the other half for unskilled workers. New work papers were issued to 865 people.[7]

On November 13, 1942, the ghetto for unskilled workers was liquidated in a surprise operation, resulting in the murder of about 4,000 Jews. The Germans repeatedly combed the ghetto until the end of the year. In January 1943, there were around 800 Jews officially living in the ghetto; the actual number was over 1,000. In Włodzimierz, the Germans counted 8,628 people compared to 29,600 in 1937. Soviet and especially Nazi policies had reduced the population by 70 percent.[8]

The Włodzimierz ghetto, the only ghetto remaining in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, now consisted of 17 buildings. It was no longer enclosed, and the Jews could even dispense with their outer markings. The skilled laborers worked as shoemakers, haberdashers, tailors, carpenters, masons, and photographers. There was a bakery, a small distillery, a laundry, a small production site for brushes, a sign shop, and a suitcase-maker's workshop. Conditions in the ghetto were impossibly overcrowded and filthy, and the inhabitants suffered from hunger and disease. This situation continued for a year. In October 1943, Sonderkommando 4b was transferred to Włodzimierz. By November, the Red Army was crossing the Dniepr River in Kiev. Rather than move the remaining Jews west, the Germans decided to kill them. On December 13, 1943, Sonderkommando 4b and its auxiliaries, an ethnically mixed unit, stormed the ghetto. The Jews were taken to the local prison, forced to undress, then loaded onto trucks, driven to a small wooded area near Falemicze, east of Włodzimierz, and shot. The corpses were subsequently burned on a pyre. It is believed that up to 1,200 Jews were murdered in this Aktion.[9]

Jewish resistance in the ghetto is linked to both the local prisoner-of-war (POW) camp for officers, Oflag XI (later Stalag 365), which formally transferred to Włodzimierz on September 9, 1941, and to the various partisan movements in and around the town. In the summer of 1942, a group of about 30 men, contrary to the wishes of the Judenrat, sought to make contact with nearby partisans. It was at this time that the Sipo-SD regional office for Wolhynien und Podolien reported to Berlin that an unknown partisan group, together with "Bolshevik agents" and "the ghetto," had planned to stage an uprising and liberate the POWs, mostly officers. In crushing these plans, the Sipo exposed and liquidated "36 Communist officials and 76 Jewish-Bolshevik officers."[10]

Available sources suggest there was little Jewish resistance activity in the Włodzimierz ghetto. Two young Jews with revolvers were shot during the November 1942 Aktion. Another Jew was found to have a revolver, but such isolated instances did not threaten the Nazis. There existed a small Jewish-led unit in the Włodzimierz area under Dora Zil'bert, but little is known about it. Boris Iakovlevich Bazykin led a unit affiliated with Soviet partisans under the command of A.A. Brinskii; Bazykin and his men were wiped out by the right-wing extremist Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the autumn of 1943.[11] A few Jews from the Włodzimierz ghetto may have joined the Zil'bert or Bazykin units, but making contact with the partisans was difficult.

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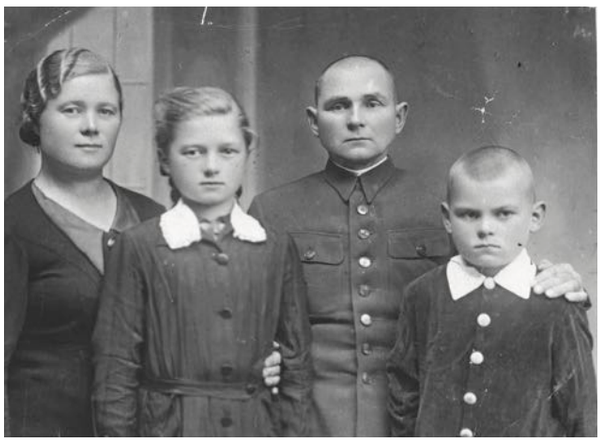
Soviet partisan units were the least dangerous for Jews, but the area was dominated by Ukrainian and Polish groups. The mother and son team of Mariia and Stepan Veremchuk escorted Jews from the Włodzimierz ghetto to the Soviet partisans under Nikolai "Kruk" Konishchuk, based near Kowel. Despite much mutual hostility and suspicion, individual activists of the Polish Home Army (AK) took in a number of Jews.[12] Jews in the ghetto made contact with the UPA but soon decided that the Ukrainian partisans were "no better than the Nazis." Indeed, by November 1943, the Germans and the UPA in Włodzimierz reached an agreement to fight the Soviet and Polish partisans together. Those Jews found among the UPA ranks tended to be pressed into service and were often murdered once the Germans withdrew.[13]

In the spring of 1943, the UPA launched a full-blown uprising against the Germans. Confined almost exclusively to Volhynia, this uprising was linked to a campaign of mass murder to drive the Poles from the region. As a result, Jews in hiding found their hideouts or cover jeopardized. Many Polish rescuers had to flee to Włodzimierz or to the west. Some Jews were murdered in the Ukrainian-Polish conflict. Despite the hazards of ghetto life, Jews in the countryside faced increased pressure to return to Włodzimierz.[14]

In addition, the partisan war spoiled German plans to move the Jewish workforce in Włodzimierz to Lublin. These considerations may at least have delayed the murder of the remaining Jews of Włodzimierz for several weeks, after the arrival of Sipo-SD forces. When the Włodzimierz ghetto was liquidated, its status as an open ghetto, close to prepared hideouts, may have given the Jews slightly better chances of survival than would have been possible in the Lublin labor camps.

Within Włodzimierz, the ratio of righteous gentiles among Poles and Ukrainians appears to reflect the demographics of the town. Among the Ukrainians, the Miaskovs'kyi family took in Paulina Cohen after her parents and brothers were killed in the November 1942 massacre. During the mass killing operation in September 1942, the Vavrysevych family provided temporary refuge for at least 13 Jews, some of whom then returned to the ghetto. Those who remained under their protection survived. Among the Poles, Helena Żebrowska and her husband, both clerks in the local German administration, saved Dosia Goldgreber and her husband. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Żebrowskas saw to it that the Goldgrebers were hidden outside the town. A Czech family helped Sara (Yukelis) Lichtmann.[15] Oleksii Mel'nichuk of Tumin, some 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Włodzimierz, saved 11 Włodzimierz Jews. Mel'nichuk even joined the UPA at the urging of the Jews, using his position to warn them of UPA sweeps. He was arrested for UPA membership when the Red Army returned, but his former charges secured his release.[16]

The Red Army forced the Germans out of Włodzimierz on July 20, 1944. Around 140 Jews who lived in Włodzimierz during the Holocaust survived the war, less than 1 percent of the ghetto population at its peak. Some of those who survived were subsequently conscripted into the Red Army. At least seven Jews from Włodzimierz were killed in the last six months of the war.[17] Westerheide was tried in Germany for his activities in Włodzimierz, but he was acquitted in 1982 due to insufficient evidence.[18]



Undated portrait of rescuer, Galina Filatova-Miaskovs'koiya (second left) and her family. Filatova helped to hide Paulina Kon [Cohen], an escapee from the Włodzimierz Wołyński ghetto.
USHMM WS # 57649, COURTESY OF JFR

SOURCES Publications concerning the Włodzimierz ghetto and partisan warfare in the region include the following: *Pinkas Ludmir* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotzei Ludmir, Israel, 1962); Janusz Bardach and Kathleen Gleeson, *Man Is Wolf to Man: Surviving the Gulag* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2000); and Władysław Filar, Michał Klimecki, and Mychajło Szwahulak, "Chronologia wydarzeń na Wołyniu i w Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1939–1945 [project]," in *Polska-Ukraina: Trudne Pytania*, vol. 6 (Warsaw: KARTA, 1999).

There are numerous sources available on the Włodzimierz ghetto, first and foremost the statements by survivors housed at AŻIH (301). Two of these have been published in Michał Grynberg, ed., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich: 1939–1945. Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), but all of them are also available at USHMM (RG-15.084). Testimonies by survivors and perpetrators can be found in the criminal investigations into Wilhelm Westerheide (ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62). The records at YVA, especially those concerning the Righteous Among the Nations (M.31), deserve mention. Relevant documentation can also be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAVO; GARF; IPN; NARA; and VHF.

Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 85; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; Bardach and Gleeson, *Man Is Wolf to Man*, p. 380; BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 12, July 17, 1942 (15,000); also, DP 3/2148, statement by E.M.H., July 3, 1979, p. 4 (18,000—H., as secretary to the Włodzimierz Landwirtschaftsführer received her information from Judenrat members in 1942).

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2. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 440; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; 301/694, p. 2.

3. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 85–86; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; 301/694, pp. 2–3; Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, p. 110.

4. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 86, 444; AŻIH, 301/694, p. 3; 301/2014, p. 5; 301/2298.

5. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 444–445.

6. AŻIH, 301/4987, Herbst, p. 2; 301/2014, p. 7; 301/2794; Nathaniel Deutsch, *The Maiden of Ludmir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 236.

7. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 86–87, 480, 610; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 8.

8. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 87, 611; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 10; *Zentralblatt des Reichskommissars für die Ukraine*, January 9, 1943, p. 11.

9. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 87, 611; ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XVIII, pp. 61–72, statement by Wilhelm Braune; Bd. XL, pp. 305–306, letter from defense attorneys, May 31, 1970.

10. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 85; BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 12, July 17, 1942.

11. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 87; Ster Elisavetskii, *Polveka zabveniia evrei v dvizhenii soprotivleniia i partizanskoi bor'be v Ukraine 1941–1945* (Kiev, 1998), p. 89; Józef Sobiesiak and Ryszard Jegorow, *Burzany* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Navodowej, 1962), pp. 187–195.

12. YVA, M.31/6594; ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, p. 21, statement by Josef Strassberger; *Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations*, *Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 1:191–192, 2:800; Józef Czerwiński, *Z wołyńskich lasów na berliński trakt* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1985), pp. 69–70.

13. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, p. 139, statement by Peter Korduner. Dr. Hirsz Bubes was murdered in Włodzimierz by a Ukrainian nurse after the German retreat—see Louis Falstein, ed., *The Martyrdom of Jewish Physicians in Poland* (New York: Exposition Press, 1963), p. 324.

14. *Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, *Poland*, 1:228, 2:758.

15. YVA, M.31/3916; M.31/2507; *Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, *Poland*, 2:934; Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, pp. 109–122; ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, statement by Sara (Yukelis) Lichtmann, p. 159.

16. YVA, M.31/5926.

17. *Knyha Pam'iati Ukrainy*, vol. 1, *Volyns'ka oblast'* (L'viv: Kameniar, 1995), pp. 44–56.

18. *New York Times*, December 21, 1982.

WOŁCZYN

Pre-1939: Wołczyn (Yiddish: Voltchin), town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1941–1944: Woltschin, Rayon Motykali, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk (Land), Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vouchyn, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wołczyn is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) northwest of Brześć. Former Wołczyners estimate that on the eve of World War II about 500 Jews lived there (about 70 families). A German census from early 1942 indicates that 784 Jews were still alive in Rayon Motykali. Thus there were probably about 350 Jews from Czerniawczyce and other villages, in addition to those from Wołczyn, as there was no significant Jewish population in Motykali, and the same source states that most Jews had already been ghettoized.[1]

On the morning of June 22, 1941, the Germans conducted a heavy bombardment of the area around Wołczyn, destroying some Jewish homes and businesses. Soon after, they occupied the town. A few days later, Krause, a German about 50 years old, arrived with a few civilians who spoke Russian and German and began to organize a local administration. He appointed a Pole, Korszniewski, as mayor, and an ex-prisoner, Rose, also a Catholic, as head of the police. Three or four men from neighboring villages, including opponents of the Soviet government and former criminals, formed the police force.[2]

The area around Wołczyn was initially part of Distrikt Bialystok (attached to East Prussia), but on January 1, 1942, it was transferred to Gebiet Brest-Litowsk (Land), in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, forming the new Rayon of Motykali. The Gebietskommissar in Brześć (city) was Curt Rolle; he was replaced in October 1942 by Franz Burat, who retained the responsibility he had exercised previously for the surrounding Rayons. In October 1942 (just after the ghetto liquidation), the strength of the local police (Schutzmannschaft) in Rayon Motykali was 62, but most were probably based at the two police stations in Lyszczyce and Czerniawczyce.[3]

The Germans soon created a Jewish Council (Judenrat), summoning a few prominent Jews and forcing them to accept positions. They included Shlomko Zufrik, Avrum Kupershmidt, and Berenson from the mill of Kotera. The Judenrat had to collect valuables and hand over people for forced labor.

From early in the occupation, Jews were assigned to backbreaking work duties, sent to labor camps, tortured, and shot according to the Germans' moods. Some residents left for other towns such as Wysokie, which was larger and offered more places to hide.

After a few months of the occupation, a ghetto was created. The Jews could only take essential items with them to their new quarters, which were terribly crowded. The sick and children lived in the synagogue; some people lived in storehouses, barns, and even cowsheds. In Mordeku's grain barn, they put those who arrived from the town of Czerniawczyce. Across from the barn, the home of Isar Midler was taken over by officials: the chief of police, the head of the village, and the Judenrat met there.[4]

Former Wołczyn resident Shmuel Englender, who escaped his family's fate by joining the Red Army, has reconstructed the ghetto boundaries. Extending its northern and eastern borders to the Pulva River (a tributary of the Bug), the ghetto was bordered on the south by the Christian homes of Old Wołczyn and on the west by the main road, marked by a wooden fence. Englender also identified four entrances to the ghetto: only one of these was intended for ghetto inmates departing on work details, the remainder being reserved for the guards and members of the Judenrat. One exit, near the post

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office, was used for removing the bodies of Jews who died from hunger and disease. In the Jewish cemetery, outside the ghetto, a pit would be dug, its size determined by the number of bodies brought over that night. No markers were left on these graves.

Around the Wołczyn ghetto, the occupiers erected a fence about 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and patrolled by guards. Near the church, the fence was wooden; by the river, it was wire. According to the villager Vera Vladimirovna Shpagina: "After they put up the fence, it was impossible to get out of the ghetto without permission."[5]

Policemen were the first, and then the rest of the villagers confiscated goods from the Jewish homes. Some Jews hid things in their yards and had villagers dig out their treasures, which the Jews traded for a little food. Life in the ghetto was very harsh. There was great hunger. Jews were given only 150 to 200 grams (5.3 to 7 ounces) of bread per day. Half of it was sawdust. From time to time, there was some milk for the children. Many died from hunger and disease.[6]

Eyewitness testimony from villagers record that two or three days before the massacre, strangers arrived in Wołczyn. The guards around the ghetto were reinforced, especially near the river, where the fence was made only of wire.

On the morning of September 22, 1942, local people assisted in completing a pit just outside of town. Meanwhile in the ghetto, Krause, Rose, Korszniewski, and the Judenrat walked from one Jewish house to another and ordered everyone to congregate at the synagogue. There, the German Krause ordered that within an hour everyone should collect their belongings, dress in their best clothing, and report to be moved to a larger ghetto in nearby Wysokie. Before the end of the hour, the Judenrat and the police checked the houses again to make sure no one was there.

The sick and disabled were put on carts, as were the Jews' belongings. The rest of the Jews were ordered to walk to the edge of the village in the direction of Wysokie. They stopped at a former sand quarry, 200 meters (656 feet) from the end of Wołczyn. There they were immediately surrounded by policemen and Germans. After a while, they were told to turn right towards a "pit," about 60 meters wide by 30 meters long (197 by 98 feet). The Germans and their Belorussian and Polish helpers ordered the Jews to undress. Poltrok said, "All at once, everybody began to scream and cry. Only then did they probably understand what was going to happen."[7]

Available sources indicate that the massacre was conducted by about nine Germans and about 20 local policemen from Wołczyn and other nearby stations. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reported that 497 people were shot on that day. It is estimated that 395 were from Wołczyn, and 102 were from Czerniawczyce.[8] The report gives some chilling details:

> The killings, by shooting, were conducted in groups of three to five people. They were led to the edge of the pit, were shot, and thrown into the pit. People were shouting, crying, and begging for mercy—nothing helped. The fascists ignored all and continued with the shootings. Those who refused to go to the pit were shot on the spot, and, sometimes when they were still alive, dragged into the pit. Some of the babies were lifted from the ground into the air, shot, and thrown into the pit.[9]

According to a German report, a few Jewish craftsmen were kept alive in Wołczyn at the time of the massacre and were presumably murdered a few weeks later.[10] Those sent previously to work on road construction projects either shared the fate of the Brześć Jews, most of whom were transported by train to Bronna Góra in mid-October 1942 and were murdered there, or were killed around Brześć as the remaining labor camps were liquidated. One local inhabitant recalled that some 500 Jews were killed in Motykali shortly after the Wołczyn massacre; these were reportedly escapees from the Brześć ghetto, who were recaptured by the Germans and local helpers.[11]

According to eyewitness Pavel Ivanovich Vivituk, after the massacre, some of the Jews' clothes were brought to a storage area behind the German headquarters; the best items were divided among the Germans and their helpers. After a day or two, people came in the evening to the Jewish homes and searched for hidden valuables. Many homes were later occupied by Germans.

The Soviets suspected anyone who had cooperated with the Germans. Many people were arrested, and the majority of them were sent to Brześć. Some were convicted and returned after a few years in prison. For example, the Soviet government arrested the head of the village, Korszniewski, who was tried not for the massacre but for cooperating with the Germans. Witnesses recall that his sentence was surprisingly light: only about six months in prison.

No Jews are known to have survived the massacre in Wołczyn. After the war, none of the Jews returned to live in the town. In Israel today, there are about 25 people with ties to Wołczyn, and a few others are living scattered throughout the United States.

SOURCES The most detailed account in English of the fate of Wołczyn's Jewish community can be found in the author's own work: Andrea Simon, *Bashert: A Granddaughter's Holocaust Quest* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), which is the main source for this entry. Also of interest is the yizkor book edited by Samuel Levine and Morris Gevirtz, *Entertainment and Ball Given by the United Wisoko-Litowsker and Woltchiner Relief* [in Yiddish] (New York: United Wisoko–Litowsker and Woltchiner Relief, 1948).

The main sources consulted were the ChGK report and associated witness statements from September 1944. The originals are located in GABO and GARF. Copies of these documents are also located in YVA and USHMM, together with the "testimony" of the local police commandant, Vasily Timofeyevich Semenyuk, relating to crimes in and around

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Motykali, dated November 13, 1945. Additional documentation can be found in BA-BL (R 94/6 and 7).

Andrea Simon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942.
2. Oral testimony of local non-Jewish inhabitants of Wołczyn, Vera Vladimirovna Shpagina, Ivan Pavlovich Poltrok, Pavel Ivanovich Vivituk, and Genady Mikhaelovich Kutshuk, recorded by Shmuel Englender in 1997 and made available to the author in translation; for summaries, see Simon, *Bashert*, pp. 123–145.
3. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, October 6, 1942.
4. Oral testimony of Shpagina and Vivituk, summarized in Simon, *Bashert*, pp. 126–128.
5. Testimony of Shpagina and others, summarized in ibid., p. 128.
6. Oral testimony of Shpagina, Poltrok, Vivituk, and Kutshuk, summarized in ibid., pp. 128–129.
7. Oral testimony of Poltrok and others, summarized in ibid., pp. 132–138.
8. YVA, ChGK report for the Wołczyn area, September 29, 1944; the original documents are in GABO (file 514-1-60) and GARF, 7021-83.
9. Ibid.
10. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, October 6, 1942.
11. Testimony of Vivituk, in Simon, *Bashert*, p. 128.

WYSOCK

Pre-1939: Wysock, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vysotsk, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wysozk, Rayon center, Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vysots'k, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Wysock is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) north of Równe. In 1921, there were 893 Jews residing in Wysock, comprising 30 percent of the total population.[1]

A few days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Soviet officials packed their things and left, assuring the Jews that they would soon be back. Only a few Jews, mainly youths and Communists, went with them. For several days there was no authority in the town, but no attacks on Jews took place during this uncertain period. Jews took the opportunity to burn Hebrew or Russian books to destroy anything that might link them to the Soviets in the eyes of the Germans. A small German patrol arrived in Wysock in early July 1941, to be greeted by the non-Jews with bread and salt. Most Jews remained in their houses out of fear.

Soon the German military administration appointed a local administration made up of non-Jews, including a police force recruited from local volunteers. All Jews were registered, and the new authorities issued a series of decrees concerning the Jews. Jewish property was confiscated, and Jews were not permitted to move from one place to another or to buy and sell things. Jews were forbidden to eat meat, use the sidewalks, or assemble in groups. Jews had to wear distinguishing armbands, and a Star of David was to be placed on all Jewish houses. The synagogue and the Bet Midrash were converted into grain storage barns, and Jews dared to pray only in secret.[2]

In the summer of 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which acted as an intermediary between the German authorities and the Jews. It also controlled a small Jewish police force that wore special armbands and assisted with the enforcement of German orders. Jews were subjected to forced labor; families had to devote half of their working time to public works. Work consisted of moving earth and rocks, while some craftsmen, such as blacksmiths and carpenters, worked directly for the German army in workshops. Jews had to surrender valuables and money to meet German demands for "contributions" and were also robbed and blackmailed by the local police.[3]

During August 1941, about 170 Jewish women and children arrived in Wysock from nearby Dawidgródek. They had been driven out of that town following the mass shooting of the men there by an SS cavalry unit. The Jews of Wysock took them into their houses and shared their food with them.[4] From the end of August, authority in Wysock was transferred to a German civil administration. Wysock became a Rayon center within Gebiet Stolin. SA-Standartenführer Dziembowski was named the Gebietskommissar, and his deputy was a man named Stark.[5] Under the civil administration, the armbands for Jews were exchanged for yellow patches to be worn on the chest and back.

At some time before the summer of 1942, about 150 Jews from the surrounding villages were moved into Wysock. As with the refugees from Dawidgródek, they were distributed among the houses of the local Jews, and a public kitchen was established to provide them some nourishment. The Germans established a ghetto in Wysock at the end of July 1942.[6] A number of buildings in the center of the village were fenced in with barbed wire. More than 1,500 people were imprisoned in the ghetto. Isak Kaftan, a survivor of the Wysock ghetto, recalled that "living conditions were very difficult. We were forbidden to leave the ghetto. We were also not allowed to communicate with the villagers. Various diseases raged in the ghetto. The people suffered from hunger. There was a lack of water. The men capable of work were escorted out to work by the Germans and the local police."[7] The yizkor book records, however, that the ghetto was not closely guarded, and Jews were able to climb through the wire to trade possessions for food.[8]

At the end of August 1942, the Jews in Wysock received news of the destruction of the Jews in the neighboring town of Dąbrowica, which increased the level of fear in the ghetto. Soon afterwards the Germans ordered that Jews were no longer permitted to leave the ghetto, and the Jewish Police even applied pressure to ensure the return of some Jews who had

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hidden in the surrounding villages. On the eve of the Aktion, no Jews were requested for forced labor. During the night, police forces surrounded the ghetto, and anyone attempting to leave was shot.

The German police liquidated the Wysock ghetto on September 9, 1942. It is estimated that approximately 1,600 to 1,800 people were killed.[9] The mass shooting was carried out under the supervision of the Security Police (Sipo) detachment from Pińsk, which arrived early in the morning in four or five trucks. First, the local police and Security Police forces surrounded the ghetto.[10] The Jews were gathered together and then escorted on foot to the pits outside Wysock. They were escorted to the pits in three groups, each using a different route. The local name for the mass killing site was "Ljado."[11]

There were two pits, about 2.5 kilometers (1.5 miles) outside the town, that had been dug shortly before the Aktion by local villagers, who were told that the pits would be used to store fuel. The pits were about 100 meters long and 10 meters wide (328 by 33 feet). The Jews knew of the excavation and suspected that the pits would not be used for the purpose alleged by the Germans.[12]

On arrival at the killing site, the Jews were told to lie down in the pits, where they were shot. The Gendarmerie and local police forces from Stolin, Wysock, and probably Dawidgródek participated in the Aktion. It took about two hours to complete the mass shooting. The perpetrators took no steps to ensure that all the victims were dead.[13] The graves were filled in by local villagers.

In Wysock, a few Jews survived initially in hiding places. The Germans and their collaborators systematically searched the ghetto, shooting any Jews they found on the spot. As one of the columns was being escorted to the killing site, a group of about 100 Jews tried to escape towards the Horyn River. The Germans shot at them as they ran away. The police forces pursued them in boats, but a number successfully escaped into the nearby forest. Some were recaptured and taken to the pits to be shot.[14] The corpses of those shot trying to escape were collected by local villagers and taken to the pits for burial.[15]

The remaining Jewish houses in Wysock were taken over by local non-Jews. Only a few of the Jews who escaped from the ghetto managed to survive until the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in 1944. Most fled to Poland at the end of the war and emigrated from there to Israel and other countries in the West.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Wysock and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Aryeh Fyalkov, ed., *Ayaratenu Visotsk: Sefer zikaron* (Rehovot: Irgun yots'e Visotsk be-Yisrael, 1963); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 78–81.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Wysock can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/954, 2906, and 5494); BA-L (B 162/4949-71 and 14495); DARO (R534-1-4): GARF (7021-71-45); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 13); VHF (# 39321 and 44397); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Part of the information for this entry is taken from Stephen Pallavicini's doctoral thesis, "The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie" (Ph.D. diss., Sydney University, 2003).
2. "In Farnichtung un Pein," in Fyalkov, *Ayaratenu Visotsk*, pp. 131–132.
3. Ibid., pp. 132–133.
4. Ibid., p. 133; AŻIH, 301/2906.
5. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
6. "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 133, states that the ghetto was formed in the month of Av (July 15–August 13 in 1942), six weeks before it was liquidated (September 10, 1942). DARO, R534-1-4, pp. 243–245, also dates the ghetto from July 1942. BA-L, B 162/4949 (II 204 AR-Z 393/59, Ghetto Liquidations in the Pinsk area, vol. 1), p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972, however, dates its establishment in the spring of 1942.
7. BA-L, B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.
8. "In Farnichtung un Pein," pp. 133–134.
9. BA-L, B 162/4950 (204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2), p. 180, testimony of the accused Wilhelm Rasp, gives the figure of 1,600 to 1,700 victims in Wysock. DARO, R534-1-4, pp. 243–245, gives 1,800 on September 9, 1942. BA-L, B 162/14495, Urteil LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, gegen Johann Kuhr u.a., February 6, 1973, p. 100, dates the Aktion on September 9, 1942. Also see AŻIH, 301/954.
10. BA-L, B 162/4958 (II 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 10), p. 2540, statement of Josef Niederer, December 6, 1962.
11. Ibid., B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.
12. Ibid.; "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 135.
13. BA-L, B 162/II (204 AR-Z 393/59), statement of Mitschke.
14. Ibid., B 162/II (204 AR-Z 393/59), p. 5376, statement of Josef Niederer, December 6, 1962; AŻIH, 301/2906; "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 136.
15. BA-L, B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.

ŻABINKA

Pre-1939: Żabinka, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Zhabinka, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Shabinka, Rayon center, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zhabinka, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Żabinka is located about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east-northeast of Brześć. According to the 1921 population census,

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445 Jews were living in Żabinka (73 percent of the total population). In the middle of 1941, allowing for an annual growth rate of around 0.9 percent per year, there were probably just over 500 Jews in Żabinka.

German forces occupied Żabinka on June 23, 1941. Shortly after their arrival, according to witnesses, a German tank destroyed the synagogue.[1]

In the period from late June until August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Rayon Shabinka was initially incorporated into Gebiet Kobryn; then as of December 1, 1941, it became a Rayon center within Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Żabinka. Jews were ordered to mark their clothes with the Star of David and later with yellow circles. They were forced to perform forced labor, forbidden to leave the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic robbery and beatings by the local police.

No eyewitness accounts by Jewish survivors from Żabinka are available, but according to the book *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* by Marat Botvinnik, a ghetto was established in Żabinka before the end of 1941. The local history work *Pamiats'. Zhabinkausky raen* indicates that the enclosure of the ghetto "only with gates" meant that the Jews were able to exchange their possessions for food with local inhabitants across the boundary of the ghetto. The German administration also forced the Jews to pay heavy "contributions" in the form of gold and jewels, promising them in exchange that they would be able to live.[2]

In March 1942, the occupying authorities conducted a census in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk. According to the results, reported by the Gebietskommissar in Brześć, there were 26,465 people living in Rayon Shabinka, including 676 Jews. The same report noted that in the Gebiet, Jews had been collected into ghettos and that the Jews from the villages had been resettled into the larger places.[3]

Responsible for security in Żabinka was a Gendarmerie post consisting of four Gendarmes, subordinated to the Gendarmerie Gebietsführer in Brześć, Bezirks-Leutnant der Gendarmerie Ernst Deuerlein. The Gendarmerie in turn was in charge of a local police unit (Schutzmannschaft), which in September 1942 consisted of 56 men.[4]

Conflicting accounts are available on the fate of the Jews of Żabinka. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto was liquidated in July 1942, when 339 Jews were transported to Małoryta and killed there together with the Jews of the Małoryta ghetto.[5] The book by Marat Botvinnik, however, indicates that on September 27, 1942, the Germans and local police rounded up several hundred Jews from the ghetto in Żabinka, mostly women, children, and the elderly. The Jews were escorted to a ditch at the Jewish cemetery, where they had to remove their clothing and shoes, and then were shot. In total, about 360 people were killed on that day. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, on the other hand, the Jews of Żabinka were conveyed by rail to the Nazi mass killing site at Bronna Góra, where the Jews from Brześć and several other towns in the region were murdered in the fall of 1942 (Żabinka lies directly on the rail line from Brześć to Bronna Góra).

Following the liquidation of the ghetto, a Jewish labor camp containing about 100 Jews was set up in Żabinka. It was liquidated on October 21, 1942, when German police of the 10th Company of Police Regiment 15 shot all the remaining Jews.[6]

Some of the Jews were saved owing to the help of local residents. A Polish woman named Floria Budishevskaia hid a 12-year-old boy named Roma Levin and his friend Sonia Fefer in her own home. In June 1944, the local police arrested and killed Fefer. Levin was able to escape. Budishevskaia herself was arrested and shot in Brześć for hiding Jews.[7]

SOURCES Sparse information on the fate of the Jewish community of Żabinka during World War II can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 250–251; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 114, 125; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:435; *Pamiats'. Zhabinkausky raen* (Minsk, 1999), p. 238.

Documents about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Żabinka can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBBO; BA-BL (R 94/7); GARF (7021-83-15); NARA; NARB; and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Pamiats'. Zhabinkausky raen*, p. 238.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942; also available at NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 102.
4. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, September 5, 1942.
5. GARF, 7021-83-15, p. 6.
6. Ibid., 7021-148-2, report of the 10th Company of Police Regiment 15, October 26, 1942. The company shot 461 Jews on that day at the Organisation Todt (OT) camp on the Brześć-Kobryń road, on the "state properties" of Zaderz and Petrowicze, and also in Żabinka. The OT camp apparently was located in the village of Chodosy (on the Brześć-Kobryń road to the southeast of Żabinka). In this camp, 196 Jews were killed. In October 2004, a monument was placed at the grave site.
7. I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), p. 443.

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ZDOŁBUNÓW

Pre-1939: Zdołbunów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zdolbunov, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sdolbunow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zdolbuniv, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Zdołbunów is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 1,262 Jews resided in Zdołbunów (17.3 percent of the total population). Assuming a population growth of 0.9 percent per year, the Jewish population of the town would have been approximately 1,500 in mid-1941.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Zdołbunów on June 30, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. It established a local Ukrainian administration and an auxiliary police force made up of local citizens. In September 1941, authority was handed over to a German civil administration. Zdołbunów became the administrative center of Gebiet Sdolbunow, which included Rayons Misotsch and Ostrog, as well as Rayon Sdolbunow. Hundertschaftsführer Georg Marschall became the Gebietskommissar.[1] From June 1942 to January 1943, his deputy was Otto Köller.

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was set up in the town (six to eight Gendarmes). It assumed control of the Ukrainian auxiliary police (Schutzmannschaft), initially of about 30 men. From June 5, 1942, to January 31, 1943, Wilhelm Wacker was head of the Zdołbunów Gendarmerie post. All the police forces of the Gebiet were subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. Leutnant der Gendarmerie Joseph Paur held this position in Zdołbunów from May 1942 until the end of the year.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a number of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Zdołbunów. After four weeks the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks on their clothing, initially armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, yellow patches. In the first days, Jews were simply seized off the street for forced labor, but subsequently the Judenrat had to supply a specific quota every day. Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits or to use the sidewalks. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police also subjected the Jews to frequent looting, beatings, and systematic terror.[3]

On August 7, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion took place in Zdołbunów. On this day, several hundred Jews were selected on the basis of lists prepared by local Ukrainians, arrested, and shot.[4] The Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD unit (from Einsatzgruppe C) based in Równe. As most members of the first Judenrat were killed in this Aktion, a second Judenrat was formed under the leadership of Symcha Szleifstein, who undertook considerable efforts to protect the interests of the community.

At some time in the spring or early summer of 1942, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Zdołbunów. Several hundred Jews from local villages together with the remaining Jews of the town (about 1,000 people) were moved into the ghetto. In total, some 1,500 Jews were confined there.[5] Esther Barishman, a survivor of the ghetto, recalls that the ghetto was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the Ukrainian police. There was overcrowding in the ghetto, with about 5 people sharing each small room. Food rations were limited to a small amount of bread and sugar; many Jews risked sneaking out illegally to barter remaining possessions with Ukrainian farmers in the surrounding villages. There was no schooling in the ghetto, and no newspapers were available. However, there was one doctor available to help the sick.[6] Following the liquidation of the ghetto in Równe in mid-July 1942, a few Jews who had managed to hide inside the ghetto and then escape made their way to Zdołbunów and found temporary refuge in the ghetto there.[7]

During the approximately six months in which the ghetto existed, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police conducted numerous small Aktions. For example, in May 1942, a Jewish carpenter was publicly hanged. The most notorious Aktion was in August 1942. At that time, two Ukrainian policemen brutally killed an 18-year-old girl, Hanka Prussak, the daughter of the former cement factory owner. She was caught sitting on a bench in front of her house in the ghetto after the curfew. A few Hungarian soldiers who were nearby at the time heard the girl screaming and ran over to her. Having seen what the policemen had done, they beat them almost to death. Subsequently, in an attempt to improve the reputation of the local Ukrainian police, the Gebietskommissar invented the story that the girl had been killed by a Jew and demanded that the Judenrat either hand over the "killer" or surrender 10 hostages. Attempts by the Judenrat to bargain their way out of this demand were unsuccessful. Since it was impossible to find the "Jewish murderer," the Judenrat had no option but to select 10 elderly male and female Jews, who were subsequently shot by the German Gendarmerie in the quarries of the cement factory. One of the Jews was able to escape.[8]

On October 13, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On this day, a Security Police and SD squad arrived from Równe to organize the Aktion. Shortly before, the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police had received instructions to surround the ghetto and prevent any Jews from escaping. Then the Jews were brutally driven from their houses and collected at a central point to be loaded onto trucks. Those who resisted were killed on the spot; also, the German forces burned down several houses, which the Jews refused to leave. German railroad and postal workers based in the town apparently volunteered to take part in the Aktion. Many corpses were strewn on the streets of the ghetto. Those captured alive were taken on trucks to the killing site in the quarries of the cement plant in the village of Stary Mylsk. At the killing site, the victims had to remove all their clothing and lie flat in the ditch before they were shot in the back of the head.[9] According to the survivor Jakub Mendziuk, at the killing site, about 500 young men attacked the Ukrainian guards. More than half of them were killed, but a number

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escaped into the forests. Mendziuk subsequently joined a Soviet partisan unit in the region in which about one third of the members were Jews.[10]

Altogether, more than 2,000 Jews were murdered in Zdołbunów in the years 1941 and 1942.

A group of Jews was saved owing to the efforts of Hermann Friedrich Gräbe, who from September 1941 to January 1944 was the manager and chief engineer of a branch of the German construction firm Josef Jung based in Zdołbunów. Gräbe assisted a number of Jews in obtaining Aryan papers and also tried to keep other Jews alive by employing them on various projects, including opening another branch office in Poltava. He also cooperated closely with the head of the Judenrat, Szleifstein, and interceded on the Jews' behalf to ameliorate ransom payments demanded by Gebietskommissar Marschall. Unfortunately, due to the suddenness of the liquidation of the Zdołbunów ghetto, Gräbe could do little to save the Jews on this occasion. However, he went into the ghetto shortly after the Aktion and managed to rescue one of his Jewish employees, Mrs. Glueckson, who had been hiding there for several days with little food or water.[11]

After the war, several former officials of the German civil administration and police in Zdołbunów were put on trial in Germany. On May 27, 1963, the Landgericht in Nürnberg-Fürth sentenced Paur and Wacker to seven years and three years eight months in prison, respectively (including the term of imprisonment before the trial). Otto Köller was acquitted. Another defendant, former Gendarme Friedrich Attinger, committed suicide before the start of the trial. On May 9, 1967, Landgericht Stade sentenced Georg Marschall to five years in prison. Marschall was convicted of being an accomplice in the hanging of a Jewish carpenter. In Poland, Rudolf Ignatowicz, an ethnic German, was sentenced to death in 1947 for capturing and handing over Jews in Gebiet Sdolbunow.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Zdołbunów can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 87–88; "Zdolbunov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:480; Douglas Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno: The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Christian Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety during the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1985).

Documents on the fate of the Jewish community of Zdołbunów can be found in these archives: AŻIH (301/1490, 1523, and 1795); BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-50); IPN (SOJG 107); TsDAVO (3538-1-57); VHF (e.g., # 5328, 31286); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. See LG-Nürn verdict, May 27, 1963, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 553.
3. AŻIH, 301/1523, testimony of Helena Sztajnberg.
4. Sources vary on the number of persons shot during this first Aktion. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 73, gives the figure of 400. GARF, 7021-71-50, pp. 37, 82, gives 450; 7021-71-50, p. 41 reverse, states that more than 700 people were killed.
5. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 367.
6. VHF, # 5328, testimony of Esther Barishman.
7. AŻIH, 301/1490, testimony of Jontel Kabcan.
8. LG-Nürn verdict, May, 27, 1963; VHF, # 31286, testimony of Elizabeth Jablonski.
9. LG-Nürn verdict, May, 27, 1963; GARF, 7021-71-50, pp. 35, 38, 83; TsDAVO, 3538-1-57, pp. 28–32; Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*, pp. 82–83.
10. AŻIH, 301/1795, testimony of Jakub Mendziuk.
11. Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*, pp. 41, 48–49, 85.

ZEN'KOV

Pre-1941: Zen'kov, town, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zinkow, Rayon Winkowzy, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zin'kiv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Zen'kov is located about 18 kilometers (11 miles) southeast of Iarmolintsy. Just prior to the German invasion, the Jewish population of Zen'kov was approximately 2,248.

The German army occupied Zen'kov on July 12, 1941.[1] On the first day of the occupation, a Jew offered the Germans bread and salt. A German soldier shot him on his threshold.[2] In early August, the ghetto was set up. A few weeks later, Jews were ordered to wear yellow circles bearing Stars of David, one on the front of their clothes and one on the back.[3]

A Judenrat was established in the ghetto.[4] The head of the Judenrat was a local bookkeeper.[5] One Jewish policeman was named Avroham Vasilke.[6] Jews were involved in various forms of forced labor, from working on the roads and the railroad to clearing snow. In May 1942, a group of men were taken to the front to deliver horses.[7]

Relatively few Germans were involved in the civil administration of the Zen'kov area. During 1942, there was only one official from the office of the Gebietskommissar, an SS man, and an agricultural commissioner. All the other officials were Ukrainian subordinates, mostly from the western Ukraine.[8] The Ukrainian police force in Zen'kov, which was recruited locally, initially wore armbands, then later German uniforms, and carried rifles and rubber clubs with metal tips. They were not always issued with bullets, so they often used their rifles to beat people. Policemen were involved in robbing and killing Jews and sometimes raped Jewish women before they were shot. In the summer of 1942, one man bribed a policeman to let him escape, but the policeman killed him anyway.[9]

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Nevertheless, control over the ghetto generally was relatively lax. Jews were able to sneak out of the ghetto at night, and some were even able to elude their guards and avoid coming home from their work details in the evenings.[10] The relatively disorganized liquidation of the ghetto also reflects this laxity.

The mass killings were associated with pogroms. For the most part, they appear to have been carried out by local policemen with only minor German involvement. The first of these took place on May 9, 1942. To the music of a 100-piece band,[11] about 588 people were shot at a mass grave in Stanislavovka, on the outskirts of Zen'kov.[12] The next night, during a rainstorm, the bodies washed out of the grave and had to be reburied.[13]

After the May massacre, a second, smaller ghetto was created. In June 1942, more than 100 Jews were sent away to the forced labor camp at Leznevo, just to the east of Proskurov.[14] Another mass killing took place on August 4, 1942. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 1,882 Jews were killed, but this figure is probably too high.[15] A non-Jewish local inhabitant later recalled that during one of the roundups, many of the Jews were killed on the spot in their own houses. Afterwards, someone went around the ghetto and wrote the word "corpses" on those houses that contained bodies. A horse and cart were then used to transport the bodies to the mass grave.[16]

After the second large Aktion, the ghetto had shrunk to a single house.[17] A final mass killing took place on October 7, 1942, when about 150 of the Jewish craftsmen who had been spared during the summer were murdered.[18] The Germans then relocated the remaining 50 or so Jews to Dunaevtsy, where they were subsequently killed. In total, more than 2,000 Jews from the Zen'kov ghetto were massacred throughout the occupation.

The local police chief was Lisuk,[19] and another police chief in the area was Busse, from Vin'kovtsy. The Gebietskommissar in Dunaevtsy was Gemeinschaftsführer Eggers. The Nazi officials involved in the massacres in Zen'kov included Kulmann, Göbelmann, Kelin, Schramm, Grapp, and Kran. Gebietskommissar Eggers and another Nazi by the name of Hofer were responsible for the mass killings in Dunaevtsy.[20] Another Ukrainian policeman was named Grach.[21]

Some 27 Jews are known to have survived the Zen'kov ghetto.[22] Sonya Kipiler, a Jew from Zen'kov, operated a partisan unit in the vicinity of Zen'kov from late 1942 until the area was liberated in 1944.[23] Vladimir Kipiler escaped to Transnistria,[24] as did Semyon and Minya Gluzman[25] and Ida Vaynblat.[26] Shifra Reydman was hidden by a Ukrainian family.[27] The Foygelman and Abramovich families survived by hiding in an abandoned phosphate mine.[28]

The statements of several surviving Jews can also be found in the 1947 Soviet trial of a local policeman named Hutsalov.[29]

SOURCES There is a yizkor book for Zen'kov, *Pinkas Zen'kov* (Tel Aviv, 1966), compiled by Yisrael Roytbard, which includes the testimony of Ida Vaynblat from letters written in 1965. A number of other accounts regarding the Zen'kov ghetto have been published in translation in David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe* (iUniverse, 2000), vol. 2, chap. 16, "Holocaust." In addition, there is a useful memoir written by Ilya Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'* (New York: Effect Publishing, 1991).

Documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Zen'kov can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-795); USHMM (RG-31.018M); YIU (no. 692); and YVA.

David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

NOTES

1. Newspaper *Za chest' rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
2. Yehudis Vaynblat-Laufer (Ida Vaynblat) testimony, from letters written in 1965, compiled by Roytbard, in *Pinkas Zen'kov*, pp. 175–193; translated in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 736–743.
3. Vladimir Kisilevich Kipiler, 1992 testimony, in Pinkas Agmon and Anatolia Stepachenko, eds., *Vinnitskaia Oblast'. Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie* (Tel Aviv: Beit Lokhamei ha-Tettaot, 1994), pp. 74–83; translated version in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 727–730. Also see YIU, Témoin no. 692.
4. Kipiler testimony.
5. Semyon Gluzman testimony recorded and translated by Vadim Altskan, July 20, 1998, USHMM; reproduced in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 730–736.
6. Vaynblat testimony.
7. Gluzman testimony.
8. Ibid.
9. USHMM, RG-31.018M (Ukrainian War Crimes Trials), reel 4, case 57654 against Mikolai Stepanovich Hutsalov, who worked for the German police in Zen'kov.
10. Vaynblat testimony; Kipiler testimony.
11. Vaynblat testimony.
12. Gluzman claims 800 people were killed, but the official Soviet records (GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 203) and Kipiler's testimony seem to support a lower number.
13. Gluzman and Vaynblat testimonies.
14. Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
15. GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 204; and Gluzman testimony.
16. YIU, Témoin no. 692.
17. Gluzman testimony.
18. Kipiler testimony.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Gluzman testimony.
22. Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
23. Kipiler testimony.
24. Ibid.
25. Gluzman testimony.
26. Vaynblat testimony.
27. V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukraini* (Jerusalem, 1997), 1:108–109.
28. Vaynblat testimony, and Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
29. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 4, case 57654.

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ZOFJÓWKA (AND IGNATÓWKA)

Pre-1939: Zofjówka, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zof'iuvka, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sofjewka, Rayon Zuman, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zof'iuvka, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Zofjówka is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) northeast of the city of Łuck.

It is estimated that the Jewish population of Zofjówka in 1939 was between 1,500 and 2,000. Ivan Katchanovski notes that the population "almost doubled when the Nazis brought in Jews from nearby villages and small towns and established a ghetto."[1] Gad Rosenblatt explains the population growth after 1939 as resulting from the flight of Jews eastward following the German invasion of western Poland. He estimates that by 1941 there were 5,000 Jews in Zofjówka and 1,800 in Ignatówka, but these figures are probably too high.[2]

In late June 1941, Jews who had cooperated with the Communist regime fled to Russia. Members of the Ukrainian local police went from house to house, stealing and looting. Ukrainians from neighboring towns accused many of the Jews of being Communists and threatened to turn them in to the authorities. It was pure blackmail; the Jews paid them off in exchange for a promise of silence. Those who were unable to pay had to go into hiding.[3]

The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first chairman was Zechariah Antwerg. Later it was headed by Yosef Weisman and Motel Tcherpek. Two German officials arrived to run the town: an Austrian named Kreiser and a German named Gruber.[4]

The Germans ordered all cattle and horses rounded up for shipment to Germany, thereby destroying the economic basis of the local Jews in agriculture. Then the Germans demanded a ransom of several hundred thousand rubles, to be collected and paid within five hours. The Judenrat imposed a levy on each family, and the funds were delivered. In response to an order to organize the Jews into groups for forced labor, the Judenrat prepared a list of eligible workers. The Judenrat also appointed Jewish policemen to enforce recruitment for forced labor. Each group was sent to work on 17-day rotations, often to places as much as a half-day's march away. Those who returned were worn to the bone. Some never returned, having been tortured and killed by their German and Ukrainian guards. The Jews in Zofjówka, as also in the neighboring village of Ignatówka, were confined to their immediate area, thereby establishing open ghettos. A few, at great personal risk, would sneak out at night or just before dawn to barter clothing and jewelry for food, such as grain, potatoes, milk, or butter. Jews were denied use of the flour mill, so they devised crude illegal mills to grind the grain into rough, barely palatable flour.[5]

Jews who were craftsmen—blacksmiths, tailors, cobblers—were able to ply their trade and earn enough to buy food. But many Jews went hungry, subsisting on partially cooked rotten potatoes and crusts of coarse bread. Those in forced labor, in the forests and sawmills, received one loaf of bread a week.[6]

From September 1941, power in the area was transferred to a German civil administration. Zofjówka became part of Rayon Zuman in Gebiet Luzk, which in turn belonged to the Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Luzk Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[7] The Jews in the town of Zuman (probably about 300) were all murdered in late August of 1941.[8]

Those Jews in Zofjówka who were skilled leather workers received special attention because their products were highly prized by the German officials. Early in the occupation an unusual event occurred. In the fall of 1941, a German named Klinger appeared on the scene, assigned as the "district commander" in charge of the local leather industry. He reportedly had a doctoral degree from a German university and carried the papers of an ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*). However, a rumor quickly spread among the Jews that he was neither German nor a Volksdeutsche but actually a Jew in disguise. He treated the Jews well, restrained the Ukrainian police from their usually harsh treatment, and made his headquarters in the home of a Jewish family. The Germans loved the leather products, which Dr. Klinger brought to their headquarters in Łuck. The leather workers were not assigned to the forced labor groups, and their families were not mistreated. Then, in December, Klinger, possibly concerned that his disguise was wearing thin, announced that he was leaving for Warsaw. The Jews begged him to stay, and he agreed to postpone his departure until the first day of March 1942. On that night the Judenrat arranged a small farewell party attended by the German officials Kreiser and Gruber. After Klinger left the gathering, he was ambushed by Ukrainian police—angry, perhaps, because of his restraints on their conduct—and murdered.[9]

In his place the Germans appointed a Ukrainian overseer, Panchenko, accompanied by his son, who was a local policeman (Schutzmann). Panchenko demanded and received weekly "payments" from the Jews. Later on, after the community had been decimated by the mass murders in July 1942, Jewish partisans captured him and sentenced him to death. However, Hershel Neiden, one of the "protected" leather workers, fearful of an even harsher replacement, persuaded the partisans to let him go.[10]

The plan for the mass murder of the Jews began on July 25, 1942. The Jews from the area were rounded up by the Ukrainian police and brought to Zofjówka's main street for an "assembly." The leather workers and their families were ordered to move to the nearby town of Szaliszcze to set up their workshop as a labor battalion. The Jews from the neighboring villages of Ignatówka and Marjanowko were ordered to return home, pack up a small bundle of personal items, and return to Zofjówka within two hours. Elderly and sick Jews who were unable to move quickly enough were shot on the spot. At the sound of the shooting, many Jews ran off in every direction.[11]

On July 26 the liquidation Aktion began. Some Jews were taken first to a field to dig two pits, each 30 meters (98 feet)

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long, which were to serve as mass graves. Then the remaining Jews were taken in trucks and by foot, 200 at a time, to the killing site. They were forced to undress and get into the pits, where the German forces machine-gunned them to death. An estimated 3,000 to 4,000 Jews were killed. A subsequent roundup of those Jews found in hiding led to the murder of another 1,000 on September 21, 1942. The "protected" leather workers were put to death in late December 1942. All in all, up to 6,000 Jews, including those from neighboring villages, were murdered in the Aktions in the fields near Zofjówka and Ignatówka.[12]

Some small groups and individuals escaped into the forests, many linking up with Soviet and Ukrainian partisans, including a few who joined the Kovpak division. Ivan Katchanovski provides some information on the fate of Ukrainians in the village of Klobuczyn, where some 200 survivors of the Zofjówka ghetto and a nearby village reportedly took refuge. On November 2, 1942, the Nazis, with the help of the local police, executed 137 residents (including women, elderly people, and 36 children) of Klobuczyn in reprisal for the actions of Ukrainian partisans who had helped Zofjówka Jews. These partisans took up arms against the Nazis and their collaborators, supplied weapons to a Jewish resistance group in Zofjówka, and executed a local peasant for killing Jews who escaped the Nazi massacres. The Klobuczyn partisans accepted Jewish partisans from Zofjówka into their unit and provided protection to more than 150 Jewish survivors who escaped the Nazi massacre in this village and nearby small Jewish settlements and were hiding in a forest near Klobuczyn. Many of these Jews later joined another Soviet/Ukrainian partisan unit in the region. Most were killed during combat with the Nazis.

Only about 40 Jews from Zofjówka survived until the end of the war.[13] Among those who helped them to survive was Alojzy Ludwikowski, who helped to feed more than 30 Jews hiding in several bunkers in the forest or near his home. Unfortunately, some of the bunkers were discovered by the German Gendarmes and their collaborators, and not all of those he assisted managed to survive.[14]

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Y. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot Tal Zofiowka-Ignatowka* (Givataim, Israel: Beit-Tal, 1988), mainly in Hebrew, contains a number of personal accounts. The two entries by Gad Rosenblatt (pp. 249–254) and Isaac Borek (pp. 379–387) are the major sources of information on the war years. Some additional information can be found in an article by Ivan Katchanovski, "Everything Is Illuminated. Not!" *Prague Post*, October 7, 2004 (online review at praguepost.com). "Yaromel I," a listing on the cemetery of Zofjówka, appears at the online site of the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (www.jewishgen.org/cemetery).

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Zofjówka and Ignatówka can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2890); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-12); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Katchanovski, "Everything Is Illuminated. Not!"
2. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot*, p. 249.
3. Ibid., pp. 250, 379.
4. Ibid., p. 380.
5. Ibid., p. 250; Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 88–91.
6. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot*, p. 251.
7. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
8. Aleksandr Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 30; GARF, 7021-55-12, p. 4. About 500 people were killed altogether, including Ukrainians and Poles.
9. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot*, pp. 252, 380.
10. Ibid., p. 252.
11. Ibid., p. 253.
12. Ibid.; see also GARF, 7021-55-12, p. 4. DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218–219, Report to the Generalkommissar in Luzk, notes that the Aktions against the Jews in the Kołki, Olyka, and Zuman Rayons took place between July 26 and July 29, 1942. A. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 207, gives only the figure of more than 2,000 victims for the Zuman raion.
13. Katchanovski, "Everything Is Illuminated. Not!"
14. See Wronski Stanisław and Maria Zwolakowa, eds., *Polacy-Żydzi 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), pp. 391–393; see also YVA, Collection of the Righteous Among the Nations, M-31/2145.

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ZHYTOMYR REGION

Jews are rounded up in Zhitomir and forced to watch the hanging of Mosche Kogan and Wolf Kieper on the market square, August 7, 1941.

USHMM WS #17547, COURTESY OF YIVO

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ZHYTOMYR REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT SHITOMIR)

Pre-1941: Zhitomir and parts of the Vinnitsa, Poles'e, and Gomel' oblasts, Ukrainian and Belorussian SSRs; 1941–1944: initially Rear Area, Army Group South, then from October 1941, Generalkommissariat Shitomir, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: parts of central Ukraine and southern Belarus

Generalkommissariat (Gk) Shitomir was a German administrative unit carved out of the pre-war Soviet Vinnitsa, Zhitomir, Poles'e, and Gomel' oblasts. The period of ghettoization in Gk Shitomir lasted from July 1941 until the spring of 1942. In total, there were some 58 ghettos established in Gk Shitomir. The last ghettos, mainly remnant ghettos that resembled forced labor camps, were liquidated in the winter of 1942–1943, although small groups of specialist workers survived in some places until later in 1943.

In 1939, the Zhitomir oblast' contained 125,007 Jews, and the Vinnitsa oblast' had 141,825 Jews, of which just over half—about 75,000 Jews—lived in the area that subsequently became part of Gk Shitomir. In the Belorussian portions of the region, more than 17,000 Jews lived in Mozyr' and over 7,000 in Rechitsa, the two largest urban centers. Therefore, allowing for an evacuation rate of up to 50 percent, it can be estimated that more than 110,000 Jews remained in the area of Gk Shitomir at the start of the German occupation.

The video and oral testimonies of Jewish survivors taken by the USC Shoah Foundation Institute (VHF) and other organizations since 1990 have added considerably to our knowledge of ghettoization. These have proved especially valuable in helping to identify a number of previously unknown ghettos in Gk Shitomir, for which little or no German documentation is available. At least 21 open ghettos have been identified in the region, including several not mentioned in the existing scholarly literature. For example, on July 15, 1941, a week after the occupation of the town, the German commandant established a "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) in Chudnov in a part of town that had been severely damaged in the fighting. One main street and a few side streets were reserved only for the Jews, but there was no barbed wire surrounding the area.[1] Another early open ghetto was in Baranovka, created at the end of July 1941 by the German military administration in a few small houses on Zhaboritskaya Street.[2] The Germans conducted several Aktions in Baranovka during the summer of 1941 but did not liquidate the ghetto until January 6, 1942. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report and German Einsatzgruppen reports, the Germans established an open ghetto in Radomyshl' in August 1941. A detachment of Einsatzgruppe C used this ghetto primarily to concentrate the Jews of the surrounding area for their rapid destruction within a few weeks.[3]

One striking feature about Gk Shitomir is the difference between the northern part, where there were few ghettos, most of which were short-lived (such as the ghetto in Iurovichi that existed for just over one month), and the southern part, where more than a dozen ghettos, mostly remnant ghettos set up for selected laborers and their families, existed for more than six months, that is, until the second wave of mass killings in the spring and summer of 1942. The overlap between the local ghetto inmates and the labor force used for work on Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) seems to have been much less in this region than in neighboring Gk Kiew or Gk Wolhynien und Podolien. Most of the Jewish labor used on DG IV appears to have been brought in from Romanian-occupied Transnistria in the summer of 1942, just after the liquidation of most remaining ghettos in Gk Shitomir.[4]

For the area around Vinnitsa, which was captured by the German 17th Army in mid-July 1941, the initial activities of the military administration are well documented. A provisional town administration was appointed on July 22, 1941. Then Rayonchefs were appointed in the surrounding area, while a labor office (Arbeitsamt), housing office (Wohnungsamt), and a food supply office (Ernährungsamt) were established in Vinnitsa.[5] A local police force was also recruited from volunteers and made answerable to the local mayors and the military administration. The military authorities were not always satisfied with the loyalty of Ukrainian nationalist appointees, and some were subsequently dismissed. The local police guarded the Jews as they performed their forced labor, repairing war damage in the streets and performing other tasks for the German authorities. In Vinnitsa, the Jews had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, but there was no immediate ghettoization.[6]

Unidentified men examine a field strewn with the clothing of 4,000 Jews in Vinnitsa, 1941—1942.
USHMM WS #25246, COURTESY OF YIVO

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As the research of Alexander Kruglov indicates, the first wave of mass shootings was particularly devastating in the core territories of the Zhitomir oblast'. Learning from the rapid slaughter of more than 23,000 Jews organized by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, at the end of August 1941 in Kamenets-Podolskii (area of Gk Wolhynien und Podolien), units of Einsatzgruppe C and the Order Police murdered more than 40,000 Jews in the Zhitomir oblast' (about three quarters of all those killed there) in the three months of August, September, and October.[7] Wendy Lower demonstrates that some of the larger ghettos, such as that in Berdichev, were established with the idea of destruction clearly in mind. Here Jeckeln ordered the establishment of a ghetto on August 26 and then completed the mass murder of the bulk of the ghetto's Jews (between 10,000 and 15,000 people) within three weeks, by mid-September.[8]

In the southern part of Gk Shitomir (the northern part of Vinnitsa oblast'), however, this first wave was not quite so lethal. Kruglov's estimates indicate that roughly half of the remaining Jews were killed here in 1941, with the second wave in 1942 accounting for most of the rest. In Vinnitsa, more than 5,000 of the 18,000 Jews that came under German occupation were still alive in January 1942. Some nearby towns, such as Brailov and Khmel'nik, escaped with only minor losses in the summer and fall of 1941, and both military and civil authorities pursued a more concerted policy of establishing ghettos in this area.

On October 20, 1941, the German military was replaced by a civil administration in Gk Shitomir. The Generalkommissar in Shitomir was Polizeipräsident Kurt Klemm. In Gk Shitomir, low-level administrative posts were filled mainly with reliable Ukrainians, a few Russians, and some ethnic Germans. The office of Reichskommissar Erich Koch issued orders only to establish "Jewish residential districts" (ghettos) in localities with more than 200 Jews. The inmates of the ghettos were to be prohibited from leaving the premises without special authorization.[9]

In practice, the local Gebietskommissars played a key role in establishing, overseeing, and liquidating the ghettos, alongside the offices of the Security Police and the Order Police. In Olevsk, in the northern part of Gk Shitomir, for example, on the establishment of the German civil administration, the assistant Gebietskommissar, Neukirchner, issued an order for the Jews to be ghettoized. The Polis'ka Sich (Ukrainian nationalist activists) and the local Ukrainian police then forced the entire Jewish population to move into a ghetto established on three streets. This ghetto was then liquidated within a few weeks, with the active participation of the Ukrainian police and some members of the Sich.[10]

Yet the existence of ghettos for much longer periods in places such as Ruzhin, Lipovets, Teplik, Ternovka, and Zhornishche reflects the intention of some German administrators to exploit skilled Jewish labor, where possible, at least for a few more months. Many of the ghettos were remnant ghettos, established in the wake of mass killing Aktions. This was the case, for example, in Litin. On December 19, 1941, a squad of German Security Police from Vinnitsa organized the shooting of some 2,000 Jews in the town. The German authorities selected about 200 craftsmen and their families, who were placed into a ghetto comprising a few houses on two narrow streets.[11] The Germans also subsequently permitted those Jews who had hidden during the mass shooting to enter the ghetto. Around 300 Jews were concentrated there surrounded by a fence. The Jews were prohibited from leaving on pain of death. Although food was scarce and hunger severe, nobody was allowed to go to the market to obtain food.[12]

In Ruzhin, after a mass shooting Aktion in September, a remnant ghetto consisting of a "barrack camp surrounded by barbed wire" was established for selected specialists and surviving Jews brought in from the surrounding villages. The Ukrainian village elder ordered the Jews to renovate about 200 former Jewish houses for the use of the Germans and the Ukrainian police, who guarded the ghetto. The Germans appointed a Jewish elder by the name of Yankel, who organized several craft workshops.[13]

Living conditions in most ghettos were harsh, depending especially on access to additional food supplies. Trading with non-Jews was possible for many ghetto inhabitants, but other than craftsmen, most had little to trade, and the Ukrainian population, especially in the cities, was itself short of food. Anna Grinboim, a survivor from Pogrebishche, recalled: "There was no water to drink or to wash with, no food, terrible hunger. Occasionally kind Ukrainians came and brought food they had already prepared. Every morning all the young people and all the men were taken to work." Her own work consisted mainly of cleaning—streets, bathrooms, and stores. Anna's grandmother died of hunger, as did many others. No holidays were celebrated in the Pogrebishche ghetto, and there were very few children, since most of them had been killed in the first Aktion. The most terrible thing, she recalled, was the knowledge that sooner or later there would be another Aktion to end it all.[14]

Apart from the craftsmen, who mainly produced clothing and tools for the Wehrmacht, German officials, and also (sometimes clandestinely) for the Ukrainian population, the Jews in the ghettos of Gk Shitomir were engaged in a variety of forced labor tasks. These included work in agriculture, cleaning the streets and clearing them of snow in winter, construction work, and for Jewish women, cleaning the quarters of German officials. Those who worked were more likely to receive some meager rations. Many survivors stress the deadly role of the Ukrainian police. Michael Tokar, for example, reported that "anyone who refused to work was killed on the spot. The Ukrainian police drank all the time and would beat the Jews just for fun in their drunken stupor."[15]

The attitudes of the local population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. The local Ukrainian police hunted down Jews who escaped from ghettoization, and they participated in mass shootings. Ukrainian guards also harassed and brutalized Jewish labor details. In some places

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Ukrainian policemen moved into vacated Jewish apartments. On the other hand, many of the few Jewish survivors state that they managed to escape death because of the bravery and kindness of individual Ukrainians. In Gk Shitomir some Jews escaped from the ghettos and joined the Soviet partisans, while others passed as non-Jews, hid in the countryside, or escaped to the Romanian-occupied zone (Transnistria), where conditions were much less lethal by the end of 1942. A handful were even deported to Germany as forced laborers, while passing as non-Jews.

Although the killings never completely ceased in the winter of 1941–1942, as explosives were used to prepare mass graves, for example, in Strizhavka, despite the frost, the second wave in Gk Shitomir effectively began in the spring of 1942. Following the murder of most of the remaining Jews in Vinnitsa on April 15, 1942, an intensified wave of mass shooting Aktions was organized by the Security Police and SD, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the local Ukrainian police. These Aktions swept away most of the remaining ghettos in May and June of 1942.

In Samgorodok, a ghetto was established for the 500 Jews living there only in mid-May 1942, shortly before its liquidation on June 4. The local police chief selected out 10 or 15 specialist workers, who were sent to Kazatin and subsequently shot by the SD in September. Gebietskommissar Wolfgang Steudel carefully supervised the mass shooting in person.[16] Other mass shootings were carried out at this time against the ghettos in Pliskov, Monastyrishche, Lipovets, and Vcheraishe. In the small town of Gnivan, near Vinnitsa, where no ghetto was established, about 100 Jews were killed in the early part of the summer of 1942, most of whom were women and children.[17]

In early June 1942, the Generalkommissar in Shitomir reported that: "the Jewish question has for the most part been settled in my region. That valuable labor was often eliminated is well known. 434 Jews were resettled in Gebiet Illinzi, 606 Jews in Ruzhin."[8] This report reflects the intensive steps taken to reduce the remaining Jewish population of the region at this time and at least on paper to declare the region cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*). In practice, however, many hundreds of Jews remained in Gk Shitomir after this date, mostly in small remnant ghettos for craftsmen but also in some forced labor camps, including those used for road construction along the DG IV, which contained mainly Jews who were being brought in from Transnistria.

Confirmation of the active role played by the Ukrainian local police in the ghetto liquidation Aktions can be found in a German report recommending the Ukrainian Schutzmann, Wasyl Palamartschuk, in Samgorodok, for a decoration in 1943, as he had "especially distinguished himself during the resettlement of the Jews in June 1942 and in the subsequent apprehension of individual Jews who variously concealed themselves."[19]

The Vinnitsa Gendarmerie Captain issued an order in June 1942 that Jews were no longer to be employed by the Gendarmerie.[20] Most of the remaining specialist workers did not survive the summer sweep for long. At the beginning of August 1942, members of the Security Police outpost in Berdichev shot more than 300 Jewish workers. In Ruzhin, 44 Jews were shot by members of the SD on October 1, 1942.[21]

Some Jews managed to survive the roundups during the second wave by hiding in cellars and other places of concealment. They later sought refuge in the surrounding countryside. However, the Gendarmerie in the region threatened severe reprisals against entire villages if they failed to report any Jews hiding in the vicinity.[22] Over the ensuing nine months from July 1942, most of the Jews in hiding were captured by the Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft). For example, on March 1, 1943, a patrol from the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok found two female Jews, Busa and Sulka Chernus, hiding in a hayrick, and they were then "shot trying to escape."[23]

The Khmel'nik ghetto was probably the last to be liquidated in Gk Shitomir, on March 3, 1943. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, more than 1,000 people were shot on that day.[24] The 135 artisans who survived the massacre (127 men and 8 women) were put into a school building that was turned into a labor camp. The craftsmen had to train Ukrainians as their replacements; 67 people managed to escape from this camp before the remainder were killed in turn.[25] Some Jewish skilled laborers held in a Security Police prison in Berdichev were shot on January 3, 1944, just as the Germans were being forced out of the region by the Red Army.[26]

SOURCES There are only a few secondary works dealing specifically with the fate of the Jews and particularly with German ghettoization policies in Gk Shitomir. Among these are: Martin Dean, "The German *Gendarmerie*, the Ukrainian *Schutzmannschaft* and the 'Second Wave' of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44," *German History*, 14: 2 (1996): 168–192; Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005); A. Kruglov, *Unichtozhenie evreiskogo naseleniia v Vinnitskoi oblasti v 1941–1944 gg.* (Mogilev-Podil's'kyi, 1997); and I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i soprotivlenie ukrainskogo evreistva (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 51–87.

Of the many books and articles on the Holocaust in Ukraine, the following include key information on this specific region: Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Wendy Lower, "Facilitating Genocide: Nazi Ghettoization Practices in Occupied Ukraine, 1941–1942," in Eric J. Sterling, ed., *Life in the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), pp. 120–144; A. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the*

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Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, eds., *V ogne katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izdatel'stvo "Beit lokhamei khagettaot," 1998); Samuil Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit: O katastrofe i geroizme evreev v gorodakh i mestechkakh Ukrainy* (New York, 1995); A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAChO; DAVINO; DAZO; GAGOMO; GARF; NARA; NARB; PAAKag; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 195–205, 268–273; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225, p. 33.
2. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 53–57.
3. GARF, 7021-60-309, p. 21; BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 88, September 19, 1941.
4. See BA-L, ZStL, AR-Z 20/1963 (Ermittlungen wegen Verbrechen im Generalkommissariat Shitomir und an der DG IV).
5. BA-MA, RH 26/125-4, XLIX Corps order no. 48, July 20, 1941; RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 3–13, reports of FK 675, Abt. VII to Sich. Div. 444, August 1 and 11, 1941.
6. RGVA, 1275-3-662, reports of FK 675 Abt. VII to Sich. Div. 444, August 1, 11, 14, and 31, 1941; BA-MA, RH 22/5, Commander of Rear Army, Area South, Abt. VII, July 21, 1941.
7. A. Kruglov, "Jewish Losses in Ukraine, 1941–1944," in Brandon and Lower, *The Shoah in Ukraine*, p. 278.
8. Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, pp. 76–77.
9. TsDAVO, 3206-2-30, pp. 13 verso, 23 and verso.
10. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 19 verso, 26, 32, 178.
11. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 556–557 (Abschlussbericht). This report indicates that 300 men, 500 women, and 1,186 children were murdered.
12. YVA, O-3/7372; also O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich on April 5, 2005.
13. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18; TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; M. Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu: Da budut korni nashi zhivy* (Moscow; Houston: M. Belilovskii, 1998), pp. 197–199.
14. VHF, # 20772.
15. Ibid., # 28086.
16. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 229–231; DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS and Polizei Gebietsführer Kasatin, September 30, 1942.
17. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 136/67; Vysotsky et al., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine*, pp. 162–163.
18. BA-BL, R 6/310, p. 17, Generalkommissar Shitomir, June 3, 1942.
19. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 163, Gend. Samgorodok, May 31, 1943.
20. Ibid., 1182-1-36, p. 30, Gend. Gebiet Ruzhin, June 14, 1942.
21. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 16, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 490, pp. 346–348; DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 235–238, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Ruzhin, November 5, 1942.
22. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gend.-Posten in Samgorodok and Pogrebishche, July 6, 1942.
23. DAZO, 1182-1-6, pp. 157, 164–165.
24. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229; the official figure of 1,300 is probably too high. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, p. 571.
25. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 65–66.
26. GARF, 7021-60-285, pp. 8, 48–49.

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Borders as of 1942

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ANDRUSHEVKA

Pre-1941: Andrushevka, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Andruschewka, Rayon center, Gebiet Berditschew, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Andrushivka, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Andrushevka is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 658 Jews living in Andrushevka (10.3 percent of its total population).

German armed forces occupied the town on July 16, 1941, almost three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country.

In the period from July to October 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town, and it set up a Rayon authority and an auxiliary police force, made up of local residents. In late October 1941, the military administration was replaced by a German civil administration. Until liberation on December 26, 1943, Andrushevka was part of Gebiet Berditschew in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In the summer of 1942, the Ukrainian police (Schutzmannschaft) in Andrushevka consisted of about 30 men, which was by then subordinated to a small squad of German Gendarmerie based in the town. One of the leaders of the Ukrainian police in Andrushevka was a man named Ivan Meisko.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Andrushevka. The Jews were required to wear armbands with a Star of David, perform various types of forced labor, remain within the confines of the town, and hand over all their valuables. Jews were forbidden to sell products in the market, while the local Ukrainian inhabitants were forbidden to associate in any way with Jews, and those who violated this order were subjected to flogging.

On August 19, 1941, the first Aktion took place in Andrushevka when 252 Jews were rounded up and shot in a forest 300 meters (0.2 mile) southeast of town. At this time the Ukrainians started to rob the Jews' houses, and a ghetto was established. Local Ukrainians assisted the Germans in identifying the Jews. Other Jews who were caught in the surrounding area were brought to the Andrushevka ghetto.[2]

In the ghetto, the Jews were always obliged to inform the police exactly where they were going, and all the Jews had to wear the Star of David on their chest and their back to show that they were Jewish. The Ukrainian policemen beat Jews on the street, even those they had known since before the war, simply because they were Jewish. Some local Ukrainians, however, did help out, by bringing potatoes and bread to the Jews in the ghetto, as they had nothing else to eat.[3]

The ghetto was always surrounded by both Ukrainian police and Germans. The Jews did not live in apartments but in a stable normally used for horses. Everyone slept on the floor. Several families lived together under very cramped conditions. The young people in the ghetto were forced to work every day from dawn to dusk. There was no doctor in the ghetto. If someone got sick, they were more or less left to die. The ghetto remained in existence for about nine months.[4]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in May 1942 when 223 people were shot in a forest 500 meters (0.3 mile) from the town hospital.[5] A small group of Jewish craftsmen was sent to a labor camp in Berdichev, all of whom were shot in July 1942, along with other Jews, when that camp was liquidated.

A Jewish girl from Andrushevka managed to survive, as she was outside the ghetto fetching milk at the time of the roundup. She was spotted by a German patrol but succeeded in convincing them that she was not Jewish with the help of a Ukrainian woman, who claimed she was her daughter. She survived in hiding with a Ukrainian family until the end of the occupation.[6]

SOURCES Information about the destruction of Andrushevka's Jewish population can be found in the following publications: "Andrushevka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:46; and 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), p. 44.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Andrushevka under German occupation can be found in the following archives: DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-60-281); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1996.A.0269 [DAZO]); VHF (# 44736); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
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NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, order no. 18/42, July 25, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-281, p. 16. VHF, # 44736, testimony of Raisa Pinsker; one of the victims on August 19 was the witness's older sister.
3. VHF, # 44736.
4. Ibid.
5. GARF, 7021-60-281, p. 16; O. Herasymov, ed., *Knyha pam'iati Ukrainy. Zhytomyrs'ka oblast'. Tom 1* (Zhitomir: L'onok, 1993). According to the lists of names, 349 Jews were murdered in Andrushevka in the years 1941–1942.
6. VHF, # 44736.

BARANOVKA

1938–1941: Baranovka, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Baranowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Zwiahel (Nowograd-Wolynskyj) Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Baranivka, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Baranovka is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) west of Zhitomir. In the census of 1939, there were only 1,447 Jews in Baranovka (22.9 percent of the total population) and 839 additional Jews in the villages of the raion, totaling 2,286.

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German forces occupied Baranovka on July 6, 1941. After the start of the invasion, a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. Around 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Baranovka at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the settlement. The German military administration created a local raion authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, which took part in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civil administration. Baranovka was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj (aka Zwiahel), and Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Soon after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur instructed the raion authority to register and mark the Jews. The Jews were required to wear an armband around their sleeves and to perform forced labor (repairing roads, stockpiling timber, and other tasks). At the end of July 1941, the German military administration decreed the establishment of an open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in the center of the settlement, composed of a few small houses on Zhaboritskaia Street.[2] Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly ensued.

On July 19, 1941, the first Aktion took place: 74 Jewish men were seized and killed in the center of the settlement.[3] In all likelihood, it was a detachment of the German Security Police and SD from Sonderkommando 4a (part of Einsatzgruppe C) that carried out the shooting.[4]

About two weeks later, German security forces drove out in three cars towards the town of Poninka (south of Baranovka), where they shot 100 Jews. This massacre was probably carried out by units of the 8th SS-Motorized Infantry Regiment of the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade, which was active in the area from July 29 to 30, 1941.[5]

The third Aktion took place in Baranovka on August 24, 1941.[6] German forces, directed by a detachment of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, escorted 180 people to a location 7 kilometers (4 miles) west of the settlement and shot them.[7]

In November 1941, all the remaining able-bodied Jewish men were taken to the forced labor camp in Novograd-Volynskii.[8] The women, children, and elderly remained in the ghetto until the beginning of January 1942. On January 6, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto, and the Ukrainian police shot 594 people on the northern outskirts of the settlement. These were the Jewish residents of Baranovka and also the Jews who lived in nearby villages.[9]

More than 1,000 Jews were murdered in Baranovka between July 1941 and January 1942.

During the second half of 1941, 119 Jews in total were murdered in the villages of the Baranovka raion.[10] In Dubrovka, 50 people were killed; in Pershotravensk, 40; in Seremlia, 22; in Kashperovka, 4; and in other villages, 3.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Baranovka during the Holocaust include the following: 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), p. 87; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 53–57.

Documents and witness statements regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews in the Baranovka raion can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-60-283); GAZO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Eva Gladkaia, in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 96–97; available also in English as Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 53–57.
3. Act of January 10, 1944, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vol. 13 (Voenizdat, 1945), p. 50.
4. Alfred Streim, *Das Sonderkommando 4a der Einsatzgruppe C und die mit diesem Kommando eingesetzten Einheiten während des Russlandfeldzuges in der Zeit vom 22.6.1941 bis zum Sommer 1943* (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen in Ludwigsburg, 1964), p. 170.
5. See Alexander. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 228 n.17.
6. VHAP (USHMM, RG-48.004M), HSSPF-Russland Süd, Jeckeln Telegram, no. 160, August 25, 1941. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 87, date this Aktion on August 19, 1941.
7. Act of January 10, 1944, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, vol. 13, p. 50.
8. Testimony of Eva Gladkaia.
9. Act of January 10, 1944. (See note 3) Alexander
10. GARF, 7021-60-283, pp. 162–167. These numbers only included those Jews who could be identified by name. The actual number of people killed was greater than this.

BARASHI

Pre-1941: Barashi, village and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Baraschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Emiltschino, Generalkommissariat Shitomir, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Barashi, Emil'chine raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Barashi is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 320 Jews lived in the village (10 percent of the total population). Altogether there were 549 Jews living in the Barashi raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, more than half the Jewish population was able to evacuate

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to the east. At that time eligible men were drafted into the Red Army or volunteered. Around 30 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied Barashi on July 12, 1941. During July and August, the German military administration created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in all the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Baraschi was a Rayon center in Gebiet Emiltschino, and Kreisobmann Dau was appointed the Gebietskommissar.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military administration issued orders for the registration and marking of the Jewish population with armbands. Jews were also required to perform heavy labor without pay.

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration ordered the establishment of a small open ghetto, or "Jewish residential quarter," in the village of Barashi. Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and from buying products from the local Ukrainians. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from surrounding villages. Famine quickly ensued. The ghetto existed until early November 1941.[2] At that time, all the Jews living in the ghetto were shot. There were at least 37 victims in total and probably as many as 100. The mass shootings were conducted by three SS officers, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police from Barashi and Nepoznanichi. They escorted the Jews to a bushy area 3 kilometers (2 miles) east of Nepoznanichi. The younger Jewish men were forced to dig a grave, and then all the victims had to undress. The three SS men then shot the Jews into the grave in groups of 7 to 10 people.[3]

In the fall of 1941 and spring of 1942, Jews were murdered in a number of villages within the Baraschi Rayon. There were 2 Jews killed in Simony; 3 Jews killed in Buda-Bobritsa; 10 Jews killed in Kremyanka; 15 Jews killed from Novoaleksandrovka (apparently Jews who were taken to Barashi and murdered there in October 1941); and 23 Jews from Staraia Guta (shot in March 1942). The total number of victims was 53 Jews.[4]

SOURCES Documents regarding the murder of the Jews in the Barashi raion can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/204 AR-Z 133/67); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-284).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-284, p. 3.
3. BA-L, B 162/204 AR-Z 133/67, Dok. Bd., pp. 39–45, and vol. 2, pp. 302–324. According to the documents of the ChGK in Barashi, 37 Jews were murdered. It is possible, however, that these victims included only those who had known or identifiable surnames.
4. GARF, 7021-60-284, pp. 45, 82, 128, 132, 155.

BERDICHEV

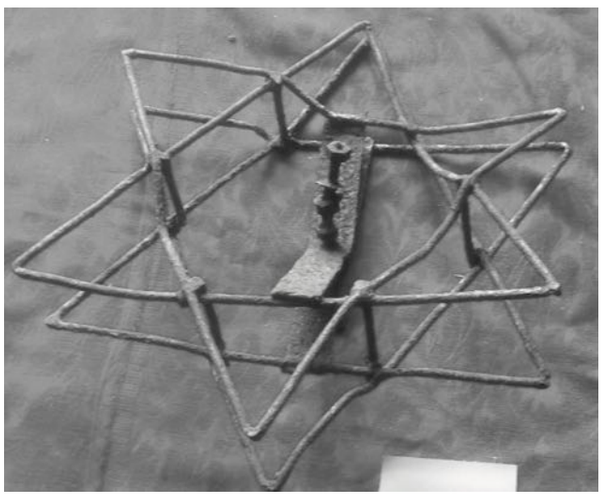
Pre-1941: Berdichev, city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Berditschew, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Berdychiv raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Berdichev is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) south of Zhitomir. In 1939, the Jewish population stood at 23,266 (37.5 percent of the total population).

On the evening of July 7, 1941, about two weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the city was occupied by the 11th Panzer Division of the XLVIII Motorized Corps of the 6th Army. Around 10,000 people, the majority of whom were Jews, were evacuated or managed to escape from the city. An undeterminable number of Jews also relocated to the outskirts of the city, settling in nearby small towns and villages.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the affairs of the city. The German commandant established a local administration in Berdichev, headed by the ethnic German mayor Reder, who was assisted by his deputy Slipchenko and the secretary Schmidt. The Germans also established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, recruited from among the local residents. Koroliuk was appointed as its chief. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Berdichev became the administrative center of Gebiet Berditschew. Regierungsrat Erwin Göllner became the Gebietskommissar. In November 1941, three additional appointments were made. Unterleutnant der Polizei Kölle from the police administration in Breslau became the SS- und Polizeistandortführer. Oberleutnant der Polizei



An iron Jewish star that presumably was part of the ghetto fence at Berdichev, n.d. The star, which is a fraction over 1 foot long and 1 foot wide, was found in 2006 by repairmen working on pipes beneath the site of the former ghetto.
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Becker from the police administration in Bochum became the head of the Schutzpolizei. Finally, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Karl Kurzhals became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Berdichev. Gebiet Berditschew encompassed the Rayons of Ianushpol' and Andrushevka, in addition to the city and Rayon of Berdichev. The new Gebiet Berditschew was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[1]

In early to mid-July 1941, Sonderkommando 4a was the first of a series of German punitive units to be active in the city of Berdichev. From the end of July to the end of August 1941, Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Standartenführer Schulz, was deployed in the city.

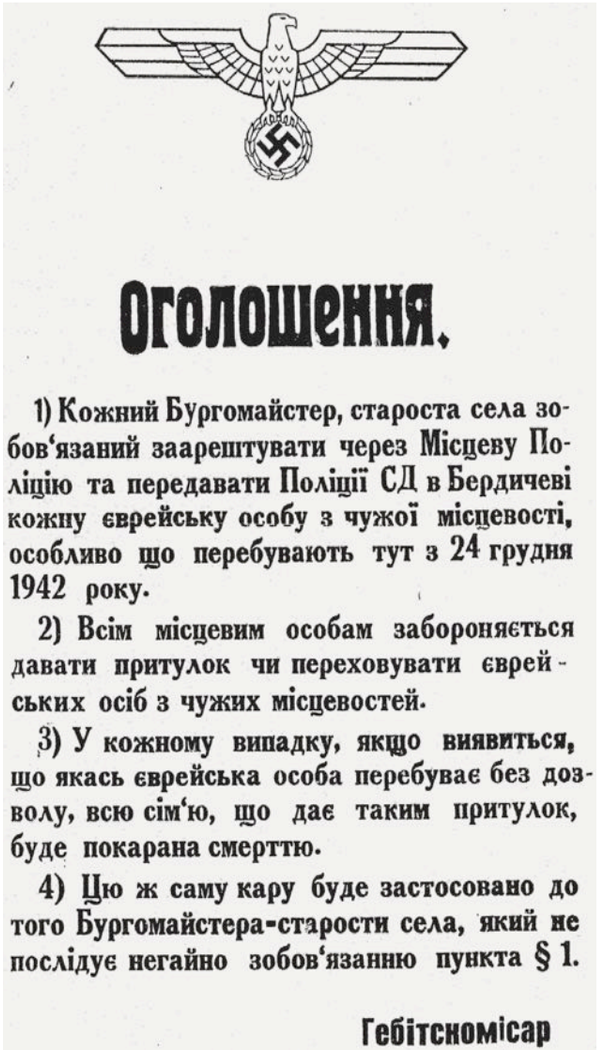
From August 26 to September 20, 1941, the military staff of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, headed by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, was present in Berdichev. Also present from September 5 to 21, 1941, was the 45th Police Reserve Battalion, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Besser. Jeckeln was in charge of all large-scale coordinated police operations. His staff and the members of the 45th Battalion carried out mass killings of the Jewish population in the city in September 1941.[2]

At the beginning of 1942, a local office of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was established in Berdichev. From February to June 1942, SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Sievert was in charge of the post. He was succeeded from June to August 1942 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Hülsdünker, and from the middle of August 1942 until the end of the occupation on January 5, 1944, by SS-Hauptscharführer Fritz Knop.[3]

The first murders of Jews in the city of Berdichev were carried out by detachments of the German armed forces in the form of the Waffen-SS. In the course of two days, the engineers' battalion of the SS-Division "Wiking" carried out four roundup operations against the Jews. Altogether around 850 persons were arrested and shot at a site a few kilometers outside the city.[4] Other shootings by Sonderkommando 4a, Einsatzkommando 5, and the command staff of the HSSPF Russland-Süd followed in July and August. In addition, in the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Berdichev.

On August 26, 1941, the German occupying authorities declared that a ghetto was to be established in the city and that all Jews must relocate into it over the following three days. The ghetto was located in the poorest part of the city, consisting of ancient shacks, tiny single-storied houses, and crumbling buildings in the area of the Iatki marketplace. Jews were allowed to bring in only clothes and bedding. German soldiers and local residents confiscated all their remaining property. People were forced to live five or six families to a room. Leaving the limits of the ghetto was strictly forbidden. Jews could buy goods at the marketplace only after 6:00 P.M., that is, when no goods were left. Jews inside the ghetto were frequently beaten and robbed by members of the local police.[5]

On September 4, 1941, the first "cleansing" Aktion was carried out against the Jews in the ghetto. Jeckeln ordered the arrest and shooting of 1,303 Jews, including 876 girls over the age of 12. The victims had been told that they were being sent



Оголошення.

1) Кожний Бургомайстер, староста села зобов'язаний заарештувати через Місцеву Поліцію та передавати Поліції СД в Бердичеві кожну єврейську особу з чужої місцевості, особливо що перебувають тут з 24 грудня 1942 року.

2) Всім місцевим особам забороняється давати притулок чи переховувати єврейських осіб з чужих місцевостей.

3) У кожному випадку, якщо виявиться, що якась єврейська особа перебуває без дозволу, всю сім'ю, що дає таким притулок, буде покарана смерттю.

4) Цю ж саму кару буде застосовано до того Бургомайстера-старости села, який не послідує негайно зобов'язанню пункта § 1.

Гебітскомісар

An undated Ukrainian sign issued by the German authorities in Berdichev, which reads:
"Announcement
1) Every Burgomaster and village elder is required to arrest through the municipal police and to transfer to the SD Police in Berdichev every Jewish person from foreign places, especially those who arrived here since 24 December 1942.
2) All local persons are forbidden to give shelter or hide Jewish persons from foreign places.
3) In all cases where a Jewish person is staying without permission, the entire family that provides such shelter will be punished by death.
4) This same penalty will apply to burgomaster-village elders who do not immediately follow the requirements of point no. 1.
District Commissar"
USHMM/RG 31.023

to do agricultural work, but they ended up digging their own graves. Men subordinated to the HSSPF Russland-Süd carried out the shooting close to the village of Khazhin.[6]

On September 15, 1941, a second large-scale Aktion was carried out in the ghetto. The ghetto was surrounded by SS troops and local police during the night, and starting at 4:00 A.M. they brutally drove some 12,000 persons out of their

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houses and gathered them in the market square. Many of those who could not walk were killed on the spot. On the square, Reder and Koroliuk carried out a selection of skilled workers. The bulk of the Jews were then formed into columns and escorted under close guard to the airfield, where the German forces shot them in five ditches. About 400 specialist workers and artisans were spared and allowed to return to the ghetto with their families.[7] Members of the 45th Police Reserve Battalion were among the forces that carried out the mass killing.[8] The staff company of the HSSPF (Jeckeln), including its guards, bodyguards, and chauffeurs, also took part in the Aktion, assisted by the local Ukrainian police. Local policemen and others immediately looted the empty houses in the ghetto.

On October 30, 1941, the third Aktion was carried out in the ghetto, completing its liquidation. From October 30 to November 1, 1941, Ukrainian policemen rounded up all the remaining Jews who lived in the ghetto and took them to the nearby Carmelite monastery, which served as a prison. On November 3, 1941, around 800 men were the first to be shot, followed by the women and children. About 150 specialist workers and artisans were released and forcibly resettled into the labor camp prison.[9] The shootings were carried out in the village of Sokulino. The perpetrators in all likelihood were members of the Security Police and SD detachment from Zhitomir, together with the Ukrainian police.

On February 25, 1942, the Jews who remained in the city of Berdichev were resettled into the barracks in Lysaia Gora ("Bald Mountain"). The resettlement of the roughly 350 Jews was completed on March 1, 1942. From May to June 1942, an additional 700 Jews were relocated there from the liquidated ghettos in surrounding places such as Ianushpol', Andrushevka, Kazatin, and Ruzhin. On July 16, 1942, the labor prison camp was liquidated. On the grounds of a former shooting range of the 14th Cavalry Division, around 700 captured Jews and 230 local Jews were shot.[10] The shootings were carried out by the Berdichev Sipo-Aussendienststelle on orders from Dr. Franz Razesberger, the commander of the Security Police and SD in Zhitomir.[11] Prior to the shooting, 60 artisans and specialist workers were selected out and resettled into a Security Police prison.[12] The majority of these artisans were shot on November 13, 1943, and January 3, 1944.[13]

On April 27, 1942, around 70 Jewish women and children of mixed marriages were shot. They had been registered as living in Berdichev.[14] The murders were apparently carried out by members of the Security Police outpost.

The total number of Jewish victims from 1941 to 1944 can be estimated at around 17,000 persons. According to the first postwar population census in 1959, around 6,300 Jews lived in Berdichev (11.8 percent of the total population).

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Berdichev and its destruction can be found in the following publications: "Berdichev," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:114–115; S. Elisavetskii, *Berdichevskaia tragediia: Dokumental'noe povestvovanie* (Kiev, 1991); Vasilii Grossman and Il'ia Ehrenburg, eds., "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," in *Chernaia kniga o zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovietskogo Soiuza i v lagerakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945 gg.* (Kiev, 1991), pp. 32–43; John Garrard and Carol Garrard, *The Bones of Berdichev: The Life and Fate of Vasily Grossman* (New York: Free Press, 1996); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 1999).

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Berdichev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; DAZO; GARF (7021-560-285); RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memorandum (Schnellbrief) of the chief of the Security Police from October 25, 1941, in RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.

2. Jeckeln was sentenced by the Soviet military tribunal and hanged in Riga on February 3, 1946. After the war, Besser was under investigation but was unable to appear before the court for reasons of health. On August 5, 1971, Engelbert Kreuzer, the former commander of the 2nd Company of the 45th Battalion, was sentenced to seven years in prison. He pleaded guilty to murdering Jews in a number of cities in Ukraine, including Berdichev; see LG-Reg, Ks 6/70.

3. On August 5, 1966, Sievert was acquitted by a court in Düsseldorf; see LG-Düss, 8I Ks 1/66. On March 9, 1960, Hülsdünker and Knop were sentenced by a court in Berlin to 3 years and 6 months in prison and 7 years in prison, respectively; see LG-Be, 3 PKs 1/57.

4. See the testimony of the former SS-Rottenführer Hans Isenmann at the court proceedings in Kiev in January 1946, in *Kyivs'kyi protses: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev, 1995), p. 51.

5. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 35; see also Elisavetskii, *Berdichevskaia tragediia*, pp. 81–110.

6. BA-BL, R 58/217, pp. 157–186, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 88, September 19, 1941; VHAP, KdO Stab RFSS, Telegram no. 289 of the HSSPF Russland-Süd, September 5, 1941; see also BA-L, B 162, 204 AR-Z 129/67, p. 998.

7. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," pp. 37–39.

8. See the indictment against Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer dated February 2, 1970, LG-Reg, Ks 6/70.

9. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," pp. 41–42.

10. GARF, 7021-60-285, p. 17 (and reverse side), testimony of the witness Mikhail Pekelis. According to another source, Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 42, there were around 500 persons altogether in the labor prison camp.

11. On July 26, 1961, Dr. Franz Razesberger was acquitted by a court in Vienna.

12. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 42.

13. Report of the city's administrative commission from May 13, 1944, GARF, 7021-60-285, p. 8. See also the testimony

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of the witness Chaim Satanovskii, April 20, 1944, to be found in the same file (GARF, 7021-60-285, pp. 48–49).

14. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 42.

BRAILOV

Pre-1941: Brailov, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Brailow, Rayon center, Gebiet Litin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Brailiv, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Brailov is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) south of Vinnitsa. In 1931, there were about 2,400 Jews in Brailov and its environs. Comprising 96 percent of the inhabitants, they formed an overwhelming majority of the town's population.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Brailov on July 17, 1941. A number of Jews were able to evacuate or were called up to the Red Army, but the majority remained behind. On the first day of the occupation, 15 Jews were killed. The German authorities appointed Mikhail Baranchuk as the chief of the Ukrainian police, and in this position he demonstrated extraordinary cruelty to the Jewish population. The German authorities ordered the Jews to wear a yellow six-pointed star on their backs and chests. They were explicitly forbidden to leave the settlement and to trade or have any contact with the Ukrainian population in the surrounding villages.[1]

After a short time, all Jews were relocated to a ghetto. A monthly "contribution" was demanded of them in money and valuables. In July 1941, at the demand of the military commandant, Jews had to hand over 800 pieces of fabric, 120 pairs of boots, and 500 silk scarves with Nazi swastikas sewn on them, all within 24 hours. They also had to hand over 300,000 rubles in cash.

In the fall of 1941, Brailov came under the control of a German civil administration. Brailov was a Rayon center in Gebiet Litin, under the authority of Gebietskommissar Traugott Volkhammer. In Brailov there was a local post of the German Gendarmerie, commanded by Hans Graf, which assumed control over the local Ukrainian police. Probably on Graf's instructions, Jews were permitted to shop in the market for only 10 minutes every day, signaled by a policeman blowing his whistle.[2]

In November 1941, Jews had to hand over 10 women's gold watches, 12 gold bracelets, a grand piano for the officer's club, two cars, and three drums of gasoline. Orders for the collection of these goods were passed on via the Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was under the leadership of Iosif Kulik. On a daily basis, about 1,000 prisoners were taken out of the ghetto for various forced labor tasks, which included bricklaying and repairing the roads. The guards shot many of them for working too slowly. A few families opened a leather-making shop in the ghetto and worked there. A linen shop was also in operation. The bulk of the production created by the artisans went directly to the Germans and local policemen.

In the early morning of February 12, 1942, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Vinnitsa, reinforced by Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police from the entire Gebiet Litin and by men of the local German customs post (Zollstelle), gathered more than 1,000 prisoners from the ghetto in the market square, outside the church. After this, searches were carried out in the homes of the Jews in the ghetto. Jews who were ill or who were found in hiding places, including children, were shot immediately. However, the German and Ukrainian forces were unable to find nearly 200 ghetto inhabitants. In contravention of German orders, some Ukrainian policemen plundered Jewish property from the ghetto.[3]

The Germans began a process of selection, and several hundred Jews were selected out according to those professions that were deemed necessary. These Jews were allowed to take their families and return to the ghetto. Gendarmerie chief Graf demanded that the remaining 800 Jews put their gold, silver, and money into a briefcase, which he had placed beside him. Then they were lined up and driven to the killing site, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Brailov, not far from the Jewish cemetery, at the side of the road leading to the village of Demidovka. During the convoy, there were a few daring attempts to escape, but most of the runaways were shot on the spot. When the transport arrived at the killing site, the German forces drove groups of Jews down into a ditch that had been dug for them a few days earlier. The Germans and Ukrainians ordered the Jews to undress and lie facedown in the ditch. Then the men of the Security Police shot them with automatic weapons. The next group laid down on top of the previous one. Iosif Kulik, the aforementioned head of the Judenrat, was permitted to return to the ghetto with his wife. But he refused to do so, and they were both shot during the course of the Aktion.[4]

The territory of the ghetto was then reduced considerably. The prisoners lived in terribly overcrowded conditions. Ghetto inmates faced the death penalty for leaving the ghetto or being found in possession of butter, eggs, or meat. By a special order, Jewish families in the ghetto were threatened with death if they gave birth to any children.[5]

In March or April 1942, the Germans shot 300 more Jews after another selection. Among those murdered in these Aktions in early 1942 were some 200 Jews from the nearby village of Mezhirov.[6] On June 8, 1942 (according to another source, April 25, 1942), Graf gathered all the remaining Jews in the market square. On the orders of Gebietskommissar Volkhammer, all those incapable of work (around 100 Jews), mainly children under 16, were selected. They were then led down into a cellar, and the German forces shot them there. Some Brailov Jews escaped the selection and managed to find hiding places. According to new instructions, the dead were to be buried in the ghetto.

In late June or July 1942, the ghetto was liquidated and the German commandant ordered a sign to be hung at the entrance to the settlement, which read in Ukrainian and German: "Brailov, cleansed of Jews [*judenrein*]." At that time, the Germans shot 503 Jews, including 286 Jews who had been returned to Brailov after escaping at different times to Zhmerinka, which was in the Romanian zone of occupation. On the

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eve of the Aktion, a squad of German Gendarmerie headed by Hans Graf arrived in Zhmerinka from Brailov and demanded from the Romanian administration and Adolf Hirshman, the head of the Zhmerinka Judenrat, a list of all the Brailov Jews in the Zhmerinka ghetto. Then, under the pretext of required anti-typhus vaccinations, the Brailov Jews were taken back to Brailov from Zhmerinka. Meanwhile, Hirshman hid a small number of Brailov Jews in the Zhmerinka ghetto. This bold act ultimately saved their lives. After the liberation, however, the Soviet authorities tried Hirshman for his role in the fate of Brailov's Jews.[7]

In the late summer and fall of 1942, the Germans and Ukrainian police continued to shoot any Jews they found in hiding, but a number managed to escape to the Romanian-occupied zone, including about 12 Jewish families who were hidden by kolkhoz workers in Kopystirin (in the Shargorod raion). Some of the escapees later became partisans. A squad of the German Criminal Police in Vinnitsa arrived in Brailov in October or December 1943 to organize the shooting of the last Jews remaining in Brailov: 17 tailors who worked in a sewing workshop.[8]

The Red Army recaptured the town from the Germans on March 20, 1944.

SOURCES Additional information on the Brailov ghetto can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); in the volume of documents edited by Yitzhak Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 149–150; and in the volume edited by E. Wol'f, *Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Zhmerinskogo getto* (Jerusalem, 2001).

Documentation and survivor testimonies relevant to the Brailov ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1268); TsDAVO; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33/220, 227, 2395; and O-3/3894). In addition, there is an interview conducted with Leonid Langerman in 2005, now deposited in the author's personal archive (PAAKag).

Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Vasily Grossman and Ilya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga* (Zaporozhe: Interbuk, 1991), pp. 61–67; see also Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry.*

2. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 31–32, identifies Graf as the Gendarmerie post commander. *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* names a man called "Kraft" as the commandant who amused himself at this spectacle. These men are probably the same person.

3. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, pp. 67–87, report of HSSPF Ukraine for March 1942; and also DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 10–11, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Befehl 16/42, July 20, 1942. Several Schutzmänner from Brailov were court-martialed for plundering.

4. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 31–32; see also GARF, 7021-54-1268, pp. 68, 79.

5. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 61–67.

6. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, p. 32; see also GARF 7021-54-1268.

7. Wol'f, *Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Zhmerinskogo getto*, pp. 94–95, 162–168, 226.

8. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 34–35; Australia's Attorney-General's Department, *Report of the Investigations of War Criminals in Australia* (Canberra: AGPS, 1993), p. 106.

CHERNIAKHOV

Pre-1941: Cherniakhov, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschernjachow, Rayon center, Gebiet Shitomir, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Cherniakhiv, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Cherniakhov is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) north of Zhitomir. In 1939, 1,482 Jews (20.7 percent of the total population) lived there. Within the villages of the Cherniakhov raion, there were an additional 228 Jews.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a substantial part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Less than half of the prewar Jewish population remained in Cherniakhov at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 13, 1941. From July through October 1941, a German military command post (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force consisting of local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Cherniakhov was incorporated into Gebiet Shitomir, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[1]

After the occupation of the town, the German administration ordered all Jews to be registered and marked with armbands. The Jews were then exploited for various forms of heavy labor.

In the first 10 days of August 1941, several cleansing Aktions were carried out. Sonderkommando 4a shot an estimated 112 Jews and "Bolsheviks" in the first Aktion.[2] The second claimed 33 Jews,[3] and the third claimed 13 Jews.[4] Details of the first Aktion are found in Einsatzgruppen report no. 58 of August 20, 1941:

> After the arrival of German forces in Cherniakhov, initially it was calm, such that the remaining Jews were compelled to restrain themselves. On the following day, after the combat forces had moved on, Sonderkommando 4a discovered that in the meantime the Jews (as everywhere) were in contact with the scattered Russian partisan units that were terrorizing the entire area. A detachment sent there in response to this observation arrested all the Jewish

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> men they could find, and at the same time searched for terrorists still in hiding. Fifteen members of the (GPU) [State Political Directorate] and another 11 informants were exposed, along with the main criminal, a national judge named Kieper.[5]

On August 7–8, 1941, the 2nd Battalion of the 10th Motorized Unit of the 1st SS-Motorized Brigade carried out another Aktion. They arrested and shot 232 Jews.[6]

After the shooting of the Jewish men, the Ortskommandantur apparently resettled the remaining Jewish women and children into a freight car at some date in the fall of 1941, where they were held for a short time before they were shot. This brief incarceration could be viewed as a form of destruction ghetto.[7]

During the occupation of Cherniakhov from July 1941 to November 1943, according to the list of names, 571 persons were shot in Cherniakhov, including 568 Jews.[8]

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Cherniakhov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/215, 216); BA-L (B 162/19220); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-314); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 3).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Ibid., R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 47, August 9, 1941.
3. Ibid., R 58/216, EM no. 58, August 20, 1941.
4. Ibid., EM no. 60, August 22, 1941.
5. Ibid., EM no. 58, August 20, 1941.
6. See the Report of the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade from August 10, 1941, in Fritz Baade, ed., *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 103–105.
7. Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), p. 88. Lower, however, contrasts this treatment starkly with the formal ghettoization process known from the larger cities in the Generalgouvernement.
8. GARF, 7021-60-314, pp. 100–102 and reverse side. See also BA-L, B 162/19220, pp. 60–61, which also gives the figure of 571 people shot in Cherniakhov.

CHERVONOARMEISK (AKA KRASNOARMEISK)

Pre-1941: Chervonoarmeisk, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tscherwonnoarmeisk, renamed Pulin, Rayon center, Gebiet Zwiahel (Nowograd-Wolynskyj), Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Chervonoarmiis'k, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Chervonoarmeisk is located 160 kilometers (99 miles) west of Kiev. In 1926, 1,056 Jews lived in Chervonoarmeisk. According to the 1939 population census, 523 Jews (13.2 percent of the total population) lived in the town. Additionally, 490 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Chervonoarmeisk raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. Eligible men at that time were conscripted or volunteered for the Red Army. Around 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the town in July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Chervonoarmeisk. The German military administration created a raion authority and established a Ukrainian police unit from among the local inhabitants. The Ukrainian policemen played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Chervonoarmeisk was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj, and Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of Chervonoarmeisk, the German military administration issued orders calling for a registration and marking of the Jewish population with armbands. Jews were also made to perform unpaid heavy labor, such as the repair of roads and buildings.

At some time in the summer or early fall of 1941, the German Ortskommandantur established a ghetto or "Jewish residential quarter," in Chervonoarmeisk. Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and were forbidden to buy products from the local Ukrainians. Famine quickly ensued in consequence.

According to the Jewish survivor Mark Meshok, around September 1941, Jews were rounded up in the surrounding villages, including in the village of Ocheretianki, and were brought to the ghetto in Chervonoarmeisk, where hundreds of people were collected. The ghetto consisted of only five or six houses in the center of Chervonoarmeisk, surrounded with barbed wire. It was guarded by local policemen and by the Germans. However, Ukrainians still came to the ghetto and traded food for valuable items or for work, such as sewing.[2]

The ghetto existed until December 1941, when the Germans liquidated it and all its inhabitants were shot. Just before the Aktion, the Germans spread word that all the Jews would be sent to Palestine. Then early in the morning the local police drove the Jews out of their houses only half-dressed in the freezing cold. As the Jews were escorted to the pits, local Ukrainians started to rob them, taking their coats. The elderly who could not keep up were killed on the way. On reaching Iagodenka, just to the southwest of Chervonoarmeisk, the column turned up the hill, and the men started to pray, realizing that the end was near. The Jews were surrounded by Germans and local police and were shot into the pits. Infants were taken from their mothers' arms and thrown into the pit to be buried alive.[3]

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The mass murders were carried out by three SS officers with the help of the Ukrainian police and by a detachment that was subordinated to SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln, Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 274 people were shot, but this source dates the Aktion in September 1941.[4]

Mark Meshok and his mother were both saved by a local ethnic German named Fritsche (or Fricher), who lived in Iagodenka and managed to extract them both from the column of Jews and take them back to his home.[5]

In the second half of 1941, Jews were executed in a number of other villages in the Chervonoarmeisk raion. There were 6 Jews murdered in October 1941 in the village of Ocheretianki (to the northwest of Chervonoarmeisk), and 11 Jews murdered in the village of Sokolov (to the east).[6]

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jews of Chervonoarmeisk can be found in the following publication: A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 56 (in this source, the settlement is referred to as Krasnoarmeisk).

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Chervonoarmeisk can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-300); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2); and VHF (# 5812).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft and Crispin Brooks

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 5812, testimony of Mark Meshok.
3. Ibid.
4. GARF, 7021-60-300, pp. 144, 146.
5. VHF, # 5812.
6. GARF, 7021-60-300, pp. 91–92, 112.

CHUDNOV

Pre-1941: Chudnov, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tschudnow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Chudniv, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Chudnov is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 2,506 Jews lived in the town (46.4 percent of the total). Additionally, there were 703 Jews in the villages of the Chudnov raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the settlement on July 7, 1941, less than three weeks after the start of the German invasion. In this period a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military authorities created a local Ukrainian administration and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local population.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Chudnov became the administrative center of Gebiet Tschudnow, and Hitler Jugend (HJ)-Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel was appointed as Gebietskommissar. The Rayons Ljubar and Dsershinsk were also incorporated into Gebiet Chudnov.[1]

On July 15, 1941, a week after the occupation of the town, a "Jewish residential district" (an open ghetto) was established in Chudnov in a part of town that had been severely damaged during the fighting. One main street and a few side streets were reserved only for the Jewish population, but the area was not fenced in. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the area and from buying products from local Ukrainians. They had their own separate shops, and the Ukrainians were forbidden all contact with the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands on their left arms, bearing a yellow six-pointed Star of David. Jewish men were required to perform heavy labor, were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town, and were subjected to beatings and robbery by the Germans and Ukrainian police.[2]

One day, probably in August 1941, Jews from Chudnov were taken to dig graves in the local park. At this time the Germans brought a number of Jews from the nearby village of Piatka into Chudnov and shot them in these graves. The grave diggers were also beaten and humiliated before they were released.[3]

On September 9, 1941, the Germans organized the first Aktion against Chudnov's Jews. About 800 or 900 people were loaded onto trucks on the pretext of a labor assignment and were taken out of the town to be shot.[4] Apparently, members of Police Battalion 303, commanded by Major der Polizei Heinrich Hannibal, carried out the shooting. The battalion was stationed in Chudnov from September 5, 1941.[5]

Conditions in the ghetto deteriorated during the fall. People were starving, it became cold, and the Jews had inadequate clothing. There was not even any water in the Jewish quarter. Those who tried to bring in water were either beaten or shot by the guards.[6]

On October 16, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Chudnov. In a document for the "Divak settlement," the head of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in Chudnov reported that "on October 16, 1941, all Jews regardless of age were shot by order of the German military commandant in Berdichev." The Ukrainian police from the town of "Divak" conducted the killings. About 500 Jews were shot altogether.[7] The German and Ukrainian police drove the Jews out of their houses in the ghetto and gathered them in the local cinema building. From there they were loaded onto trucks and transported to a park on the southern outskirts of Chudnov. In the park, the Germans had placed boards across the pits, and they shot the Jews in groups of 5 to 10 people such that they fell in.[8]

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On October 22, 1941, the Ukrainian police carried out a third and final Aktion against the ghetto. They rounded up the few hundred remaining Jews, again gathering them in the local cinema building before taking them away in vehicles to the park and shooting them in the same manner.[9]

After this last Aktion, only a small group of Jewish specialized workers remained in the town. They were held in a barracks area, which was surrounded by barbed wire.[10] In the middle of November 1941, these Jews were also shot and killed.[11] The Germans and their collaborators murdered around 2,000 Jews in Chudnov between September and November 1941.

With regard to the Chudnov raion, apart from the Jews of Piatka, between August and September 1941, an additional 111 Jews from the village of Novyi Chudnov were killed.[12]

Among the very few Jewish survivors from Chudnov, both Mariam Sandal and Polina Pekerman benefited from being able to persuade local policemen to let them go, owing to either personal friendships or their non-Jewish appearance. Pekerman also names two Ukrainian policemen who actively participated in the killings: a man named Briukhanov and an officer named Lozovoi.[13]

SOURCES Published testimonies by Jewish survivors from Chudnov can be found in these works: Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005); and *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem and Moscow, 1993).

Documentation on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Chudnov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO (1151-1-2); GARF (7021-60-315); TsDAHOU (57-4-225); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. See the testimonies of Polina Pekerman and Mariam Sandal (Askes), in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 195–205, 268–273; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225, p. 33.
3. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 269. In 1931 there were 791 Jews living in Piatka.
4. *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 158. See also the testimonies of M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 195–205, and P. Pekerman, pp. 268–273.
5. See telegram no. 305 of September 6, 1941, from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, VHAP, KdO-Stab RFSS.
6. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 269.
7. DAZO, 1151-1-2. In this document, "Divak" probably refers to Chudnov. See also testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 269–270, which dates the second Aktion in Chudnov on October 16, 1941.
8. Testimonies of P. Pekerman, pp. 199–205, and M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 268–273.
9. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 271.
10. Verdict of LG-Kass, 3 Ks 5/57, May 24, 1957, in the case against Konrad H., published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), 44:138–139.
11. *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 160.
12. GARF, 7021-60-315, p. 25.
13. Testimonies of P. Pekerman, pp. 195–205, and M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 268–273.

DASHEV

Pre-1941: Dashev, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Daschev, Rayon center, Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Dashiv, Illintsi raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Dashev is located 76 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. Dashev consists of three parts (former villages): Staryi Dashev, Novyi Dashev, and Polevoe.

According to the 1939 census, there were 967 Jews living in Dashev (34.1 percent of the total population); in the villages of what was then the Dashev raion, there were an additional 452 Jews. Most of these Jews lived in the villages of Kitaigorod and Kal'nik.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 25, 1941, about five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During these intervening weeks, some Jewish men volunteered for or were drafted into the Red Army, and a number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward.

In the period from July to October 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) located in Gaisin governed the town. In November 1941, a civil administration replaced the German military administration. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Daschew was part of Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Oberführer Werder. In Dashev itself, there was a Gendarmerie post to which a squad of Ukrainian police was subordinated; the latter, together with the German Gendarmerie, took an active part in the anti- Jewish Aktions in the Rayon. In July 1942, the head of the Ukrainian police (Schutzmannschaft) in Dashev was a man named Charilon Sachartschuk.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat); Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David; they were forced to perform work on behalf of the German occupation agencies; they were forbidden to leave the town limits; and they were ordered to hand over all their valuables, including bicycles, sewing machines, and gramophones. Jews were forbidden to sell products in the market, while the local Ukrainian residents were forbidden to maintain relationships of any kind with Jews; infractions of this rule were subject to flogging. The places where the Jews lived in close proximity, both in Staryi Dashev and in Novyi Dashev, were declared to be "Jewish quarters" (open ghettos). The open ghetto in Staryi Dashev was liquidated on October 28, 1941,[2] when almost all the Jews were shot; in November 1941, around 200 Jews from the village of Kitaigorod

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were herded into Staryi Dashev and shot.[3] The total number of victims was 814.[4] The shooting was carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, assisted by other German forces and the Ukrainian police. In Novyi Dashev, 165 Jews were shot, probably on December 17, 1941, followed by 37 more on December 20, 1941.[5] Ortskommandantur I (V) 275, based in the Vinnitsa region, reported on December 18, 1941, that it had received two postal saving books that had been confiscated by the Feldgendarmerie in Dashev on the occasion of an Aktion against the Jews there on December 17.[6]

According to the Jewish child survivor Basia Malinskaia, after these mass shootings, there were only about a dozen Jews (probably specialist workers and their families) left in Dashev. They all were moved into two houses in Staryi Dashev, at the very end of the town. One family lived in the last house, and in the other there lived a Jewish man who served as the "commandant" or elder of the Jewish settlement, together with a few other people. The Jewish commandant with his son kept watch on German orders, to ensure that nobody left the two houses. They hoped that if they obeyed orders, perhaps their lives would be spared. There was a well in the courtyard of one of the houses, where the families could get water and do their washing.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans conducted several roundups in the small remnant ghetto, but some Jews succeeded in hiding, either in the fields or concealed in a cellar within one of the houses. Those who were taken in the roundups, probably including the Jewish elder, all were shot in a ravine near Kupchintsy, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Dashev.[7] According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the remaining 13 Jewish specialists from Novyi Dashev were shot in May 1942.[8]

The murder of the Jews of Dashev is mentioned by the Jewish survivor Ida Kalnizkaia, whose grandparents were apparently shot there in the courtyard of their home.[9] Basia Malinskaia survived after her parents passed her on to a Ukrainian family in the village of Parkhomovka for the remainder of the German occupation. The son of the Jewish elder of the remnant ghetto also somehow managed to survive and returned to live in Dashev after the war.[10]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Dashev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/23); DAVINO; DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1266); USHMM (RG-22.002M; and Acc.1996.A.0269); VHF (# 47531); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Crispin Brooks
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 18/42, July 25, 1942.

2. B. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto. Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), p. 96.

3. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 13, 23. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 5:95, gives the number of victims from Kitaigorod as 360. 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), p. 631, cites 180 Jews expelled to Dashev and shot there. It is possible that these Jews were shot in December.

4. GARF, 7021-54-1266, p. 38.

5. Ibid., p. 159. This source gives the date of the larger shooting Aktion as December 12, 1941, but German documentation reports an Aktion in Dashev on December 17, 1941.

6. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1570, OK I (V) 275, Nachweisung über beschlagnahmte Geldmittel, December 18, 1941.

7. VHF, # 47531, testimony of Basia Malinskaia, born 1932.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1266, p. 159.

9. Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 171.

10. VHF, # 47531.

DZERZHINSK

Pre-1941: Dzerzhinsk (Romanov until 1933), town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Romanow (Dsershinsk), Rayon center, Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Dzerzhinsk, raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukraine; [post-2003: Romaniv]

The 1939 census indicated 1,720 Jews (24.2 percent of the total population) in the town of Dzerzhinsk and 1,188 Jews living in the villages of the Dzerzhinsk raion. The town is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) west-southwest of Zhitomir.

On July 7, 1941, German forces of the 6th Army occupied the town. By then a few hundred Jews had been able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About three quarters of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Dzerzhinsk at the start of the occupation. In addition, a few hundred Jewish refugees had arrived, bringing the population in the settlement to around 1,800 Jews.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the settlement. The German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Dzerzhinsk became part of Gebiet Tschudnow, and Hitler Jugend (HJ)-Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel was appointed the Gebietskommissar.[1] Shortly after the occupation of Dzerzhinsk, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration of the Jews and marking them with armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy labor, solely on account of their being Jewish.

At the end of July 1941, the Ortskommandantur declared the establishment of an open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in Dzerzhinsk, designating for this purpose two streets, which were guarded by the local police.[2] Jews were

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forbidden to leave the ghetto area or to buy products from the Ukrainians. As a result, the Jewish population experienced shortages of food, and starvation began to set in.

On August 25, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Dzerzhinsk. Jewish men were executed in two ditches in the forest, close to the town.[3] A company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, commanded by Martin Besser and subordinated to the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, probably carried out the shooting. They murdered 549 people altogether.[4]

In the middle of October 1941, Ukrainian policemen carried out a second Aktion in the public park, killing more than 100 Jews.[5]

On October 23, 1941, the Dzerzhinsk ghetto was liquidated. The Ukrainian police shot some 850 elderly people, women, and children in the forest near the town.[6] After this Aktion, only the Jewish craftsmen and their families—around 300 people—remained in the town. On December 7, 1941, the Ukrainian policemen shot 168 of them at the former military airfield near the village of Romanovka.[7] The remaining 122 persons were shot in the public park in Dzerzhinsk on June 15, 1942.[8]

Altogether in 1941–1942, around 1,800 Jews were murdered at different sites in Dzerzhinsk.[9]

A number of Jews were also killed in the villages around Dzerzhinsk. In the villages of Miropol' and Pechanovka, 41 Jews were murdered: 16 men, 10 women, and 15 children.[10] And 253 people were killed in the village of Kamenka.[11]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and extermination of the Jewish population of Dzerzhinsk can be found in the following publication: Garri Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit: Sbornik materialov o Kholokoste, perezhitom moimi zemliakami* (Zhitomir: Polissia, 2000).

Documents regarding the fate of the Jews of Dzerzhinsk during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO; GARF (7021-60-291); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit*, p. 51.
3. GARF, 7021-60-291, pp. 4, 60, 87–88.
4. VHAP, KdO-Stab RFSS, Telegram no. 179 from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, August 26, 1941. According to the report of April 10, 1945, after the sites were uncovered, approximately 620 corpses were found in the mass grave (GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 4). The witnesses G. Shnaiderman and B. Zel'tser said that there were around 890 people murdered (pp. 87–88).
5. Inquiry results passed to the author by the Security Service Administration of Ukraine in Zhytomyr oblast' December 4, 1991. According to the testimony of V. Pekeman, this shooting probably took place on October 18, 1941; see Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit*, pp. 34, 135.
6. Testimony of B. Zel'tser, May 25, 1945, GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 88. According to another source, the mass shooting took place on October 25, 1941.
7. Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit*, p. 35.
8. Report of May 27, 1945, GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 60.
9. Only 1,499 names of Jews killed in Dzerzhinsk are known. See GARF, 7021-60-291, pp. 61–86.
10. Ibid., p. 121. The shootings took place in September 1941 and February 1942.
11. Ibid., p. 404. The shootings took place on September 28, 1941, in December 1941, and in January 1942.

DZHULINKA

Pre-1941: Dzhulinka, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dshulinka, Rayon center, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Dzhulynka, Bershad' raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Dzhulinka is located 125 kilometers (78 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, there were 212 Jews living in Dzhulinka, accounting for 4.68 percent of the population.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 28, 1941, five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews were successfully evacuated to the eastern regions of the USSR.

In the period July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) located in Gaisin was in charge of the village. In November 1941, a German civil administration replaced the military authorities. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Dshulinka was part of Gebiet Gaissin in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In Dzhulinka itself, there was a Gendarmerie post, to which a squad of Ukrainian police was subordinated.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the residential area, where most Jews were concentrated, was probably declared to be a "Jewish quarter" (open ghetto). According to one Soviet source, this "open ghetto" was only in existence for a few weeks, as in August 1941, the Germans rounded up the Jews and shot them, killing 156 people in total. The shooting took place on a tract of land where pine trees grew, near the village.[1]

SOURCES The available sources consulted for this article, however, give conflicting versions of the events. The *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* published in Kiev in 2000 by the State Committee of the Ukrainian Archives, p. 33, states that there was a ghetto in Dzhulinka, citing two documents from the State Archives of the Vinnytsia Oblast' (DAVINO, R-1683-1-13 and R-6022-1-27, which is cited as a list of ghetto prisoners), but it gives no further details. Other sources give different dates for the murder of the Jews of Dzhulinka. According to Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad

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Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 351, the Jews were murdered outside the town on April 2, 1942. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:381, also dates the shooting of all the remaining Jews (156 people) in August 1941. According to the ChGK (GARF, 7021-54-1240, p. 5), 156 people (Jews and Ukrainians) were shot in December 1942 and February 1943. It has to be concluded that the existing data on the "Dzhulinka ghetto" remain unconfirmed and require further research.

Additional documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Dzhulinka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/2331, 2332, 26795); DAVINO (e.g., R 425-1-5, R 1683-1-13, and R 6022-1-27); and GARF (7021-54-1240).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. DAVINO, R-425-1-5, p. 13.

GAISIN

Pre-1941: Gaisin, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Gaissin, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Gaisyn, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Gaisin is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. In 1939, there were 4,109 Jews in Gaisin (27.7 percent of the total) and 380 Jews living in the Gaisin raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men were conscripted or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. About 2,000 Jews remained in the town when the occupation began (50 percent of the pre-war population).

The town was occupied by the Wehrmacht on July 25, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office—Ortskommandantur I (V) 275—commanded by a Major Heinrich ran the town. A raion administration and an auxiliary police unit were formed from among the local residents. In the fall of 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Gaisin became the administrative center of Gebiet Gaissin, and Kreisleiter Becher was named the Gebietskommissar.[1] Gebiet Gaissin also included the Rayons of Teplik and Dshulinka, and it became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created, and all Jews were ordered to wear distinctive armbands bearing the image of the Star of David. Jews were forced to perform heavy labor for the occupying German military forces and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town. They also had to surrender all their items of value. Jews were not allowed to buy products on the market, and in turn the local Ukrainians were not permitted to have any contact with them. Violators of these regulations were subjected to severe punishments.

At some date in the summer or fall of 1941, Major Heinrich ordered the creation of an "open ghetto" (Jewish residential district) in Gaisin. One street (Rabochnaia Street) was cordoned off for this purpose, and Jews were expressly prohibited from living on any of the other streets.[2]

On September 16, 1941, an anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in the town during which at least 1,409 local Jews were murdered, together with 29 brought in from Ladyzhin, where a similar Aktion had taken place on September 13. The shootings were carried out by men of Police Battalion 304, led by its commander, Major Karl Deckert. The battalion was stationed in Gaisin from September 6 to 19, 1941.[3] On the day before the Aktion, the local Ukrainian police marked the houses in which the Jewish victims were living. At 6:00 A.M. on the next day, members of the police battalion drove the Jews out of their houses and gathered them on the market square. From here the victims were escorted to a killing site about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. Those Jews unable to walk were carried by others. At the grave site, the Jews were made to lie facedown in the ditch in groups of up to 10 persons, and German policemen shot them from behind with machine pistols. The Aktion continued until 4:00 P.M.[4] Local commandant Heinrich reported on September 17, 1941, that he had received several items of gold jewelry handed in by a Ukrainian policeman (Milizsoldat) as a result of the "Jewish Aktion" carried out in Gaisin.[5]

The ghetto in Gaisin was basically liquidated after this Aktion. Only about 150 Jewish artisan workers remained in the town thereafter. The majority of them were shot on May 7–10, 1943.[6] This mass shooting apparently was conducted by members of the local Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) along with the Ukrainian police. This Security Police outpost was present in Gaisin from 1942 to 1944 and served under the commanding officer of the Security Police and SD in Zhitomir (KdS Shitomir).[7]

In the summer of 1942, a forced labor camp for Jews was created in Gaisin. Jews were resettled there from "Transnistria," the Romanian-occupied zone of Ukraine. Jewish labor was exploited to build a bridge across the Sob River, which was part of the main road to Vinnitsa. After the completion of the building project, the Jews were shot and buried under the bridge. On October 14, 1942, 230 Jews were shot. On November 6, 1942, 1,000 Jews were shot.[8] These murders apparently were carried out by Lithuanian policemen of the 7th Lithuanian Police (Schutzmannschaft) Battalion. The military staff of the 4th Company of this battalion was present in Gaisin with one platoon from April to December 1942. The order for the shootings came from SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Christoffel, who from March to November 1942 was the head of the Second Roadbuilding Section (from Vinnitsa to Uman') and had a residence in Gaisin.

Some names are known of Ukrainians who saved Jews from extermination: Miasnikova, Kutok, and Efrosyn'ia Semeniuk. Semeniuk saved the lives of seven Jews. The German Landwirtschaftsführer (agricultural leader) Fritz Ginzel also

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kept Jews in hiding. He was shot by People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) agents in 1944. The Jewish doctor Niderman was protected by his Ukrainian patients for some time, but the Germans came and arrested him in the middle of the night.[9]

A group of Jews from Gaisin participated in the partisan resistance movement. Partisan sections were based in the Shchebliankskii Forest, which was located near the town. There was a separate detachment composed of Jews, including many women, children, and elderly persons. Many Jews fought actively in the detachment, and other detachments provided the means of protection for them. In addition, at least 12 Jews in the Gaisin region were members of Soviet underground organizations.[10]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews in Gaisin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/23); BA-L (B 162/204a AR-Z 140/67); BStU; DAVINO (R 4222-1-7); GARF (7021-54-1272); and YVA (M-33/224, M-52/432).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Acts of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the investigation of war crimes by the German occupants in the Gaisin raion from July 24, 1941, to March 13, 1944, are published in V. Lukin, A. Sokolova, and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel'—Podoliia* (St. Petersburg, 2000), pp. 199–200. 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), p. 418, state that a ghetto was established immediately after the arrival of the Germans but do not give a source.

3. Diary of Otto Müller, a former member of Police Battalion 304, BStU, Archiv der Zentralstelle, MfS-HA IX/11, ZUV 78, vol. 6, p. 62. Other sources indicate that about 3,000 Jews were murdered in Gaisin at this time; see A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 13. The East German courts date the Aktion on September 16–17, 1941, and cite up to 4,000 victims. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1564, mentions a "Judenaktion" on September 13, 1941; this was probably the Aktion in Ladyzhin, where 486 local Jews were shot; see A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 182.

4. *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 1029a, pp. 737–738.

5. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1577, report of OK I (V) 275, September 17, 1941, signed Major und Kommandant Heinrich. Among the Ukrainian police serving in Gaisin in 1942 were Michaile Moskoluk, Anton Mulja, and Stanislaus Hautkowski; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14.

6. GARF, 7021-54-1272, pp. 396 and reverse side.

7. DAZO, 1182-1-26, p. 104.

8. M. Carp, *Cartea Neagra* (Bucharest, 1947), 3:286.

9. Lukin, Sokolova, and Khaimovich, *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy*, p. 200.

10. Y. Maliar (Israel) and F. Vinokurova (Ukraine), eds., *Vinnitsa oblast'—Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie; Svidetel'stva evreev—uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994), pp. 178–179.

IANOV

Pre-1941: Ianov, village, Kalinovka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Janow, Rayon and Gebiet Kalinowka, Generalkommissariat Shitomir, post-1991: Ivaniv, Kalynivka raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ianov is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) north-northeast of Vinnitsa. There were probably around 1,000 Jews living in Ianov in 1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Ianov on July 22, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. The commandant appointed a village elder and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. It became part of Gebiet Kalinowka, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer. Based in Ianov as part of the civil administration were one or two officials of the German agricultural administration (Landwirtschaftsführer).[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David (later, a yellow circle). They were required to perform forced labor, often without pay. They were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. Finally, Jews were subjected to systematic lootings and beatings by the Ukrainian police and local antisemites.

According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, in March 1942 hundreds of Jewish families were crowded into a ghetto in Ianov.[2] In mid-May 1942, a group of able-bodied Jews from the Ianov ghetto was selected and sent on foot to the village of Kalinovka, where they were placed in a forced labor camp and assigned to work on the construction of an airfield.

On May 30, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghettos in Ianov and nearby Pikov at the same time. Forces of the German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian police, and also Hungarian soldiers, who arrived from Kalinovka, rounded up the Jews in Ianov in the morning and escorted them to a prepared pit, near the Jewish cemetery, which lay approximately halfway between Ianov and Pikov (Pikov is about 10 kilometers [6 miles] to the north of Ianov). There the Jews had to wait for about two hours until additional Germans (probably an SD detachment from KdS Winniza) arrived in the afternoon to carry out the mass shooting. Some of the Jewish children were simply beaten to death or were buried alive in the mass grave. It is estimated that more than 800 Jews from Ianov were killed on this day.[3]

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In the initial days of June 1942, the Germans and the Ukrainian police searched Ianov repeatedly for Jews in hiding. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), by June 12, 1942, they had shot an additional 194 Jews, so the total number of victims in Ianov exceeded 1,000.[4]

The Red Army drove the German occupiers from Ianov in March 1944.

SOURCES Publications concerning the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Ianov include the following: "Ianov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:494; and "Janov," 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), pp. 559–560. The ghetto in Ianov is also mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 35.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Ianov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); GARF (7021-54-1274); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAVINO, R5022-1-176, dates it in early 1942.
3. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 190–191, 353. GARF, 7021-54-1274, p. 252, gives a total of 814 Jews from Ianov killed on May 30, 1942.
4. GARF, 7021-54-1274, p. 252. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 190–191, 353, gives slightly different figures for Ianov in early June, but these appear to be the numbers for Novyi Pikov from the ChGK records.

IANUSHPOL'

Pre-1941: Ianushpol', town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Januschpol, Rayon center, Gebiet Berditschew, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ivanopil', Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Ianushpol' is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. In 1939, 721 Jews lived in Ianushpol'. (In the entire Ianushpol' raion, there were only 963 Jews.)

German troops occupied the town on July 3, 1941. During July, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. Mention of this Aktion can be found in Einsatzgruppen Report no. 58 of August 20, 1941:

> In recent days, in the town of Ianushpol', where the Jewish population comprised about 25 percent of the inhabitants, the Jewish women behaved with especial insolence and impudence in response to the social restrictions imposed upon them. They became so incensed that they ripped off their own and their children's clothes. As a provisional punishment measure and to calm down the situation in general, members of the Einsatzkommando shot 15 Jewish men. Further punitive measures will follow.[1]

It is probable that a "Jewish residential quarter" or "open ghetto" was created in the town of Ianushpol' as early as July 1941. The Jews were ordered to mark their identity by wearing a piece of fabric in the shape of a yellow star on their clothing. Furthermore, they were forced to carry out physically demanding work. During the winter of 1941–1942, the Jewish inmates of the ghetto suffered from hunger and cold. The ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942. A unit of the German Security Police and SD, probably from the outpost in Berdichev,[2] in collaboration with members of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police, shot several hundred Jews (according to one source, 680).[3] From among the victims, about 80 Jews who were capable of work were selected and sent to the labor camp in Berdichev. According to other sources, in the town of Ianushpol' the German forces shot 520 local Jews[4] and approximately 400 Jews from other neighboring areas, together with 60 Roma (Gypsies).[5] Of the few Jews who escaped, some joined the Soviet partisans.

The other Jews of Rayon Januschpol resided mostly in the villages of Raigorodok, Krasnopol', and Stetkovtsy. In the village of Raigorodok, 157 Jews were killed between 1941 and 1942. Among the victims were Jews from Ianushpol' and other towns.[6] Two mass killings of Jews took place: one on September 10, 1941, and another in July 1942. During the second Aktion the last so-called specialist workers and their families were killed. In the village of Krasnopol', German security forces shot 35 Jews.[7] In Stetkovtsy, 12 Jews were killed.[8] Finally, in the village of Lemeshi, 5 Jews who had escaped from the ghetto in Ianushpol' were shot.[9]

SOURCES A brief article on Ianushpol' can be found 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), p. 1474. This article specifically mentions the existence of a ghetto but does not reveal its sources.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews in Ianushpol' and the surrounding villages can be found in GARF (7021-64-812 and 7021-60-317).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 51; see also Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 160.
2. The Sipo/SD outpost in Berdichev was commanded from June 1942 by Alois Hülsdünker; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*,

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vol. 16 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 490; LG-Be, 3 PKs 1/57 (Strafsache gegen Knop u.a.), p. 346.

3. GARF, 7021-64-812, pp. 172–173.
4. Ibid., 7021-60-317, pp. 68–75 (list of local Jews who were killed).
5. Ibid., p. 67.
6. Ibid., pp. 33–35 and reverse.
7. Ibid., pp. 8 and reverse.
8. Ibid., pp. 52 and reverse.
9. Ibid., p. 41.

IARUN'

Pre-1941: Iarun', village, Novograd-Volynskii raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jarun, Gebiet Zwiahel (Nowograd-Wolynskyj), Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Iarun', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Iarun' is located about 95 kilometers (59 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 386 Jews lived in Iarun' (19.7 percent of the total population). An additional 270 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Iarun' raion, bringing the total to 656 Jews.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the initial German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. About 80 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Iarun' at the start of the occupation.

From July until October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the settlement. The German military authorities appointed a village elder and established an auxiliary Ukrainian police squad from among the local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in all the Aktions against the Jewish population. According to witness testimony, there were several brutal killings of individual Jews by local policemen, which probably took place during the first months of the occupation.[1]

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Iarun' was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj. Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt was appointed to the post of Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. They were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and also to perform various forms of heavy labor. Jews were forbidden to trade with the local Ukrainian population.

At some time during the summer or fall, and certainly by November 1941, a ghetto was created in the village. Jews were resettled there from the surrounding villages. For example, on November 27, 1941, seven Jews were brought to Iarun' from the village of Zakrinich'e.[3] At that same time, able-bodied men were taken to a labor camp in Novograd-Volynskii.

According to the diary of survivor Klara Garmel, "[T]he ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire. We were all driven inside it. We were made to starve and ate only what people would bring and throw through the wire."[4]

Some Jews hid with Ukrainian families outside the ghetto. In the case of those Jews who hid with the family of Maria Svidelya, they were betrayed by other local inhabitants and sent into the ghetto.[5] Other Jews hid successfully, including some such as Klara Garmel, who escaped at the time of the ghetto's liquidation. Of those in hiding, some subsequently left the village to join the Soviet partisans, while others remained hidden, aided by local inhabitants, until the area was recaptured by the Red Army.

The ghetto was finally liquidated on May 5, 1942. German Gendarmes and local police surrounded the ghetto and began to forcibly remove its inhabitants during the night. On that day, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 580 Jews were shot in a large mass grave, but the actual number was probably somewhat less than this.[6]

SOURCES Documents of the ChGK, and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the annihilation of the Iarun' Jews, can be found in the following archives: DAZO (R2636-1-19, pp. 134–135); GARF (7021-60-318); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Petko, "Forgive Us, Jews," *Jewish Ukraine* 24/43, December 2002 (5763 Tevet).
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-60-318, p. 43.
4. Diary of Klara Garmel, cited by Petko, "Forgive Us, Jews."
5. For further examples of Jews who were saved, see Petko, "Forgive Us Jews."
6. GARF, 7021-60-318, p. 6.

IL'INTSY

Pre-1941: Il'intsy, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Illinzi, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Illintsi, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Il'intsy is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,217 Jews living in the town. At the time of the German invasion, some Jews joined the Red Army, evacuated with the Soviet authorities, or managed to flee before the Germans arrived. However, a number of refugees from western Ukraine, who were fleeing before the German advance, became trapped in Il'intsy when the Germans arrived. It is possible that as many as 2,000 Jews were in the town at the start of the German occupation.

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Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 23, 1941. The initial German military administration appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and exacted a tribute in gold and silver from the community. In late August the Jews were concentrated into a ghetto.

In the fall of 1941, at least one Aktion was conducted against local Jews accused of supporting the Communists. More than 40 Jewish men were arrested, beaten, and then shot in the nearby Il'intsy Forest by German security forces, assisted by the local Ukrainian police.[1]

The Gebietskommissar in Il'intsy was Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra, who usually wore a monocle. The mayor was a local ethnic German physician, Dr. Heine. The transition from a military to a civil administration in the Vinnitsa region occurred on October 20, 1941. The establishment of Gendarmerie posts, including the post in Il'intsy, followed during the winter of 1941–1942. The Gendarmerie, commanded by Meister Andreas Wagner, then took over responsibility for the Ukrainian local police (militia), which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft.

A second Aktion was conducted in late April or mid-May of 1942. The ghetto was surrounded by German and Ukrainian police units, including some brought in from outside. Then, early in the morning, those Jews who were hiding within the ghetto in previously prepared bunkers heard shots in the distance. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, during this Aktion approximately 1,000 Jews were shot into graves some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town.[2]

In late May 1942, the Germans and local police herded the survivors into the synagogue and held them there for a few days before shooting most of them. This Aktion was coordinated by officials from the Security Police post in Vinnitsa, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the local police. Estimates of the number of Jews murdered on this occasion vary between 434 and 800. Among those shot in Il'intsy at this time were also Jews brought in from the nearby rural ghetto in Zhornishche. According to the report of the Generalkommissar in Shitomir dated June 3, 1942, during the month of May, 434 Jews were "resettled" (murdered) in Gebiet Illinzi.[3] In mid-July 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Il'intsy requested that former Jewish property be made available for use by the police.[4]

In December 1942, the remaining Jews were forced to clear snow from a main road. Once again the Jews were registered. Some craftsmen were exempted from this task, as they were required to train Ukrainian youths to become their replacements. On December 23, 1942, German police forces and their Ukrainian collaborators again surrounded the ghetto. On this occasion the Germans and the Ukrainian police completely tore down the ghetto, setting fire to a factory building where Jews were hiding and shooting them as they tried to escape. Only 17 specialist craftsmen and a seamstress were temporarily spared from this Aktion.[5]

Among those who survived was Eva Dub, who hid with her mother and sisters during the May 25 Aktion, but then, unfortunately, they returned to the ghetto prematurely, believing the operation was completed. They then made their house appear derelict to deceive the policemen searching the ghetto and subsequently lived there until December. In December Eva escaped and survived with the help of local Ukrainians before fleeing to the forests.[6] A number of Jews originally from Il'intsy formed the nucleus of a Jewish partisan company, the 2nd Stalin Brigade; 39 of its 124 members were Jews from the town.

SOURCES A brief article on the fate of the Jews of Il'intsy can be found 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), p. 545.

Information on the murder of the Jews of Il'intsy can be found in these archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67); DAVINO (R4463-1-15); DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1243); NARA; and USHMM.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, statement of Eva Dub on June 26, 1967. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report states that 43 people were killed on November 5, 1941 (GARF, 7021-54-1243).
2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, 313–316.
3. Ibid., appendix to vol. 1, trans. of Soviet material, Bild nos. 294–295, ChGK report for the town of Il'intsy, April 15, 1945 (see also GARF, 7021-54-1243); NARA, T-454, reel 22, fr. 432.
4. DAZO, R-1182-1-1, Gebietskommissar Illinzi report, July 16, 1942.
5. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, and appendix to vol. 1, Bild nos. 294–295. The ChGK report gives a total of 1,200 victims of this Aktion (see GARF, 7021-54-1243). DAVINO, R4463-1-15, p. 13, however, states that only 100 Jewish craftsmen were killed on December 15, 1942.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63.

IUROVICHI (AKA IUREVICHI)

Pre-1941: Iurovichi, village, Kalinkovichi raion, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jurowitschi, Rayon Kalinkowitschi, Gebiet Mosyr, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Iuravichy, Kalinkavichy raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Iurovichi is located 23 kilometers (14 miles) southeast of Mozyr'. By 1926, there were 1,139 Jews residing in Iurovichi, comprising 45.6 percent of the total population.

A week after the start of the war, refugees from the western districts of Belorussia arrived in Iurovichi. They were terribly frightened and spoke of the powerful German forces that were advancing eastward. Local defense units were organized, and men of eligible age joined the Red Army. But many residents of the village, especially the younger ones, could not comprehend what the arrival of the Germans might mean. As the front line approached, only a small number of residents managed to flee from Iurovichi. There were three main means of escape:

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by railway from the Kalinkovichi station in the direction of Gomel', on boats and barges on the Pripiat' and Dnieper Rivers through Mozyr', and on horse-drawn carts along the highway.

On August 22, 1941, German forces arrived in Iurovichi. Until October 1941, the Jews remained in their own homes but were subjected to a series of anti-Jewish regulations, including the requirement to perform forced labor. The military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Kalinkovichi organized a local police force in Iurovichi, which was responsible for watching over the Jews.

In mid-October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto at the end of Podgornaia Street. The Jews had to wear yellow stars on their clothing. The relations between Jews and Belorussians changed. Vasilii Prishchepa, who was married to a Jewish woman, joined the local police. During the mass shooting of the Jews, he did nothing to save his family. Boris Samuilovich Katsenov was married to a Belorussian woman. At the beginning of the war, he fled to the forests and organized a partisan detachment. His wife and three children remained in Iurovichi, where they hid and somehow managed to survive.[1]

The first mass shooting Aktion took place on November 19, 1941. In the early morning, a German punitive detachment of 30 to 40 men arrived in Iurovichi from Kalinkovichi. With the help of the local police, the German forces rounded up about 250 people, including womens, children, and the elderly. As they escorted the Jews towards the Pripiat' River, the people screamed and wept. The Gemans and local policemen stopped at the riverbank and shot the Jews with machine guns and rifles. The corpses of the dead were left lying next to the river.[2] Some of the people begged to be spared or jumped into the river, but they were also pursued and shot. About to be shot, Chaim Kofman took off his sheepskin jacket and threw it at a policeman's feet; he also handed over his watch. As the officer was examining the loot, Kofman jumped into the water and swam across the river, successfully avoiding the shots directed at him. He hid for several days but was later captured and killed.[3]

The second mass shooting took place just over one week later, on November 27, 1941. A punitive unit from Kalinkovichi rounded up the remaining 200 Jews and escorted them to a ravine on the outskirts of Iurovichi. The people were lined up on the edge of a large ditch. When the Germans and policemen began shooting, the women and children let out terrible screams. According to the testimony of Stepan Kos'ian, many of the Belorussians from Iurovichi wept as they observed the shooting. When it was over, the policemen dragged the corpses into the ditch. Over the next few days, the police searched for any Jews still hiding in Iurovichi. Those whom they found were taken to the ditch and shot. Ratner, the teacher of mathematics who had escaped from the Aktion in the village, realized that his entire family had perished. He went to the site of the mass shooting, where the Germans captured and shot him.[4]

After the second mass shooting, Sergei Lutzkevich went to the site of the execution and saw a school classmate who was badly wounded. He fetched his parents, who came and took the classmate home. Two Jewish families, the Kofmans and the Karchevs, took shelter in the village of Kryshichi, even though there was a police garrison just a few kilometers away. Yulia Borisenko, the mother of five children, gave refuge to a young Jewish boy, Boris Kofman.[5]

Although the sources are contradictory, it is estimated that the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 450 Jews altogether in Iurovichi.[6] Soviet forces liberated the village on January 16, 1944.

SOURCES Publications containing information on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Iurovichi include the following: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii: Kalinkovichskii raion* (Minsk, 1999); U.F. Isaenka, *Iuravichy nad Prypiatstsiu* (Minsk, 2000); Mikhail Nordshtein, "Pravednik iz Kalinkovichei," *Sovietskaia Belarussiia*, October 5, 1995; and Elena Kogalovskaia, "Mestechko Iurovichi," *Berega* 11 (2000): 4.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Iurovichi can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; BA-L; GARF (7021-91-15); NARB (861-1-12); and YVA (M-33/1139).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Kogalovskaia, "Mestechko Iurovichi," p. 4.
2. AUKGBRBGO, case 234, vol. 4, pp. 51–53, witness statement of Grigorii Vladimirovich Panglish, January 19, 1968 (available also in BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 119/67, Bd. II, p. 390).
3. YVA, M-33/1139.
4. AUKGBRBGO, case 234, vol. 4, pp. 54–56, witness statement of Stepan Grigor'evich Kos'ian, January 19, 1968.
5. Nordshtein, "Pravednik iz Kalinkovichei," p. 4.
6. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 119/67, Bd. II, p. 390; see also the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report (GARF, 7021-91-15, p. 136; and NARB, 861-1-12, p. 40), which gives the figure of 540 victims.

KALINOVKA

Pre-1941: Kalinovka, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kalinowka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir, post-1991: Kalynivka, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Kalinovka is located about 26 kilometers (16 miles) north of Vinnitsa. The census of 1939 reported 979 Jews living in Kalinovka, or one fifth of the total population, and 2,214 Jews residing in what was then the Kalinovka raion. Thanks to the railway line that ran through the area, some Jews successfully evacuated from the town soon after the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

German forces occupied Kalinovka after some skirmishes on July 22, 1941. The German occupying forces ordered Jewish men to perform heavy manual labor. A ghetto was formed on those streets where the Jewish population predominated. Jews from other streets were resettled into this confined area, and non-Jews were resettled into vacated Jewish homes. For example, Lena Konopska recalls that she and her mother had

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to move into the ghetto once they were recognized as Jews, but her father, who was Polish, was permitted to live outside the ghetto area.[1] The Jews had to wear white armbands bearing yellow six-pointed stars. The authorities appointed Jewish elders to watch over the Jews. Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto. With their means of support exhausted, the prisoners of the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed into the hands of a German civil administration. Kalinovka became both a Rayon center and the center of Gebiet Kalinowka, responsible also for the neighboring Rayons of Ulanow and Komsomol'skoe. Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer was appointed the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Kalinowka was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[2] In November or December 1941, a squad of several Gendarmes arrived in Kalinovka from Germany and established a post initially under the command of Meister der Gendarmerie Max Lohbrunner. The Gendarmerie also assumed control over the local Ukrainian police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst, which included about 40 men and was under the command of Zugführer (platoon leader) Roman Holdetzki. The SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer appointed in 1942 in Kalinovka was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange.[3]

In mid-May 1942, about 100 young men and women were taken from the ghetto and ordered to work on the construction of an airfield on the outskirts of Kalinovka, a project that had been started by the Soviet authorities. Jews from Kalinovka and also from the nearby settlements of Pikov, Ivanov, Ulanov, and Sal'nitsa were sent there to work. Altogether, 400 to 500 people were resettled into sheds and barracks located in the area of the airfield, surrounded by a wire fence. Some of the Jews brought here from outside Kalinovka also refer to this labor camp as the Kalinovka ghetto. However, it appears that only Jews capable of labor were placed in the camp, as those women accompanied by infants or small children were shot either during the march to Kalinovka or on arrival together with other Jews unfit for labor from the Kalinovka ghetto.[4] The prisoners of the camp were fed pea soup. The Jewish construction laborers had to work until totally exhausted, and occasionally those who lapsed were shot. Cases of suicide by hanging were not unusual. At the aerodrome the Jewish laborers also worked alongside Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), but these prisoners were accommodated in a separate barracks. This forced labor camp for Jews existed until the middle of 1943, when the last of the prisoners were shot. When the airfield was finished, the 100 prisoners who remained were removed to a stable in the village of Kordelevka, 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Kalinovka. The Jews were burned alive there in compliance with higher orders. A few prisoners managed to escape from the aerodrome camp, mostly women who could pass as non-Jews and who received help from other local inhabitants.

At the start of 1942, a small resistance group formed in the Kalinovka ghetto, under the leadership of Efim Kamenetskii. They collected firearms and were even able to make contact with Soviet partisan units. They did not succeed in making any further preparations, however, or manage to establish a stronger resistance organization.

In late spring or summer of 1942, probably on May or June 30, the ghetto was encircled by the German and Ukrainian police forces early in the morning.[5] The approximately 500 Jews were gathered and led out into a stable located next to a kolkhoz in Kalinovka. An additional 200 Jews from the nearby villages of Novyi and Staryi Pikov were also transported there. Some 33 Jewish craftsmen were selected out by Gebietsführer Lange, but all the others were murdered in a pit not far from the Jewish cemetery. A small number of Jews was able to hide or escape during the roundup. The majority of them found refuge with Ukrainian acquaintances. But the commandant's office offered a reward of 100 rubles for the capture of each Jew, and a number of Jewish families were turned in to the authorities. They were placed along with the craftsmen in a few residences on the outskirts of Kalinovka. The residences were surrounded with barbed wire. A few Jews succeeded in escaping from there, but those remaining were murdered in mid-August 1942.[6]

Kalinovka was liberated by the Red Army in March 1944.

SOURCES In the personal archive of Albert Kaganovich (PAAKag), there are records of interviews conducted with Berta Naidorf on March 31, 2005, and Leonid Langerman on April 4, 2005, as well as a letter received from Alexander Melamud on February 8, 2004, all Jewish survivors of the Holocaust in Kalinovka.

Additional information can be found in the following publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 135; *Istoriia mist i sil URSR: Vinnits'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 271, 275; and Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 28.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kalinovka can be found in the following archives: AHJP (HM2/7771, HM2/8969, HM2/9039); BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R425-1-261, pp. 13-16); DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1274); NARB (861-1-28); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M, reel 4 and RG-53.002M, reel 10); VHF (# 29072 and 29097); and YVA (M-37/1035; M-33/226; O-3/7201).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 28, recollections of Lena Konopska, prisoner of the Kalinovka ghetto. Nyunya Doktorovich, a young girl quoted in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 135, dates the establishment of the ghetto in 1942.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; DAZO, R1151-1-51, Map of the Generalkommissariat Shitomir, 1941–1942.

3. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 135–138, statement of E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977; DAZO, 1151-1-703,

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pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.

4. VHF, # 29072, testimony of Aleksandra Shapiro; and # 29097, testimony of Elizaveta Gelfond—both transferred to the Kalinovka aerodrome camp from Ulanov in late May or June 1942, together with 300 others.

5. In Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 28, Lena Konopska notes that the survivors commemorate the first pogrom as having taken place on May 30. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), p. 354, dates the Aktion on June 30, 1942. NARB, 861-1-28, gives the date of July 30, 1942.

6. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), p. 195.

KAZATIN

Pre-1941: Kazatin, *town and raion center*, *Vinnitsa oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kasatin*, *Gebiet and Rayon center*, *Generalkommissariat Shitomir*; *post-1991: Koziatyn*, *raion center*, *Vinnytsia oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Kazatin is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) north-northeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 2,648 Jews were living in Kazatin (15.8 percent of the total population). There were another 1,026 Jews living in the Kazatin raion, mostly in the village of Belopol'e. After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some Jews were able to evacuate, while others were called into the Red Army. Around 1,800 Jews remained in Kazatin at the start of the German occupation.

Hungarian armed forces occupied the town on July 14, 1941. From mid-July until October 1941, a military administration ran the town. The German military, which soon took over from the Hungarians, created a local administration and an auxiliary police force from among the local residents. On October 20, 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Kazatin became the administrative center of Gebiet Kasatin. Hundertschaftsführer Stendel was named Gebietskommissar.[1] The Samgorodok and Pogrebischtsche Rayons were also incorporated into the new Gebiet Kasatin, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin appointed in 1942 was Leutnant Behrens. The head of the Ukrainian police in Kazatin was Zugführer Ivan Yakovenko.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a number of antisemitic measures were introduced in Kazatin. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings in the form of the Star of David and later in the shape of a yellow circle. They had to perform forced labor in the service of the German military and occupying forces. Jews were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. They were required to hand over all valuables, and they were not allowed to buy goods at the market. In addition, local Ukrainians were forbidden to have any relations with the Jews.

In September 1941, the first Aktion was carried out against the Jews. A detachment from German Police Regiment "South" apparently directed the operation. Starting on September 5, 1941, the staff and officers of the regiment were stationed in the village of Komsomol'skoe, close to Kazatin.[3] The detachment shot 1,255 Jews on September 11, 1941, and the victims were most probably Jews from Kazatin.[4]

Those Jews who remained in Kazatin after the September operation were resettled into a ghetto.[5] Evidence regarding the work done by Jews in the ghetto comes from the survivor Nina Glozman, who recalls that after the first wave of killings she and her family hid in the village of Belopol'e in Rayon Kasatin until a local policeman recognized them. He took the family to Kazatin, where they were placed in the ghetto, performing work such as chopping wood or cleaning toilets. When the ghetto was liquidated, they were able to escape to Berdichev, where they hid with another Jewish family.[6]

In the village of Belopol'e in Rayon Kasatin about 70 Jews were murdered at the local cemetery in May 1942.[7] The Kazatin ghetto, or camp where Jewish craftsmen were held, was liquidated on June 3, 1942. More than 300 Jews and 16 Gypsies were shot near the village of Tylimonovka, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. The Jews were rounded up and escorted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police. A detachment of the SD from Berdichev carried out the shooting. About 10 Jewish craftsmen were selected out and kept alive at this time. They were soon joined by a similar number brought from Samgorodok after a selection during the Aktion there on June 4.[8]

In the months after the liquidation of the ghetto, Ukrainian police under the orders of the German Gendarmerie continued to search for Jews in hiding. On July 6, 1942, Behrens wrote to the Gendarmerie posts in the nearby Rayon towns of Pogrebischtsche and Samgorodok that he was aware of Jews hiding in the villages and forests. He ordered that all villages must report the presence of Jews. If German Gendarmes or Ukrainian policemen still found Jews, the entire village would be punished.[9]

As a result of these efforts, a number of Jews who had escaped from the Aktions in Kazatin and the surrounding towns were captured. Most of these Jews were gathered in the Kazatin ghetto or camp, and in August 1942 two SS men flew in to organize the murder of these Jews. About 200 Jews were escorted by the Gendarmerie and local police to another ditch alongside the first one, where the SS men shot them.[10]

The remaining 21 Jewish artisans were killed in the fall of 1942 at the same site; on September 28, 1942, according to a report by Leutnant Behrens, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin, 18 male and 3 female Jews were shot by an SD detachment.[11] Other Jews were shot in the fields when they were encountered by joint patrols of the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.[12] For example, on January 26, 1943, the Gendarmerie post in Kazatin reported that 3 Jewish "partisans" had been "shot while trying to escape" in the village of Sestrenovka, in Rayon Kasatin.[13]

The Germans subsequently utilized the area of the "ghetto" in Kazatin, which had been used to keep Jews separate from the rest of the population, as a so-called workers' education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).[14] Movable Jewish property, including

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furniture, was officially confiscated by the civil administration in accordance with an order issued by the Generalkommissar in Zhitomir, Kurt Klemm, on December 12, 1941. Much of the property, however, was taken by members of the Ukrainian police.[15]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Kazatin can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); DAZO (1182-1-6); GARF (7021-54-1247); USHMM (RG-31, 1996.A.0269); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14 , KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Winniza, Nr. 18/42, July 25, 1942.
3. Telegram No. 305 from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, September 6, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg.* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 252–253.
4. Telegram No. 85, September 12, 1941, published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 254–255.
5. DAVINO, R5022-1-176.
6. Interview with Nina Borisovna Glozman, quoted in Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), p. 92.
7. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 29; 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), p. 104.
8. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 226. This report notes that 292 bodies were subsequently counted in the mass grave. GARF, 7021-54-1247, p. 158, gives the figure of 508 Jews killed, but this probably reflects the total for the two Aktions in June and August 1942.
9. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Behrens, Kasatin, July 6, 1942.
10. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 227. The bodies of 216 persons were found in this grave.
11. Ibid., pp. 229–230; DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Behrens, Kasatin, to Gebietskommissar, September 30, 1942.
12. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 229; for example, a patrol of four Gendarmes and 15 Schutzmänner on their way to Korolevka found eight Jews hiding in a field and shot them on the spot.
13. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 158.
14. Ibid., pp. 244–245.
15. Ibid., p. 170, an den Gendarmerie-Posten Kasatin, n.d.

KHMEL'NIK

Pre-1941: Khmel'nik, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Chmelnik, Rayon center, Gebiet Litin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Khmil'nyk, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Khmel'nik is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 4,793 Jewish residents in Khmel'nik (63.8 percent of the total population). Another 906 Jews were living in the surrounding villages of the Khmel'nik raion.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army, and several hundred Jews managed to evacuate eastward, but more than 4,000 remained in Khmel'nik at the start of the occupation. According to German statistics, in August 1941, out of 7,000 residents of Khmel'nik, 4,000 were Jews.[1]

Following an artillery bombardment in which some Jews were killed, units of the German 17th Army occupied Khmel'nik on July 17, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was governed by a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which recruited local residents to serve in the auxiliary police and the local administration. Some Jews recall that their former teachers became ardent Ukrainian nationalists and took an active part in the persecution of the Jews.

The first anti-Jewish Aktion took place on August 12, 1941.[2] On that day a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wadel, shot 229 Jews in Khmel'nik. They were buried outside the town near the road to Ulanov. The German Security Police reported that the Aktion was intended as a reprisal for acts of sabotage along the road (blocking the passage of cars). The detachment also hanged a leading local official.[3]

In late October 1941, the military authorities were replaced by a German civil administration. Khmel'nik became a Rayon center within Gebiet Litin. The Gebietskommissar in Litin was SA-Standartenführer Traugott Volkhammer.[4] By August 1941, the local Ukrainian police squad numbered 30 members and was headed by a certain Tarnavsky (his deputy was Shchur).[5] In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post in Khmel'nik, which was commanded by a man named Jochinke.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities established a Judenrat and introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures, including markings, confiscations, curfews, and forced labor.[6]

On December 25, 1941, the Germans ordered Jews to hand over immediately all their warm clothing, especially furs, for the use of German soldiers at the front. To ensure compliance with the order, 11 Jews were taken hostage. On January 2, 1942, Gebietskommissar Volkhammer demanded a large monetary "contribution" from the Jews and ordered them to resettle into a ghetto in the Old Town, in the area of the old militia building (where the German police was based) on Shevchenko and Sholom-Aleichem Streets. Volkhammer's order also

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instructed Russians and Ukrainians to mark their houses with a cross and warned that anyone who allowed a Jew into his home would be severely punished.[7] It is estimated that the total number of Jews who moved into the ghetto was around 4,500.

On January 9 and January 16, 1942, units of Einsatzkommando 5, which had now established an office of the Security Police (KdS Aussendienststelle) in Vinnitsa, the German Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police raided the ghetto, killing most of the Jews (probably around 3,000). The several hundred Jews who survived these two Aktions, the so-called specialists—skilled professionals and their families—were then settled into a smaller ghetto together with a number of Jews who had survived in hiding. After the Aktion, the Germans organized the clearing of furniture and any remaining food from the empty houses in the ghetto.[8]

The German terror continued after these two Aktions. On January 25, 1942, an official of the Gestapo dragged Rabbi Shapiro out into the street and murdered him. His body was left lying there for several days, as the German authorities forbade its removal and burial. A group of women sent for forced labor by the Judenrat were made to dance and then lie in the snow before being brutally kicked and beaten by local policemen.[9] The Germans registered the surviving Jews and continued to exploit their labor.

Anatoly Shvidkoy, a Jewish survivor, has described the conditions in the Khmel'nik ghetto as

> hell on earth. . . . We lived with several other families in a small room without heat or light. We were always hungry. We managed to get food from local peasants in exchange for our belongings. We made friends with one peasant woman who frequently came to the ghetto boundary. Our family was caught in a roundup on three occasions, but we were released each time because my father was a craftsman.[10]

Several survivors mention the existence of contacts between the surviving remnant of the ghetto and the Soviet partisan forces. According to one account, a group of Jewish youths obtained arms and hid them in the synagogue with the aim of using them during their escape. Unfortunately the cache was uncovered, and the police arrested and shot the youths.[11] Other Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto and subsequently joined the Soviet partisans. Among the former residents of Khmel'nik who served in the partisans were a man named Weissman, Izya Reznik, and Leva Kneloiz.

On June 12, 1942, the Germans carried out another Aktion in the ghetto during which the German and Ukrainian policemen, aided by a squad of the Hungarian army, captured and shot 360 children and old people.[12]

The Khmel'nik ghetto was liquidated on March 3, 1943. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, some 1,300 people were shot on that day (but this figure is probably too high).[13] The 135 artisans who survived the massacre (127 men and 8 women) were put into a school building that was turned into a labor camp. The craftsmen had to train Ukrainians as their replacements. Some 67 people managed to escape from this camp.[14] On June 26, 1943, the remaining Jews were divided into two groups: 14 people were selected to be kept alive, and the German forces took the other 54 Jews to the forest to be shot. After being brought to the killing site, 13 Jews attempted to flee, but only 4 managed to get away; the rest (50) were shot. It is estimated that the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 5,000 Jews in Khmel'nik between 1941 and 1943.

Several dozen Jews who survived the massacres of 1941–1943 lived to see the liberation of the town by the Red Army in March 1944. A number survived by hiding, most with the help of sympathetic local Ukrainians. Others managed to escape across the border into the Romanian-occupied area (Transnistria), where by late 1942 the chances of survival as a Jew were considerably greater than under German occupation.

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Khmel'nik and its destruction can be found in the following publications: "In the Town of Chmelnik (Vinnitsa District)," reported by A.I. Bekker, prepared for publication by R. Kovnator, in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 22–27; there are several personal testimonies by Khmel'nik ghetto survivors in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995); one further testimony can be found in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 361–362.

Documents and testimonies regarding the fate of the Jews of Khmel'nik during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1249); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.120*0252; Acc.1995.A.566); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33).

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trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.
2. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.
3. See the verdict of LG-Düs, 8 I Ks 1/66, August 5, 1966, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 489–584, here p. 520; BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 60, August 22, 1941; RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. Marz 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
5. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24.
6. USHMM, RG-50.120*0252, oral history interview with Israel Guler, February 15, 1995; also Acc.1995.A.566, memoir of Emily Kessler, March 5, 1993.
7. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, pp. 23–24; Zinovy Schtivelman, "The Last Pogrom," in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 361–362.
8. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, pp. 24–25; GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.

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9. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, p. 25.
10. Testimony of Anatoly Shvidkoy, published in Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 61–63.
11. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 176–181.
12. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, p. 26; GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.
13. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229; this figure seems similarly inflated. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, p. 571.
14. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 65–66.

KHODORKOV

Pre-1941: Khodorkov, village, Kornin raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Chodorkow, Rayon Kornin, Gebiet Korostyschew, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Khodorkiv, Popil'nia raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Khodorkov is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) east-southeast of Zhitomir. The population census of 1926 indicated that Khodorkov had a Jewish community of 453. In the 1930s, the size of the village's Jewish population declined by more than half.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 12, three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that period, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country.

During the months of July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. In late October 1941, a civil administration replaced the German military administration. Until liberation in November 1943, Khodorkov was part of Gebiet Korostyschew in Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures implemented in other German-occupied towns and villages of the Ukraine were introduced in Khodorkov. The Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of an armband with a Star of David; they were used for various kinds of forced labor; they were forbidden to leave the village; and they were instructed to hand over all their valuables. Jews were forbidden to buy food in the market, and the local residents were forbidden to associate with Jews in any way; those who violated this order were flogged.

The first Aktion in Khodorkov took place on August 10, 1941, when 19 Jewish males were arrested and shot. On September 10, 1941, the women, children, and old people were herded into a ghetto, which was established at the nearby Vozrozhdenie ("Rebirth") kolkhoz. They remained in the ghetto until October 15, 1941, when the ghetto was liquidated, and all 149 Jews were shot.[1]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Khodorkov can be found in "Khodorkov," 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), p. 619.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Khodorkov can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-296).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-60-296, pp. 116–120.

KOROSTEN'

Pre-1941: Korosten', city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Korosten, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Korosten', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Korosten' is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) north of Zhitomir, on the Uzh River. According to the 1939 census, there were 10,991 Jews living in Korosten' (35.7 percent of the total population).

German armed forces occupied the city on August 6, 1941. Between the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the seizure of Korosten', the majority of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Jews from places south of Korosten', including Volodarsk-Volynskii (aka Goroshki), were also evacuated from Korosten' by rail before the arrival of the Germans.[1] Approximately 12 to 13 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Korosten' at the start of the occupation.

From July to August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The German military administration created a city administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from local residents. The Ukrainian policemen played an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Korosten' became the administrative center of Gebiet Korosten, and Regierungsassessor Helsig was appointed Gebietskommissar. In turn, the Gebiet was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Immediately after the occupation of Korosten', the Ortskommandantur introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. The Jews were forbidden to engage in any relations with the Ukrainians, including any commercial transactions. The Jews were also ordered to wear armbands with a yellow Star of David on their left arms. Jewish men were forced into heavy physical labor and were subjected to harassment and beatings by the Ukrainian police. It is possible also that a form of "open ghetto" was established. According to one testimony, all the Jews were brought to Petrovs'ka Street; however, this report remains uncorroborated.[3]

During the first three weeks after the occupation began, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a arrived in Korosten' and

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carried out three mass cleansing Aktions. In the first one, 53 Jews were murdered; in the second, 238 Jews; and in the third, 160 Jews—bringing the total to 451 persons.[4] In preparation for the last Aktion, the Jews were imprisoned in School No. 5, which may have served briefly as a form of "destruction ghetto." The Ukrainian police set fire to it, and the Jews were taken out to be shot at a site located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city.[5]

In the first half of September 1941, Sonderkommando 4a liquidated the remaining Jews in the town, around 1,000 people. The shootings were directed by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, who commanded the unit. Also taking part in the executions was the head of Einsatzgruppe C, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Otto Rasch.[6] According to a report by Feldkommandantur 197, dated September 20, 1941, by this date there were scarcely any Jews remaining in the area under its control. Apart from 5,000 Jews assembled in a ghetto in Zhitomir, the setting up of other ghettos in the region was no longer considered necessary since most of the Jews in Korosten' had recently been shot by the SD.[7]

In the Korosten' area in 1943, a number of Hungarian Jews were also murdered in the vicinity. In 1942, forces of the 2nd Hungarian Army, which used them for labor purposes, had moved the Jews into Ukrainian territory. The Hungarian Jews probably had been in the Zhitomir oblast' since early 1943, when the rear services of the Hungarian army were deployed here, as well as subunits tasked with fighting against the partisans. Many workers who had already been subjected to horrible working conditions, sparse rations, and other cruel treatment died of exhaustion, starvation, and disease.

A hospital for Jews who had fallen ill was established in the village of Kupishche, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from Korosten'. It occupied a few rooms in a brick building. The majority of the sick, however, lay in open barns. The grounds were surrounded by a fence and barbed wire. On a daily basis, many died of typhus. The corpses were stacked like firewood by the wall of a nearby horse stable. On April 29, 1943, the occupying forces decided to take drastic measures to deal with this source of infection. One of the barns, which held 600 persons, was burned to the ground. Those who tried to escape were shot with submachine guns. A small group of Jews did manage to escape and would later recount what happened. When this became known to the minister of defense in Hungary, V. Nagy, he ordered a special commission to investigate the matter and find the perpetrators. But the commission came to the conclusion that "the fire was started accidentally by Jews who were smoking."[8]

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Korosten' is mentioned in these publications: *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 77; and Jacob G. Frumkin et al., *Russian Jewry, 1917–67* (T. Yoseloff, 1966), 2:115. Information on the destruction of the Jewish population in Korosten' can be found also in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:160–161; and 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), pp. 659–660.

Documents about the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Korosten' can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-297); and TsDAVO (8-2-156, p. 28).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 159.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-60-297, pp. 6, 10, testimony of S.I. Gnedov'skyi on May 26, 1945.
4. BA-BL, R 58/216-17, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 59, August 21, 1941; EM no. 80, September 11, 1941; EM no. 86, September 17, 1941.
5. GARF, 7021-60-297, p. 297.
6. Paul Blobel, affidavit, June 6, 1947 (N-Doc. NO 3842).
7. TsDAVO, 8-2-156, p. 28, report of FK 197, September 20, 1941, as cited in V.M. Nemiatyi, ed., *History Teaches a Lesson: Captured War Documents Expose the Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Henchmen in Ukraine's Temporarily-Occupied Territory during the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945)* (Kiev: Politvidav Ukraini, 1986), p. 38.
8. Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977), p. 39. See also P. Iskorostenskii, "Tragediia sela Kupishche," *Evreiskie vesti* (September 1993), in which he writes that 800 Jews perished in the fire. According to a telegram from the Reichskommissar of Ukraine on April 29, 1943, "a barn burned down on a kolkhoz farm in Kubischche, within Gebiet Korosten, and 300 Hungarian Jews were burned to death." See NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-454, reel 23, fr. 402.

KOROSTYSHEV

Pre-1941: Korostyshev, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1943: Korostyschew, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Korostyshiv, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Korostyshev is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-northeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,170 Jews living in Korostyshev (19.4 percent of the population). Another 83 Jews lived in the villages of the Korostyshev raion.

The town was occupied by German armed forces on July 12, 1941. In the interim between the German invasion on June 22 and the occupation of the town, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

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From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The Ortskommandantur established a town administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the measures taken against the Jewish population.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civilian administration. Korostyshev became the administrative center of Gebiet Korostyschew, and Gauhauptstellenleiter Dankbar was appointed as Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Korostyschew became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of Korostyshev, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a commanded by Paul Blobel (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C) arrived in the town and shot 40 Jews "for sabotage, espionage, and larceny."[2]

After these first shootings, the military commandant ordered one street to be cordoned off and an open ghetto (Jewish residential area) established for the Jews.[3] The Jewish population was not allowed to leave the ghetto without permission or to buy goods from local Ukrainians. The Ukrainians, in turn, were prohibited from having any contact with the Jews. The Jews were required to wear an armband bearing the Star of David on their left arms. Jewish men were forced to perform various kinds of heavy labor and were subjected to harsh beatings by the Ukrainian policemen.

It is likely that in August 1941 some of the Jewish men who were performing forced labor were shot. In September 1941, Sonderkommando 4a liquidated the ghetto and shot all the Jews.[4] The mass shooting was carried out in a meadow to the south of the town (now marked by a monument). Many Jews from outlying villages—for example, 20 people from the village of Studenitsa—were shot along with the Jews from Korostyshev.

Another report, prepared by Feldkommandantur 197, dated September 20, 1941, stated that "it was also discovered that Jews in Korostyshev and Zhitomir maintained relations with the partisans. In retaliation, 60 Jews were shot in Korostyshev."[5]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), there was another mass shooting in Korostyshev, probably in May 1942, reflecting the attempt to cleanse the Generalkommissariat Shitomir of all remaining Jews at this time. The Security Police from Zhitomir, assisted by the Gendarmerie, shot up to 1,000 Jews, including about 100 children; many of these people were brought to Korostyshev from surrounding locations.[6]

SOURCES A brief article on the Jewish community of Korostyshev can be found in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:161–162.

Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/204a AR-Z 127/67, vol. 2, p. 604); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-299).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 47, August 9, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 13, 15, 25.
4. According to the testimonies of witnesses, around 700 people initially were shot en masse after the liquidation of the ghetto, followed by the mass murder of about 1,000 people; see GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 25 and reverse side. According to the documents of the ChGK, in Korostyshev in August 1941 around 2,000 people were shot in all, including 198 children. This figure for the number of victims was subsequently increased to 2,486. In May 1942, 1,000 people, including 102 children, were killed, and in May 1943 [*sic*], 1,200 people, including 126 children, were shot, bringing the total to 4,200 persons. This figure was later adjusted again to read 4,686 victims. The author believes that this total is too high. See GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 1, 3–4.
5. TsDAVO, 8-2-156, p. 28, report of FK 197, September 20, 1941, as cited in V.M. Nemiatyi, ed., *History Teaches a Lesson: Captured War Documents Expose the Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Henchmen in Ukraine's Temporarily-Occupied Territory During the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945)* (Kiev: Politvidav Ukraini, 1986), p. 38.
6. GARF, 7021-60-299, p. 110.

LEL'CHITSY

Pre-1941: Lel'chitsy, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Leltschizy, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-2001: Lel'chytsy, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lel'chitsy is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) west-southwest of Mozyr'. In 1939, there were 746 Jews in Lel'chitsy (29.2 percent).

Soon after the inception of hostilities on June 22, 1941, large numbers of refugees appeared in Lel'chitsy, primarily from Turov. There was no organized evacuation of the population. Men eligible for the draft were mobilized for military service in the Red Army. The remaining women, old people, and children were unable to leave Lel'chitsy in time. The only way to leave Lel'chitsy was to take the road towards Mozyr' or to get to the railway station in El'sk, but many people had no means of transportation. Older people thought they would not be bothered if they stayed behind to look after their property. The Jews remembered the Germans from 1918 and thought they would leave the civilian population untouched. Less than one third of the Jews of Lel'chitsy managed to evacuate.

Lel'chitsy was occupied by German troops on August 23, 1941. The front line quickly moved eastward. In the town, a mayor was appointed, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established, and a police force was recruited from among Belorussians and Russians. The police headquarters was located in the raion Communist Party

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executive committee (*raiispolkom*) offices on Zelenyi Lane. The police helped the Germans to uncover former Soviet activists and party workers and conducted a registration of the Jewish population.[1]

In Lel'chitsy, the Jews initially continued to live in their own homes until early September 1941, fearing for their lives. Relations between the Belorussians and the Jews became guarded, and the first instances of rape and theft on the part of the peasants were noted.

The first Aktion was the work of a German punitive detachment that arrived in Lel'chitsy from the direction of Ovruch on September 5 (or September 7), 1941. The soldiers wore helmets and green uniforms. They immediately began to round up the Jews and herd them into the courtyard of the former People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) building in the town center, on the Mozyr' highway. The majority of Lel'chitsy's Jews managed to run away and hide. The Germans caught mainly Jewish refugees from Turov. In the afternoon, the Germans made the Jews line up in a column (about 300 people) and drove them to the northeast, along the Mozyr' highway to the "Zael'e" settlement. There, 500 meters (547 yards) from the last houses of the settlement was a large crater from an aerial bomb. Many men, women, elderly, and children had belongings with them—holdalls on their shoulders or bags in their hands. Mothers carried the smallest children. Armed German escorts urged them forward. Along the way, the Jews sobbed loudly and begged to be let go. The victims were not undressed before they were killed. At the site of the Aktion, there were approximately 20 German soldiers, and more patrolled the perimeter to prevent escapes. People were led to the edge of the pit in groups. Then the perpetrators opened fire, and the dead fell into the pit. The corpses remained unburied for a long time.[2]

Fedora Lipitskaia recalled that in September 1941 she heard shots and people's cries. From the window she saw a crowd of Jews being escorted by Germans. Lipitskaia recognized Jewish acquaintances with whom she had worked in a sewing *artel*. Her friend Etka cried out, "Fedora, farewell!" The column disappeared behind the hill, and soon shots rang out. An elderly Jew ran into her yard, begging her to hide him. He said that "some German superior," before the murder, gave a speech in which he said that the Jews were being shot on Hitler's orders. Three days later, this elderly man left Lipitskaia's house.[3]

The second Aktion took place in late September 1941 when the punitive detachment returned. The German soldiers, helped by the police, hunted for Jews all day. The 400 Jews they caught, mainly women and children, were herded into several Jewish houses in the center of Lel'chitsy, near the Ortskommandantur. The Nazis selected about 15 skilled workers (tailors and cobblers) with their families (more than 60 people) and let them stay in the houses. The other Jews were herded to the Zagor'e area, and those unable to walk were transported in carts. At Zagor'e, a pit had been prepared. According to Andrei Zhurovich, the pogrom lasted two days; 15 Jews were spared to bury the dead. After the job was done, they were killed.[4]

The third Aktion was carried out in the early spring of 1942. According to Oberwachtmeister der Gendarmerie Max Lessner, on the orders of the head of the Lel'chitsy Gendarmerie, a small detachment of Gendarmes arrived to round up all the Jews. They arrested about 70 Jews and locked them in one of the houses, where they were kept for two weeks.[5]

The Jews under arrest, together with their families, were locked in the Girsh home on the corner of Zelenaia Street. There were so many people in the house that there was nowhere to lie down. Elizaveta Kolesnik, who lived nearby, was asked by the prisoners to bring swaddling clothes, as a young Jewish woman was giving birth. For four days, no one was given any food. The younger Jews were forced to go to Zagor'e to dig a new pit with little steps cut into it. They complained that the ground was frozen, and it was hard to work.

When the excavations were completed, the police brought four carts, each drawn by two horses. A new selection was undertaken. Out of 70 people, the Germans set aside 12 tailors and cobblers, and the remaining Jews were put in the carts. Four policemen and eight Gendarmes beat and shouted at their victims as they set off. The women and children sobbed and held their heads in their hands, as they all understood where they were being taken. Among the police escorts were two local residents: Efim Dashkevich (shot by the Germans) and Nikolai Kholiava (escaped with the Germans). They shot the victims in the back of the head, using pistols and submachine guns, with single shots. The pit was not filled in until springtime, when the police requisitioned local residents for the task.[6]

The fourth Aktion took place in the summer of 1942. In July, an SD detachment came to Lel'chitsy from Zhitomir and shot more than 40 Soviet citizens, including the last Jews, "for ties with partisans."[7]

The Germans and police searched incessantly for surviving Jews, killing them wherever they found them. In July 1943, in the village of Buinovich, the Nazis found the five children of a man named Finster, who was married to a Belorussian. They shot three of them, and they grabbed the seven-month-old twins Ania and Fedia by their feet and smashed their heads against a tree. The Germans did not allow the children to be buried, and their corpses were pulled apart by dogs.[8]

Some of the residents of Lel'chitsy, despite the threat of death, gave aid to the Jews. Riva Lel'chuk was saved by the Belotskii family: Mariia, her mother Agaf'ia, and her stepfather Ivan. The Belotskiis hid these Jews from the end of 1941 until November 1942, when they left to join the Soviet partisans.[9]

Soviet troops liberated Lel'chitsy on January 21, 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) established that during the occupation in Lel'chitsy and the Lel'chitsy raion, 2,148 people died at the hands of the Nazis, including around 750 Jews, some of whom were refugees from Turov.[10]

In September 1970, in connection with an inquiry by the organs of justice of the Polish People's Republic, a commission came to Lel'chitsy on the instructions of the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the USSR. With the participation of witnesses, the commission inspected the site where in 1941–1942 mass shootings of Soviet Jewish citizens had occurred.[11]

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SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Lel'chitsy can be found in the following publication: 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), p. 717.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Lel'chitsy can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBGO (file 234: vol. 4, pp. 186–187, 214; vol. 6, pp. 66, 73, 77); GAOOGO (69-1-685); NARB (845-1-8, p. 42); and YVA (M-33/1127).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/1127.
2. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 77, from the transcript of questioning of witness Ivan Vasil'evich Davidiuk, born 1914, on September 16, 1970, Lel'chitsy.
3. Ibid., file 234, vol. 4, pp. 185–187, excerpt from the transcript of questioning of witness Fedora Aleksandrovna Lipitskaia, born 1904, on January 10, 1968, Lel'chitsy.
4. Ibid., file 234, vol. 6, p. 66, from the transcript of questioning of witness Andrei Grigor'evich Zhurovich, born 1908, on January 10, 1968, Lel'chitsy.
5. Ibid., file 234, vol. 4, p. 214, from the transcript of questioning of defendant Max Robert Lessner, born 1897, Oberwachtmeister der Gendarmerie, on March 31, 1947.
6. Of the Gendarmes, Kolesnik remembered one nicknamed "the Cook," another named Max, and a third whose surname was Schwarz. Ibid., file 234, vol. 6, p. 66, from the transcript of the questioning of the witness Elizaveta Vasil'evna Kolesnik, born 1903, on September 15, 1970, Lel'chitsy.
7. Ibid., file 234, vol. 4, p. 216.
8. NARB, 845-1-8, p. 42, from the report of the Poles'e oblast' commission of the ChGK of the USSR on the crimes in Lel'chitsy, December 25, 1944.
9. In 1994, Ivan and Agaf'ia Belotskii and Mariia Zhoglo (Belotskaia) were awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations; see *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), pp. 25–26.
10. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 106, from the report on Nazi war crimes in the Gomel' oblast.
11. Ibid., file 234, vol. 6, pp. 81–82, transcript of the examination of the mass burial at "Gorka" (the Hill) in Lel'chitsy.

LIPOVETS

Pre-1941: Lipovets, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lipowez, Rayon center, Gebiet Illinzi, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Lypovets', raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Lipovets is located 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) east of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 1,353 Jews (52.6 percent of the total population) were living in the town. An additional 993 Jews were residing in the villages of the Lipovets raion. Between June 22 and July 23, 1941, on which date German forces occupied the settlement, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Lipovets at the start of the German occupation.

Initially a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran Lipovets. In October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Rayon Lipowez was incorporated into Gebiet Illinzi, which, in turn, was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra was the Gebietskommissar, and Meister Andreas Wagner was the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] In Lipovets itself, a Gendarmerie post was established, commanded (according to Soviet sources) by an officer named Häsl or Heese, assisted by his deputy Otto Koinder.[2] The Gendarmerie assumed authority over the local Ukrainian police. Both the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police played an active role in the Aktions carried out against the Jewish population in the area.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur organized the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David and to perform various forms of heavy labor for little or no pay.

In September 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the town. Some 200 people were rounded up, including 17 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) accused of being Soviet activists and Communists.[3] German forces shot them near the village of Berezovka. Among those executed were a number of Jews.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans established an "open ghetto" for the Jewish population in the settlement.[4] According to Leontii Usharenko, a Jewish survivor, the German soldiers and Ukrainian police beat Jews they caught not wearing a Star of David on their chests. The Ukrainian police helped the Germans to identify the Jews and were more stringent than the Germans. At this point no one was allowed to leave the open ghetto, except for work details. However, Jewish girls still went to the market to barter items for bread, as there was not much else to eat. Labor tasks included cleaning toilets for the Germans until late into the night. Usharenko's sister worked in a factory that made vegetable oil.[5]

In late April or early May 1942, the ghetto in Lipovets was liquidated. More than 700 Jews were shot near the village of Vikentievka, to the northeast of Lipovets.[6] Around 20 local villagers were requisitioned to prepare ditches for the mass shooting and became witnesses to the murder. The Aktion was organized by an SD detachment from Vinnitsa, commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Theodor Salmanzig, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. At the site of the mass shooting, a number of Jews were selected out with the aid of a translator as specialist workers (artisans). Only the Jewish artisan workers and their families remained after that, confined to a small remnant ghetto in Lipovets. They were shot on June 3, 1942. There were 167 victims.[7]

On June 3 (or possibly May 3), 1942, the SD detachment from Vinnitsa, with the help of the German Gendarmerie

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and Ukrainian police, also shot several hundred Jews from the village of Vakhnovka. The Jews were confined first within the church, while the mass grave was being prepared by 20 of the Jews about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) outside the village. The victims included 150 women, 100 children, and more than 20 men. Some of the infants were thrown into the grave and buried alive.[8] There was also a report of a shooting of Jews in the nearby village of Zozov.

Leontii Usharenko managed to escape from the remnant ghetto in Lipovets shortly before the final liquidation with the aid of a forged identity document that enabled him to pass as a non-Jew.[9]

SOURCES Documents describing the destruction of the Jews in Lipovets and the surrounding area can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204a AR-Z 138/67); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1254); VHF (# 29972); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, p. 315.
3. GARF, 7021-54-1254, p. 3.
4. DAVINO, R4422-1-36.
5. VHF, # 29972, testimony of Leontii Usharenko.
6. Ibid., # 29972, dates the Aktion on May 3, 1942—most other sources in April. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Soviet material, Bild 313–316. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 2,000 Jews from Lipovets were killed in April 1942. There were 800 people killed near the village of Berezovka, and 700 people, followed by another incident with 500 people, killed near the village of Vitsentovka; see GARF, 7021-54-1254, pp. 3 and reverse side. The documents list the number of Jews in Lipovets before the war as 1,353, and some of them went into the army and others evacuated the area. Therefore, this figure is probably too high. It is likely that at the end of April 1942 more than 700 Jews from Lipovets were executed near the village of Vikentievka. According to one source (see below), the Jews who were arrested in the villages of Rayon Lipowez were shot near the village of Berezovka. See I.S. Finkel'stein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i opor ukrains'koho evreistva (1941–1944): Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1999), p. 75.
7. VHF, # 29972; GARF, 7021-54-1254, p. 3. In the report dated January 9, 1944, compiled by the local residents and the local army section, 60 to 70 people (of indeterminate nationality) living in the town were killed in October 1942; in November 1942, 80 persons were killed; and in June 1942, 60 people were killed. See *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, Vypusk 13 (Voenizdat, 1945), p. 20.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1254, pp. 3 and reverse side. See also BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Soviet material, Bild 313–316.
9. VHF, # 29972.

LITIN

Pre-1941: Litin, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Lityn, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Litin is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) west-northwest of Vinnitsa. In 1939, the Jewish population of Litin was 1,410, comprising 28 percent of the total.

The Germans occupied Litin on July 17, 1941. Only a small number of Jews, perhaps 20 or 30 people, were able to evacuate via the railroad. Around 200 Jews of military age (those born between 1903 and 1924) were conscripted into the Red Army before the Germans arrived.[1]

Immediately after the occupation, German and Hungarian troops began to bully the Jewish population. In this region, the Jews suffered in particular at the hands of Ukrainian policemen who raped women and tore the beards from elderly Jewish men. According to German orders, Jews had to wear a Star of David on their outer clothing, front and back, and had to mark their homes as well. Artisans were ordered to work, often without pay. The remaining able-bodied Jews were escorted to a quarry (for stonemasonry), which was located 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Litin. They were also ordered to perform agricultural work. By the fall of 1941, many Jewish families were starving. Jews were taxed heavily and forced to pay onerous "contributions" to the occupying forces. The Germans threatened to kill the Jews if payments were not made in exchange for their security.[2] On August 18, 1941, German Security Police from Einsatzkommando 5 arrested more than 100 Jews over the age of 15, and after selecting some for a specific labor task, they shot the remaining 57 young men, apparently because they did not possess "useful" skills.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the area around Litin was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Litin became the center of its own district (Gebiet Litin), consisting of the surrounding Rayons of Litin, Brailow, and Chmelnik. SA-Standartenführer Traugott Volkhammer was appointed as Gebietskommissar in Litin.

In the early morning of December 19, a squad of German Security Police from Vinnitsa arrived in Litin. Reinforced by local Gendarmerie forces and the Ukrainian police, they surrounded the streets where the Jewish population lived. The police drove the Jews out of their homes and onto the streets. A few dozen Jews were murdered during this process. The Jews were then taken to the Red Army base located in the town. Jews from the surrounding area were also brought there, including about 100 Jews from Diakovtsev. Then the German authorities carried out a selection. About 200 specialized craftsmen and their families were removed from the group, and the remaining 2,000 or so people were escorted towards the ditches, prepared 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the military base. The German punitive detachment and Ukrainian policemen shot the Jews into the ditches. Gebietskommissar Volkhammer directly supervised the mass shooting.[4]

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The remaining Jews were transferred into the ghetto over the next two hours. The ghetto consisted of a few houses on two narrow streets. The Germans also resettled into the ghetto those Jews who had hidden during the mass shooting and emerged thereafter. Around 300 Jews were concentrated inside the ghetto, which was surrounded by a fence. The prisoners were prohibited from leaving and threatened with shooting if they tried. Although food was scarce and hunger severe, nobody was allowed to go to the peasant market to obtain food. Among many humiliating restrictions, the Jews of the ghetto were not allowed to walk on the sidewalk.[5]

After several subsequent Aktions, the ghetto was reduced in size until it consisted only of one side of a single street. A Polish Jew, Nuta Gekht, who knew German well, was appointed as the elder (starosta) of the ghetto. The German commandant demanded that Gekht compile lists of those able to perform forced labor. A witness, Maria Zavodiuk-Fainshtein, was among the girls assigned to work at the German military garrison, where she had to clean the rooms, bring water from the well, chop wood, and perform other tasks. Later on, the girls were sent to the stone quarries, where they had to shovel stones into a special grinding machine: backbreaking work that left them exhausted at the end of every day.[6]

Refugees arrived in Litin from many places, as they were trying to get to Transnistria (the Romanian zone of occupation), where by 1942 conditions were somewhat better for Jews. Some of the fugitives were allowed into the ghetto and given work permits; others hid illegally within the ghetto.[7] Insofar as it was possible, the Jews of Litin directed the refugees towards the Bug River, supplying them with food, clothing, and sometimes money to assist their escape. A few hundred of these runaways were nevertheless captured and shot by local policemen. The Jews of Litin secretly gathered the clothing and other possessions, which they had retained when they were resettled into the ghetto, and collected them in their old homes and the homes of Jews who had already been shot. Often the Jews of Litin went into neighboring villages, where they exchanged the clothing and other items for food. As far as possible, the prisoners of the ghetto continued to observe Jewish traditions and holidays. They celebrated Passover (eating matzot) and Purim and fasted on Yom Kippur.[8]

Mass shootings continued on a regular basis. On December 29, 1941, about one week after the establishment of the ghetto, the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police shot approximately 100 more Jews in the ditches, mainly elderly people, women, and children: probably Jews who were found in hiding after the recent Aktion.[9]

On June 11, 1942, the next Aktion was carried out. Hungarian soldiers and Ukrainian policemen shot 167 people on the grounds of the military base. Among these victims were women, children, and the elderly, who had been seized because they were unable to work. The survivors and prisoners who remained alive in the ghetto called this the "children's pogrom." The German punitive forces used dogs to catch children who were in hiding. The authorities shot 150 Roma (Gypsies) along with the Jews. This Aktion was organized by the new Gebietskommissar named Nikesh.[10] In September and October 1942, there was another series of Aktions: on September 18, 1942, 86 prisoners from the ghetto were shot. On October 10, 1942, 260 people were shot. In the course of this Aktion, about 10 prisoners escaped to the Romanian zone of occupation. On October 25, 1942, 96 people were shot. Some of these victims were Jews found hiding in and around Litin who were brought to the ghetto to be murdered in groups.[11]

A labor prison camp was organized on the grounds of the military base in Litin, into which the Nazis resettled Romanian Jews, mostly from Bukovina. The purpose of the camp was to provide labor for the construction in 1942 of Transit Highway (Durchgangsstrasse) IV from Poland to the North Caucasus. Able-bodied men and women, including young people, were moved into the prison labor camp. The majority of the prisoners, around 1,000 men, worked on building the road. The remaining 250 women prisoners worked in the quarry, where they cut stone needed for the road-building efforts. The German state-run Organisation Todt (OT) was responsible for the project. In September 1942, the Germans liquidated the labor prison camp. On September 12, 580 people were shot, and on September 20 and 26 (by varying accounts), the remaining 520 people were killed.

Litin was liberated on March 20, 1944. Only a few dozen Jews from Litin who had escaped to various places during the occupation (some of them joining the partisans) were able to return to their homes. A number of Jews returned to Litin after having been evacuated to the east and also from the Red Army. Some of them then left permanently for other places, including Vinnitsa.[12]

SOURCES A personal testimony regarding the ghetto in Litin can be found in the following publication: Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, truzhenikam tyla, uznikam fashistskikh kontslagerei i getto, zhivym i pavshim posviashchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 309–310.

Documentation on the Litin ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); BLH (687, Solomon Boim; 686, Fira Eklis; 695, Haia Litinenski; and 862, Alexander Vaiman); DAVINO (R1683-1-13); GARF; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.226*0017); YVA (M-33/196, pp. 6–16; O-3/7372; O-3/6401). There is also the record of an interview with David Irilevich in the personal archive of the author (PAAKag).

Albert Kaganovich
trans. Steven Seegel and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.
2. Ibid.; YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401.
3. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; DAVINO, R1683-1-13, p. 86.
4. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 556–557 (Abschlussbericht). This report indicates that 300 men, 500 women, and 1,186 children were murdered.
5. YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.
6. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by,* pp. 309–310.

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7. USHMM, RG-50.226*0017, interview with Yevgenia Lerner.

8. YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.

9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 557–558 (Abschlussbericht).

10. After the war, he was tried in the Soviet Union.

11. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 187.

12. YVA, O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.

LIUBAR

Pre-1941: Liubar, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljubar, Rayon center, Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Liubar, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Liubar is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,857 Jews residing in the town of Liubar (70.26 percent of the population) and 542 additional Jews living in the outlying settlements of the Liubar raion.

On July 7, 1941, German parachute brigades landed in Liubar, where they faced Soviet infantrymen, but with the aid of supporting land forces of the German XLVIII Corps they soon secured the town.[1] In the two weeks prior to the occupation, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, but most were unable to get access to the transportation, money, and official permission from their place of work that were necessary. Approximately 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Liubar. The temporary German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents. The local mayor was the former teacher Kudimov, and the police was headed by F.U. Kiian.[2]

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. The occupying forces incorporated Liubar into Gebiet Tschudnow, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Dr. Blümel was appointed as the Gebietskommissar.[3]

Just after the occupation of the town, the Jewish family of Hirsh Halperine, consisting of four individuals, was accused of sabotage and shot. Shortly afterwards, the Germans shot four more Jews, whom they accused of being Soviet activists.[4]

On the orders of the Ortskommandantur, the Rayon authority organized the registration of the Jews. Jews were also required to wear a distinguishing armband on their sleeves and were forced to perform heavy labor, in groups divided according to sex.

In July 1941, the German military commandant established an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) in Liubar, designating several streets in the center of the town where the Jews had to live. Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, famine developed inside the ghetto.[5]

On August 9, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in the town. They arrested 300 Jewish men on the pretext of forced labor and then shot them to the northeast of Liubar, near the village of Iurovka.[6] In all likelihood, the shooting was carried out by members of Police Regiment "South," part of which was stationed in Liubar at that time. This Aktion was accompanied by looting and beatings carried out by the Ukrainian police, which lasted for several days.[7]

On September 13, 1941, men of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion conducted a second Aktion in Liubar.[8] The aim of this Aktion was to liquidate the ghetto and annihilate the entire Jewish population of the town. More than 1,000 Jews were shot in a sand quarry, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northwest of Liubar.[9]

Ukrainian policemen subsequently hunted down inside the ghetto those Jews who had managed to hide during these Aktions. The remaining Jewish craftsmen (including tailors, shoemakers, and cap makers) were at first moved into the school building, then relocated into the building of the former children's home, which was guarded by members of the Ukrainian police. They went to work in the building of the former military commissariat, where they made clothing and boots for the police. At the end of October 1941, all of these Jews (about 250) were also shot in the sand quarry.[10]

In the fall of 1941, a total of 1,536 people were murdered in the sand quarry near the town: 1,199 Jewish residents of Liubar, 190 Jewish refugees (60 from Polonnoe, 30 from Gritsev, 27 from Slavuta, and 73 from Ostropol'), and 147 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).[11]

In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police also killed the Jews who were living in the villages of the Liubar raion. In the village of Malenkaia Derevichka, 4 Jews were killed; in Novyi Liubar, 46 Jews (including 34 in September 1941); in Staryi Liubar, 19 Jews; from Velikaia Volitsa, 12 Jews (killed in Liubar); from Strizhevka, 24 Jews (killed in Liubar); in Staraia Chertoriia, 12 Jews; in Novaia Chertoriia, 207 Jews (on November 27, 1941); and in Pedynka, 4 Jews.[12]

SOURCES There is a survivor account in the volume of survivor testimonies edited by Boris Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 1999), pp. 160–164.

Documentation concerning the persecution and extermination of the Jews in the town of Liubar and the surrounding raion can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 131/67); DAZO (1151-1-703); GARF (7021-60-302); NARA; USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

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NOTES

1. See intelligence report of the 60th Inf. Div. (Mot.) to the headquarters of XLVIIIth A.K., July 13, 1941; NARA, RG-242, T-314, reel 1146, fr. 425.

2. E. Zakharov-Zaidenberg, "Tak bylo unichtozheno vse evreiskoe naselenie Liubara," in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 160. Among the Ukrainian police serving in Liubar in 1942 was Stanislaus Kulschitzki; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

4. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 160.

5. Ibid., pp. 160–61. On the ghetto, Perl Kantor commented: "There was no real ghetto in Liubar. So why was one created in a matter of days? And who gave the order to shut in the Jews if even the Russians in Liubar had forgotten they were Russians?" See Perl Kantor, "After All," published in the newspaper *Vesty*, April 27, 1995.

6. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 161. In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), this Aktion is not mentioned; see GARF, 7021-60-302.

7. Summary of German Police Decodes 275–323, August 21, 1941, p. 5, in NA, HW 16/6, pt. 1.

8. Telegram no. 444, from HSSPF Russland-Süd, September 15 and 17, 1941, VHAP, KdO Stab RFSS. The telegram states that "the 45th Reserve Police Battalion completed the 'cleansing Aktion' in Liubar."

9. GARF, 7021-60-302, pp. 4, 7.

10. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 162–164. In the documents of the ChGK, this Aktion is not mentioned; see GARF, 7021-60-302.

11. GARF, 7021-60-302, pp. 4, 7.

12. Ibid., 7021-60-302, pp. 27, 62, 140–141, 171, 199, 201, 268, 391, 363, 405.

MIROPOL'

Pre-1941: Miropol', *town*, *Dzerzhinsk raion*, *Zhitomir oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Miropol*, *Rayon Romanow (Dzherzhinsk)*, *Gebiet Tschudnow*, *Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Myropil'*, *Romaniv raion*, *Zhytomyr oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Miropol' is located 71 kilometers (44 miles) west-southwest of Zhitomir. According to the census of December 16, 1926, there were 1,143 Jews living in Miropol'. In mid-1941, approximately 600 Jews lived in the town.

German forces occupied Miropol' on July 6, 1941 two weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. A number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east during this intervening period. Men of eligible age were called up or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. It is estimated that roughly 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Miropol'. The German military administration created a local authority and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The local police played an active part in the repressive measures taken against the Jews.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Miropol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Tschudnow, and Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel became the Gebietskommissar.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, by order of the Ortskommandantur, the local authority organized the registration and marking of the Jews, who were required to wear distinguishing armbands. Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor tasks (such as repairing roads) under the guard of the Ukrainian police, solely because of their ethnicity.

At the end of July 1941, the Ortskommandantur announced the establishment of a ghetto (Jewish residential district) in the center of the settlement.[2] Jews were prohibited from going beyond the limits of the ghetto and from buying products or even conversing with Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly ensued.

At the end of July 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in Miropol'. Einsatzkommando 5 of Einsatzgruppe C shot 24 Jews for refusing to work.[3] At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, a further Aktion took place in the settlement. The Ukrainian police shot 157 Jews in the park: 29 men, 66 women, and 62 children. Two days later, the Ukrainian police arrested and shot a Jewish family of four.[4]

During the first half of October 1941, another Aktion was carried out in Miropol': 94 people—14 men, 31 women, and 49 children—were shot in the park.[5] After this Aktion, only the Jewish craftsmen and their families remained in the settlement. These 100 people were shot by the Ukrainian police on February 16, 1942.[6]

Also in December 1941, the Ukrainian police brought into Miropol' nine Jews (eight women and one child) who had been hiding in the village of Kolodiazhnoe. They were then shot in the public park.[7] In 1941 and 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered some 400 Jews in Miropol' in total.[8]

On January 5, 1987, a criminal court in the Zhitomir oblast' sentenced to death two of the former Miropol' policemen, Les'ko and Gnatiuk. In addition, one other policeman was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

SOURCES Some information regarding the Miropol' ghetto has been published in Garri Fel'dman, ed., *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit: Sbornik materialov o Kholokoste, perezhitom moimi zemliakami* (Shitomir, 2000).

Documents dealing with the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Miropol' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO; GARF (7021-60-291); PAAKru.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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2. Testimony of Liudmila Blekhman, in Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit*, p. 39.

3. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 47, August 9, 1941; see also Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 139.

4. Information obtained by the author from the State Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) in the Zhitomir oblast', December 4, 1991, and February 4, 1992 (PAAKru).

5. Ibid. The executions probably took place on October 13, 1941; see GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5.

6. PAAKru, letter from the SBU in Zhitomir oblast', February 4, 1992. See also GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5.

7. PAAKru, letter from the SBU in Zhitomir oblast', February 4, 1992.

8. According to the materials of the Dzerzhinsk raion commission for the investigation of crimes committed by the occupants and their collaborators in the Dzerzhinsk raion, 960 Jews were killed in Miropol'. GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5. As this figure is not supported by the materials in the files, it is probably too high.

MONASTYRISHCHE

Pre-1941: Monastyrishche, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Monastyrischtsche, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Monastyryshche, raion center, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Monastyrishche is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,398 Jews (74.4 percent of the total population) were living in Monastyrishche. In the villages of the Monastyrishche raion, including the former Tsibulev raion, there were an additional 1,449, bringing the total to 2,847 Jews. Besides the town of Monastyrishche, there were four other small Jewish communities in the Monastyrishche raion: Sarny, Tsibulev, Terlitsa, and Lukashovka.

German armed forces occupied Monastyrishche on July 22, 1941, one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. The Luftwaffe bombarded Monastyrishche from the air, and due to the rapid German advance, only a minority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Jewish men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population, or around 1,000 people, remained in Monastyrishche at the start of the occupation.

In July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled Monastyrishche. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Ukrainian police played an active part in implementing the anti-Jewish measures and robbing the Jews. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Ivan Mel'nikov (or Melnik).[1] Other policemen known for their exceptional cruelty were Chichikoza, Koretskii, Koval', Tabik, Shchipets, Khmelevskii, Mel'nik, and Liuliava. After the war, some of these men escaped to Canada.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Monastyrishche became the administrative center of Gebiet Monastyrishtsche. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Oberführer Werder. The Gebiet, in turn, was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Soon after the occupation of the town, the Ortskommandantur ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jews were required to wear armbands with the Star of David and to perform heavy physical labor of various kinds, usually for little or no pay. A Jewish Council, or Judenrat, was also established, headed by a man named Khaskel'. It served as an intermediary body between the occupation authorities and the Jewish population, issuing work assignments to the Jews. Among the work tasks was the cleaning of latrines that were reserved only for the Germans.

In August 1941, the Germans organized a first Aktion in the course of which at least 10 members of the Jewish intelligentsia were arrested and shot.[3] Probably within about one month of the occupation, the remaining Jews were moved into an open ghetto, located on a few streets designated for this purpose. There was considerable overcrowding, with about 10 people sharing each small room. The houses were not fenced off and guarded, but the Ukrainian police harassed the inmates and made it very hard for anyone to escape from the ghetto. No rations were issued, and there was severe hunger in the ghetto, leading to a number of deaths. The Jews exchanged anything they could with local Ukrainians for some food, such as potatoes and beets. However, they were beaten and could be shot if caught outside the ghetto illegally. Those who worked outside the ghetto also received some bread from the Ukrainians.[4]

Despite the difficult conditions, the Jews still made considerable efforts to observe Jewish holidays. Aware of the massacres that had taken place in other towns, many families prepared hiding places behind false walls inside the ghetto, which might provide at least a temporary refuge when the Germans conducted another Aktion. According to the account of Natalia Ulitskaia, both the Ukrainian police and the Germans forced Jewish girls to go with them at which time they raped them.[5]

The Germans organized the liquidation of the ghetto on May 29, 1942, when all the Jews were rounded up by the Ukrainian police and brought to the market square on the pretext of a work assignment. After a few dozen skilled workers were selected from the group, the rest were taken out and shot in a ditch about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. On that day, Jews from Sarny, Tsibulev, Terlitsa, and Lukashovka were also shot.[6] A total of 1,600 Jews were killed, including around 1,000 from Monastyrishche. A number of Jews evaded the roundup in their hiding places; some of these people then fled the ghetto into the countryside, while others emerged subsequently and joined the remaining Jews.

Around 120 to 140 craftsmen from Monastyrishche and other neighboring Jewish communities were then resettled into a special remnant ghetto for skilled laborers together

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with their families (about 400 people altogether). Five houses on one street were designated as a ghetto space, now closely guarded by the Ukrainian police. However, children would still sneak out of the ghetto to try to barter items for food at the market.[7] In August or September 1942, Jews declared unfit for labor were taken behind the mill and shot. In November 1942, another group of Jews was shot in retribution for the escape of several Jews from the ghetto. The remaining 70 Jews were shot directly in one of the houses on the eve of the Germans' retreat from Monastyrishche (March 10, 1944). Their corpses were burned together with the house.

The few surviving Jews mention the existence of some antisemitism in Monastyrishche, even before the war, and especially the brutality of the Ukrainian police. However, most of those who survived were helped by Ukrainian acquaintances. Sofia Zaitseva stressed that her father was popular with many Ukrainians, who were willing to hide her and her brother despite the risks involved, after their father had been killed.[8]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Monastyrishche can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and VHF (# 5095, 15564, 29577, 36257, 39908).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. *Zoria: Hromad'sko-politychne vydannia Monastyryshchens'koho raionu*, no. 42 (May 29, 1999); testimony of Nikolai Zadernovskii, www.iremember.ru/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=563&Itemid=24; and Report of the Monastyrishche Settlement Council of People's Deputies, no. 77, April 29, 1999. VHF, # 29577, testimony of Fania Kogan, however, gives the figure of 30 members of the intelligentsia being arrested.
4. VHF, # 29577; # 36257, testimony of Natalia Ulitskaia; # 39908, testimony of Aron Spektor; # 5095, testimony of Eda Zadernovskaia; # 15564, testimony of Sofia Zaitseva.
5. Ibid., # 29577, # 36257, # 39908.
6. Ibid., # 29577, # 36257, # 5095.
7. Ibid., # 29577.
8. Ibid., # 39908, # 36257, # 15564.

MOZYR'

Pre-1941: Mozyr', *city and raion center*, *Poles'e oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mosyr*, *Rayon and Gebiet center*, *Generalkommissariat Shitomir*; *post-1991: Mazyr*, *raen center*, *Homel' voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Mozyr' is located 133 kilometers (82.6 miles) southwest of Gomel'. In 1939, 6,307 (36 percent) of the city's 17,477 inhabitants were Jewish.

German armed forces first entered Mozyr' on August 22, 1941. A wave of killings and abuse began immediately. In early September 1941, forces of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment shot more than 150 people as "looters." Most of the victims were Jews.

The city administration established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 members under Eisha Izrailevich Koifman and his deputy Iosif Iankelevich Berdichevskii. On October 20, 1941, Mozyr' became the seat of Gebiet Mosyr, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir, with Wolfgang Przyrembel as Gebietskommissar. In January 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Wilhelm Kellermann became Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Mozyr'.[1] Ivan Podbereznyi was the chief of the local police, assisted by Titov, Kholodnyi, Tokarskii, Suprun, Telepun, Krupskii, and others, in all about 35 men. Podbereznyi had previously been a Communist Party member and chief of the Soviet secret police (NKVD) in the El'sk raion.[2]

At some time in the fall of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mozyr' on Romashov Rov Street, where there were primarily one-story wooden buildings.[3] The Germans placed 15 to 20 Jews in each of the run-down houses, without sufficient food or medicine. A number of Jews died from disease or malnutrition during the ghetto's short existence.

The Jewish Council was assigned the tasks of accommodating the ghetto inmates, maintaining internal order, and interacting with the German authorities. The council members were in fact hostages of the Nazis, however, because the majority of the ghetto inmates were not fit for work, and the ghetto in Mozyr' had very little economic significance.

By decree of the town authority, Berdichevskii drew up a list of ghetto inhabitants, which included 273 names. The majority of them were women, elderly people, and children, ranging in age from a few months to 90 years old.[4]

Jews from Skrigalov, Kopatkevichi, Prudok, and Glinishche were resettled into the Mozyr' ghetto. A little later, 38 more Jews arrived from the Kamen' sel'sovet. Another 111 Jews came from El'sk, Petrikov, Narovlia, Sloboda, Meleshkovichi, Mikhalok, Iur'evichi, Ogorodniki, Zapol'e, Prudok, and Red'ki. With all the new arrivals, there were 433 Jews living in the Mozyr' ghetto as of January 1, 1942, according to Berdichevskii's list.[5]

At the end of 1941, a group of Jewish carpenters and their families decided to take their own lives. According to R.A. Sherman, they gathered at 19 Pushkin Street, next to where they had lived before the war. They cast lots, and it fell to Khaia Gofshtein to set the fire. Around 40 people perished in the blaze.[6]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in January 1942. On January 6, the ghetto inhabitants were transferred to the Mozyr' prison. They were allowed to take only a small supply of food and personal items. Their remaining property was to be left at home, and the doors were to be left unlocked. On the morning of January 7, the women, old people, and children were separated from the men and taken about 1 kilometer

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(0.6 mile) from Mozyr' towards the village of Bobr, to a hill beneath which lay a large gully. They were escorted by German Gendarmes, soldiers of a Czechoslovak battalion, and Belorussian policemen. The infirm, sick, and exhausted were carried on four carts. In the meantime, about 200 men were shot in the prison yard. They were led out in groups, placed against the wall, and shot by policemen under the command of the Germans. Then the Jewish cobblers from the prison workshop were ordered to transport the men's corpses on sleds to a ditch on the edge of town.

The women, children, and elderly taken to the hill were ordered to undress, lay their clothes and things in piles, and then climb to the top in groups of three or four. Those who were too weak to climb on their own were dragged by the arm or prodded with bayonets. The people guessed that their execution was imminent; a horrible cry arose; and the women cried and begged for mercy. At the top of the hill, the victims were lined up in a row and shot. The bodies rolled down into the gully. The Aktion lasted two hours. Then the Germans and the local police went down and finished off the wounded. The bodies were piled in a stack, and the side of the hill facing the gully was blown up so that the earth rolled down to cover the mass grave. The layer of soil turned out not to be very thick, however, and dogs were able to dig up and carry off human remains. The indigenous police collected the Jews' belongings. Two or three days later, the police once again sent the shoemakers from the prison to the ditch and made them take all the bodies (about 300 corpses in total) to a single site and bury them.[7]

A second group of Jews was taken to the Pripiat' River, where, according to the witness testimony of Aleksandra Kozlovskaia, they made holes in the ice. The Germans then drove the doomed Jews towards the holes and forced them to jump beneath the ice. Those who resisted were shoved into the holes with rifle butts.[8] In total, around 700 Jews were drowned in Mozyr' during the occupation.

During the Aktion of January 9–10, 1942, the teacher Liza Lozinskaia succeeded in hiding. The next day she was discovered, brought to the market square, and tied to a telegraph pole. The Nazis hung a sign around her neck that read: "I sabotaged the implementation of German laws and orders." Then the Germans proceeded to practice throwing knives and daggers at her.[9]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, a small group of craftsmen remained in the prison; they were shot by the German Gendarmerie in May or June 1942.[10] The shooting was supervised by Rosenberg, the head of the town's SD section; Oberleutnant Tizze and Oberwachtmeister Urlich, both of the Order Police; and the chief of the indigenous police, Podbereznyi, who assigned 10 local policemen to assist the German Gendarmerie.

In the winter of 1943, the newspaper *Mozyrskie novosti*, which was published with the Nazis' permission, wrote that the town had been living without Jews for two years and could rightfully consider itself an example for the solving of the Jewish question in Belorussia.[11]

Following the liberation of the city in January 1944, the Soviet authorities uncovered at least five mass grave sites in and around Mozyr':

1. The Jewish cemetery in the Mozyr' city limits has 18 graves of equal size lacking mounds, tablets, or any other markings indicating a burial site. There are 50 to 55 bodies of elderly people, women, and children in each grave, a total of 960 to 1,000 people.
2. The territory of the former Sipo-SD prison on Pushkin Street has five graves with 55 bodies in each, altogether 275 people.
3. The gully at the end of Romashov Rov Street contains four graves, three of which were approximately of similar size, with 95 to 100 bodies in each. The fourth grave, 400 square meters [478 square yards] in size, held 850 bodies. The total body count was 1,230 to 1,250.
4. The gully on the Mozyr'-Bobr road is the site of two graves containing the remains of more than 1,000 people.
5. At the end of Svidovka Street are two graves. More than 600 people were buried in the first; in the second, a grave of smaller dimensions, are seven bodies: an elderly man, four women, and two children.

In the course of the exhumations, it was ascertained that some of the people were buried alive, while others had their hands tied behind their backs with barbed wire. Several bodies bore marks of violence and torture.[12]

Mozyr' was liberated on January 14, 1944. During the occupation, 4,700 of the city's inhabitants perished, including more than 1,500 Jews.[13] Kondrat Bogdanik turned over to the Soviet 61st Army's counterintelligence section, SMERSH, partial lists of ghetto inhabitants (237 names) stolen by him in March 1942 from the Mozyr' town authority. These documents provided the basis for investigation of Nazi crimes in Mozyr'. They were then given to the archive of the KGB in the Republic of Belorussia, where they were kept until after 2000.

SOURCES Information concerning the fate of the Jews of Mozyr' can be found in the following publications: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika mozyrskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1997); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii* (Tel Aviv, 2000), pp. 213–214; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–44* (Minsk, 1963); "Mozyrskie straniitsy Kholokosta," *Berega* (March–April 2002); "Mosada na belorusskoi zemle," *Berega* (September 2000); Iakov Gutman, "Pliaski i pamiat': Mozyr'," *Den'*, September 29, 2001; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk:

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Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981).

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jewish population of Mozyr' can be found in these archives: AUKGBRBGO (see especially criminal case no. 10454 against Ivan Podbereznyi); GARF (7021-91-20 and 273); NARA; NARB (845-1-12, 861-1-12); YVA; and ZGAMO (310-1-15).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. NARA, T-454, reel 100, fr. 1029, RFSS, Schnellbrief of January 31, 1942.
2. AUKGBRBGO, case against I.P. Podbereznyi, January 21, 1944.
3. NARB, 861-1-12, pp. 2, 8–9, 845-1-12, p. 32; GARF, 7021-91-20, p. 4.
4. AUKGBRBGO, Podbereznyi case, pp. 141–146, 197.
5. Ibid., pp. 148, 151.
6. *Pamiat'*, pp. 201, 209.
7. NARB, 861-1-12, p. 2; 845-1-12, p. 32; ZGAMO, 310-1-15, pp. 4, 12, 14.
8. GARF, 7021-91-273, pp. 6–8.
9. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 274.
10. Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 1/78, Verfügung vom 19.1.1978, p. 19.
11. *Mozyrskie novosti*, December 20, 1943.
12. "Mozyrskie stranitsy Kholokosta."
13. GARF, 7021-91-20, p. 4.

NARODICHI

Pre-1941: Narodichi, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Naroditschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Korosten, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Narodychy, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Narodichi is located about 110 kilometers (69 miles) north-northeast of Zhitomir. In 1939, the Jewish population of Narodichi was 1,233, comprising less than half of the total population.

German forces occupied Narodichi on August 22, 1941. In the two months from the start of the German invasion, the Jewish population in town changed dramatically. Many Jews from Narodichi managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union, while Jewish refugees from the cities arrived in this remote town seeking shelter. In 1941 the Jewish population in Narodichi was wiped out rather quickly in two (or possibly three) massacres. One occurred on September 9, 1941, and another "on a cold rainy day" in mid-November. Einsatzgruppe C reported on September 11, 1941, that "in Narodichi, 208 terrorists, and, in a nearby barn, 60 terrorists were arrested and shot in the course of a large-scale Aktion."[1]

A Ukrainian peasant, Mykola Stepanchik, recalled what he had witnessed in 1941 when he was 11 years old. His home was located on the road leading to the mass shooting site. On the morning of the killing Aktion, a member of Sonderkommando 4a had shooed him away, threatening him if he did not leave the field near his house, where pits were being prepared and guards were cordoning off the area. A German Gestapo man told him in Ukrainian: leave now or you will be killed. He was tending his cow in that field. He was curious and hid in the crops where he could still see what was happening. First a truck appeared with the Germans and a group of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The POWs dug a large pit. The Germans took a lunch break and then returned at about 3:00 P.M. The truck arrived several times, carrying groups of about 40 or 50 Jews on each occasion. The adult Jews, including mothers with infants, were separated from the children. The Jews had to crouch down in rows of 10 near the swamp. They were on their knees next to the pit. The Germans had rifles and automatic weapons and stood only about 5 meters (16 feet) from the Jews. There were six Ukrainian policemen, but they did not shoot. One Ukrainian policeman placed straw on top of the bodies in the pit. Then the rain came. There were no passersby during the Aktion. Everyone in town heard the gunfire.[2]

The Sonderkommando unit, however, soon moved on and left behind the now mostly orphaned Jewish children, who had been brought by the local Ukrainian police to the local cinema/club building, the former synagogue, as an unusual form of open remnant ghetto. The local militia was led by a Ukrainian chief named Khrenovsky (a photographer) and his deputy Artem Orel. It appears that the children were left there, more or less abandoned for about two months, with only two elderly women, who were supposed to care for them. They were given no food rations or water and had to depend on the local inhabitants to survive. Stepanchik recalls that some of the children wandered the streets, looking for food. According to evidence collected by Symon Gorevsky (and deposited at Yad Vashem, file # 9314) and Arkady Fedorovsky (who had joined the Red Army in 1941, lost 24 of his family members in the massacres, and returned to Narodichi in 1944), the former orthodox priest in the town went door to door, confronting locals, demanding that they donate food, and proclaiming that if they did not help these poor children, they would be punished by God. Some shared their food, but most avoided the club/cinema and spread rumors that the priest had gone mad.

In November 1941, the 72 children were shot by three German Gendarmes, assisted by local Ukrainian policemen, including Khrenovsky and Orel. They were forced to run naked in the Jewish cemetery, while being shot by one Gendarme who had mounted a machine gun on a tripod and two others who held semiautomatic pistols. The children's bodies were hastily buried in the cemetery; the ground was hard.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 370 Jews were shot in Narodichi in November 1941.[3] It is not clear if this figure also includes the Jews

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who were shot in September or not, but it appears to conflict with the smaller number of child victims cited by witnesses. Given that Narodichi was also a Rayon center, where German and Ukrainian police were stationed, additional Jews may have been brought there from surrounding villages. It is possible that there was a third Aktion in November, at which time Jewish inhabitants from the villages were shot. In 1944, Fedorovsky and other local inhabitants erected a monument to the "823 Soviet Jews Shot in Narodichi." The local Ukrainian police chief Khrenovsky was judged by a Soviet military tribunal and shot. The names and fates of the German perpetrators remain unknown.

SOURCES Published sources include: *Knyga Pam'yati Ukrainiiny: Zhytomyrska Oblast'* (Zhytomyr, 1994), 12:18. The testimonies of Arkady Fedorovsky and Symon Gorevsky, edited by Leonid Skolnik, have been published in Israel as an article titled "The Dead Kept Silent, What about the Living?" [in Russian] in the journal *Kamerton*. The story of the children was told to Fedorovsky by Luba Friedman, the only child to have survived the massacre and the war. She crawled out of the pit and joined the partisans.

Documentation about the murder of the Jews of Narodichi can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); GARF (7021-60-297); and YVA (# 9314). The interview with Mykola Stepanchik is located in the personal archive of the author (PAWL).

Wendy Lower

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 80, September 11, 1941.
2. Interview with Mykola Stepanchik in Narodichi, conducted by Wendy Lower, Boris Kogan, and Felix Starovoitov, September 29, 2009.
3. GARF, 7021-60-304, p. 8, as cited by A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiati zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 57, 63.

NEMIROV

Pre-1941: Nemirov, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nemirow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Nemyriv, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Nemirov is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 3,001 Jews were living in Nemirov (36.7 percent of the population), while another 161 Jews were living in the villages of the Nemirov raion.

After the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jewish men from Nemirov were drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army. Some Jews were also able to evacuate to the east. According to German data, the town had a population of 8,000, including 3,000 Jews, in August 1941.[1] However, some additional Jews from the surrounding villages were probably brought into the town at the time of the establishment of the ghetto.[2]

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Nemirov on July 22, 1941. In July and August, the town was run by a local military commandant (Ortskommandantur), which set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force employing local non-Jewish inhabitants. On October 20, control of the town was turned over to a German civil administration. Nemirov became the administrative center of Gebiet Nemirow, which included the Rayons of Woronowiza and Sitkowzy. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Herbert Sittig, a longstanding member of the Nazi Party.[3] In the autumn, the German Gendarmerie, the Reich's rural police force, established a post in Nemirov, which also took over the Ukrainian auxiliary police force (Schutzmannschaft).[4] A certain Gerchanivskii was appointed chief of the Ukrainian police at the end of July 1941. In August 1941, he had 32 indigenous policemen under his command.[5]

During the summer and autumn of 1941, a series of measures were introduced in Nemirov including the formation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat); Jews were required to wear distinguishing markings and to work at forced labor and were plundered, beaten, and humiliated.

By September, perhaps even late in August 1941, the German authorities in Nemirov set up a ghetto consisting of three narrow streets surrounded by barbed wire with a guard at the gate. Five or six families were made to share a residence in the ghetto. No communication was permitted with non-Jews, who were not even allowed to come close to the ghetto fence. Not all of the Jews were relocated to the ghetto; some of them continued to live outside its confines. Able-bodied men and also some women capable of performing hard labor were selected from the ghetto every day. They were put to work constructing the road from Nemirov to Gaisin, a segment on the key supply line, Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV, and were also used to load and unload heavy construction materials. Such work enabled these Jews to procure foodstuffs from the local population and bring them back into the ghetto. As a result, there was not widespread starvation within the ghetto.[6]

The first killing operation in Nemirov was carried out on November 24, 1941. Assisted by the men of a construction company of the Luftwaffe, the Gendarmerie, and the local police, about 20 men of the Security Police and SD organized the roundup of the Jews from the ghetto and their concentration in the local Palace of Culture. Here a selection took place: craftsmen and their families were sent back to the ghetto, and the remaining Jews were escorted partly on foot and partly by truck to pits that had been dug in advance behind the Polish cemetery, where men of the Security Police squad shot them.[7] In all, some 2,680 Jews were killed that day.[8] It appears that a squad of Einsatzkommando 5 under the direction of SS-Oberleutnant Theodor Salmanzig, stationed in Vinnitsa, carried out the shooting.[9]

Some Jews survived the first Aktion in hiding. After the slaughter, the Germans reduced the area of the ghetto by half.

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Those adults who remained alive were escorted daily to the road construction site. No fuel was available for heating, and the death rate from cold and hunger rose. The ghetto guards became more severe, and those who became ill were taken out and shot.[10]

On June 26, 1942, the ghetto in Nemirov was liquidated. The Jews were driven into the synagogue, where 200 to 300 young and strong men and women were selected and sent to a labor camp. The rest, perhaps as many as 500, were shot behind the Polish cemetery in pits that had been dug in advance.[11]

The Red Army liberated Nemirov in the spring of 1944. On their return, their former neighbors welcomed back the Jewish family of Rozengaft, and they were able to reclaim their apartment and even some clothes. Grigory Rozengaft was immediately mobilized to the front.[12]

SOURCES The testimonies of survivors of the Nemirov ghetto can be found in the following publications: testimony of S. Bronshvag in Yitshak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 229; and testimony of A. Rozengaft in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my, Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), p. 381.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Nemirov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1250); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (RG-50.226*0002); and YVA (file M-33).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.
2. *Vinnychchyna v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny 1941–1945 rr. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Odessa: Majak, 1971), p. 72. In its report of September 18, 1944, the ChGK commission in the Nemirov raion noted that in September 1941, 3,460 Jews were shot in the town of Nemirov. In reality, the first mass shooting of Jews came at the end of November 1941. The figure of 3,460 probably refers to the number of Jews enclosed in the ghetto, not the number of those shot.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. In September 1942, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Nemirov was Oberleutnant Karl-Gustav Heinze; see DAZO, 1159-1-9, p. 37, KdG Shitomir, Kommandobefehl 30/42, September 3, 1942.
5. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675, an Sicherungsdivision 444, August 25, 1941.
6. Witness testimony of S. Bronshvag, p. 229; witness testimony of A. Rozengaft, p. 381; USHMM, RG-50.226*0002, oral history interview with Riva Isakovna Braiter.
7. Witness testimonies of S. Bronshvag and A. Rozengaft; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, concluding report (Abschlussbericht), May 29, 1974, pp. 16–18.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1250, p. 12. It is possible that the figure is too high.
9. Salmanzig died in September 1943.
10. Witness testimony of A. Rozengaft.
11. Witness testimonies of S. Bronshvag and A. Rozengaft.
12. Witness testimony of A. Rozengaft.

NOVAIA PRILUKA

Pre-1941: Novaia Priluka, village, Turbov raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowaja Priluka, Rayon Turbow, Gebiet Winniza, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Nova Pryluka, Turbov raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Priluka is located about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the northeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,247 Jews lived in the Turbov raion, which included Turbov itself. The majority of these Jews lived in the village of Novaia Priluka.

From the end of June until July 20, 1941, the date on which German armed forces occupied the village, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. In addition, some Jewish men were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Probably around 500 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the village. The Germans appointed a village elder and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. In late October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. From that time until the eventual liberation in March 1944, Novaia Priluka was located in Rayon Turbow, Gebiet Winniza, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Gemeinschaftsführer Halle became the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant Baumgärtner was appointed in 1942 as Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] By the summer of 1942, the local police force (Schutzmannschaft) in Turbov had reached the strength of 30 men.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David and to perform various forms of heavy labor.

On July 31, 1941, German security forces carried out the first Aktion in Novaia Priluka, during which around 70 Jewish men were shot.[3] In a second Aktion, another 110 Jews were shot.[4] The Jewish women, children, and elderly people who remained alive were resettled into a ghetto. When the ghetto was liquidated on July 24–25, 1942, around 300 Jews were executed.[5] It is likely that the shooting was carried out by the SD detachment from Vinnitsa, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

SOURCES A brief entry on the Jewish community of Novaia Priluka can be found 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), p. 901.

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Documents regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Novaia Priluka can be found in the following archives: DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1257); and USHMM.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmanschaft Winniza, order no. 15/42, July 11, 1942.
3. DAVINO, R4422-1-18, p. 38.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 2,500 Jews were shot in Novaia Priluka in 1941. The author believes this figure is much too high. See also GARF, 7021-54-1257, p. 64.

NOVOGRAD-VOLYNSKII (AKA ZVIAGEL')

Pre-1941: Novograd-Volynskii, city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Nowograd-Wolynskyj (renamed Zwiahel), Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Novohrad-Volyns'kyi, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Novograd-Volynskii is located 84 kilometers (52 miles) northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 6,839 Jews living in the city (28.8 percent of the total population).

German armed forces occupied the city on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During those weeks, part of the Jewish community was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The military authorities established a local administration and set up an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active part in the measures taken against the Jewish population.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The city of Novograd-Volynskii became the administrative center of Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj. Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj in turn was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. They were required to wear armbands with a six-pointed star. Jews were also required to perform various kinds of heavy labor. According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, the Jews were moved to an "open ghetto" in the city in August 1941 by order of the military administration. The Jews were not permitted to leave its borders or to buy products from the local Ukrainians. As a result, hunger and famine quickly ensued.

At the end of July 1941, the first mass murders of the Jewish population were carried out. The first victims were those accused of acts of sabotage. At that time, 800 Jews were shot in a bomb crater, in the area of the Machine-Tractor Station (MTS). In the backyard of a house for invalids, where another bomb crater was located, 200 more Jews were shot. In the area of the MTS, the victims were led out in groups of 100 to 200, and in the backyard of the house for invalids, there were four groups of 40 to 50. In addition, more than 100 were shot in the yard of a bakery, in a former ditch for grain.[2] It is likely that at least some of these murders were carried out by the 8th SS-Motorized Brigade, which was commanded by SS-Standartenführer Sacks. The military staff and a detachment of this unit were stationed in the city on July 27–28, 1941.[3] Also present in the city at that time was a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, which "in cooperation with the Wehrmacht and Ukrainians" arrested and shot "34 political commissars, agents, and others" in a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.[4]

Around the middle of August 1941, Sonderkommando 4a carried out another cleansing Aktion. The Wehrmacht "handed over [to Sonderkommando 4a] 230 civilian prisoners who had been captured. Of these, 161 persons were executed. They were accused of being Jews, Communists, looters, and saboteurs."[5]

At the end of August 1941, another mass execution was carried out in a grove near the former Red Army Building (Dom Krasnoi Armii). Altogether there were more than 700 victims, including women and children.[6] It is possible that this shooting was carried out by the Police Brigade "South," which at the time was active in the region.

In September 1941, the open ghetto in Novograd-Volynskii was finally liquidated. At an old military firing range, around 3,200 Jews were shot, including those from outlying villages.[7] It is likely that the executions were carried out by the staff company of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, commanded by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln.

The last mass execution of the Jews was carried out by the 1st SS-Motorized Brigade, which received orders on September 8, 1941, from the Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS. On September 12, 1941, the brigade arrived in the city. SS-Untersturmführer Max Täubner, the commander, found out from the city's mayor that there were still 319 Jews in prison, whom the Wehrmacht had confined there for labor purposes. Täubner ordered these Jews to be shot in a ditch outside the city that had been dug in advance by the Ukrainian police.[8]

From November 1941 to November 1942, a labor camp existed in the city. Able-bodied Jewish men were resettled to work there from Baranovka, Rogachov, Iarunia, and other towns and villages. The prisoners of the camp were used to build railway lines. In November 1942, with the help of the partisan movement, some of the prisoners attempted a mass escape but were arrested and shot.[9]

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SOURCES The ghetto in Novograd-Volynskii is mentioned 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), p. 905. The *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 77, only registers a camp for civilians and a prison in the city. Other relevant publications include: E. Klee, W. Dressen, and V. Riess, eds., *"Schöne Zeiten": Judenmord aus der Sicht der Täter und Gaffer* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988); Y. Büchler, "'Unworthy Behavior': The Case of SS Officer Max Täubner," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17:3 (Winter 2003): 409–429; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Biblioteka Institut iudaiki, 1999), pp. 98–101.

Documents pertaining to the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Novograd-Volynskii can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/5575); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-300 and 305); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-305, pp. 3 and reverse side.
3. BA-L, B 162/5575 (202 AR-Z 1212/60, Bd. XXX), p. 7090, as cited in Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), pp. 166–167.
4. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 38, July 30, 1941.
5. Ibid., R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 60, August 22, 1941. The documents refer to a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5; however, it is more likely that this was a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, as Einsatzkommando 5 was operating further south.
6. GARF, 7021-60-305, p. 5.
7. Ibid., pp. 9, 67, 163, 182–183. Among those murdered were Jews from the outlying villages of Tesnovka (17 people), Barvinovka (13 people), Staraia Romanovka (10 people), and Sloboda Chernetskaia (14 people).
8. See Klee, Dressen, and Riess, "*Schöne Zeiten*," pp. 184 ff.
9. Witness testimony of Eva Gladkaia, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 98, 101.

OLEVSK

Pre-1941: Olevsk, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Olewsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Olevs'k, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Olevsk is located 130 kilometers (81 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 2,858 Jews lived in Olevsk, comprising 42.2 percent of the total population. An additional 866 Jews resided in the villages of the Olevsk raion.

The bulk of the Jewish population evacuated east with the Red Army as the Wehrmacht advanced into central Ukraine in early July 1941, leaving only about 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population behind.

By late July, German troops still had not appeared in the town. One resident recalled hearing rumors that the Germans were not coming to Olevsk at all.[1] From July to October 1941, a German military administration was nominally responsible for the region around Olevsk; in practice, Ukrainian forces of the "Polis'ka Sich," answerable to the pragmatic nationalist leader Taras Bul'ba-Borovets', seized control of the town in late July. By August, Bul'ba-Borovets' had appointed Petro Smorods'kyi as commander of the Sich garrison in Olevsk; he had under his command between 300 and 600 militiamen there.[2]

Bul'ba-Borovets' and the Sich soon set up their own local government in Olevsk. Boris Simonovich, a local resident and Sich member, was appointed as leader of the raion council.[3] He began appointing other local officials in late July.[4] Most important, the Sich took over all police responsibilities in Olevsk.

From August through October, the Jewish population lived in a perpetual "state of anarchy" under Sich rule, as they were

Начальник Окружної Міліції у Сарнах і Командант партизанських відділів „Поліська Січ" Тарас Боровець зі своїм штабом.

Photograph of the Chief of Police in Sarny, Taras Bul'ba-Borovets', and other members of the Ukrainian paramilitary unit, Polis'ka Sich, published in the occupation newspaper, *Volyn'*.
COURTESY OF JARED MCBRIDE

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frequently subjected to "robbery, brutality, and killings." In addition to organizing pogroms, the Polis'ka Sich assigned Jews to various forced labor tasks, mainly aimed at torturing and humiliating them. Whether they were forced to build a bridge over the Ubort' River or clean lavatories in town, these jobs were accompanied by "whippings, cursing, and mockery at every step."[5]

The Sich regularly terrorized the Jews in their own homes. They broke into Jewish apartments on Komsomol'skaia and Oktiabr'skaia Streets to steal food and clothes. Sometimes these incursions turned deadly. One afternoon Zeriuk and three other members of the Polis'ka Sich broke into the apartment of Munia Shapiro, looking for goods. In Shapiro's room, Zeriuk beat Shapiro with his rifle butt and then shot him three times, as well as another Jew who was there. The bodies of the two young men lay for almost a week in the apartment, where they began to rot.[6]

In addition to physical abuse, economic burdens were also imposed on the Jews. After a census, the head of the raion council, Simonovich, levied a collective tax of 100,000 rubles on the Jewish population.[7] Living conditions under the "Olevsk Republic" are characterized by the Jewish survivor Iakov Keselev Shklover: "the livestock were treated better than us." The Sich initiated anti-Jewish measures and killed people with total impunity in Olevsk, even before there was any discernible German presence in the town.[8]

In early November 1941, personnel of the German civil administration arrived in Olevsk and established their authority.[9] Olevsk became the administrative center of Gebiet Olewsk, which also included the Rayons of Slowetschno and Luginy, as well as Rayon Olewsk. Gebiet Olewsk now formed part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[10] In Olevsk, the Gebietskommissar was a man named Fischer, who was accompanied by an entourage of assistants.[11]

On the establishment of the German civil administration, the assistant Gebietskommissar in Olevsk, Neukirchner, issued an order for the Jews to be ghettoized. The Polis'ka Sich and the local Ukrainian police forced the entire Jewish population to move onto three main streets—Komsomol'skaia, Oktiabr'skaia, and Stalina—while the Russian and Ukrainian populations were removed from these streets to create a purely Jewish ghetto. The Jewish population was ordered to wear the Star of David at all times, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, chaired by Elik Kats, the son of a local fireman.[12] The Jews of Olevsk had to endure terrible overcrowding in the ghetto, as many families were forced to share a single apartment. The Jewish population was still not free of terror from members of the Sich, who routinely vandalized and broke into apartments.[13]

In mid-November 1941, a new group of Germans, possibly an SS detachment from Einsatzkommando 5, arrived in Olevsk and made preparations for the liquidation of the ghetto. According to internal Sich documentation, on November 18, SS-Captain Hitschke requisitioned members of the Sich for the forthcoming Aktion, and about 50 Sich soldiers and two Sich commanders agreed to participate.[14] In Varvarovka, a village located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Olevsk, local Ukrainians were ordered to dig two large pits near the Ubort' River.[15]

At nightfall on November 19, German forces, members of the Polis'ka Sich, and local Ukrainian police cordoned off the Jewish ghetto. The Jews were ordered to gather with their belongings at a collection point for registration. The German-led forces then scoured the ghetto area, beating and dragging out anyone found hiding. The old and sick were simply shot on the spot. Around 15 elderly people were killed on the streets.[16] A few Jews, including Ovsei Srulevich Reiblat and Tevel' Gershkov Trosman, miraculously managed to evade the roundup. The bulk of the Jews from the ghetto were herded into sheds and stables near the train tracks, where they spent the night huddled together like animals, awaiting their slaughter.

On the morning of November 20, 1941, the Jews were driven to the village of Varvarovka in trucks. Upon arrival, all the Jews had to remove their clothes, which were subsequently taken back to Olevsk in the trucks. The waiting Jews were then taken in groups of 15 to 20 people under heavy guard to the two pits located about 400 meters (1,312 feet) behind the village. The shooters, who were mostly Sich members and local policemen, lined up about 5 meters (16 feet) behind their respective victims and took aim.[17] When they fired, the victims' bodies fell into the pits. The sound of gunfire and screams could be heard in Varvarovka throughout the day. In total, they shot 535 Jews on that day.[18]

Local inhabitants looted Jewish property from the empty ghetto. Over the ensuing weeks, members of the Polis'ka Sich and the local police also hunted for the few Jews who had managed to escape, conducting thorough sweeps of the forests. Local inhabitants were threatened with severe penalties for hiding or assisting Jews. These searches uncovered at least 15 more Jews, who were then shot near the same pits at the Ubort' River.[19]

Only a handful of Jews from the ghetto managed to survive until the end of World War II.

SOURCES The main source on the Olevsk ghetto is Jared McBride's unpublished essay "Eyewitness to an Occupation: The Holocaust in Olevsk, Zhytomyr, Ukraine," which was first presented at the conference in 2008 in Paris titled "The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives," cosponsored by the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Yahad-In Unum, the CDJC, and the Sorbonne. Other published sources, mainly related to the little-known history of the Polis'ka Sich, are listed in the notes.

The main documentary source on the fate of the Jews of Olevsk during World War II consists of the postwar Soviet investigations to be found in an extensive file in GARF (7021-149-31). Additional relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7317-18); DARO (R30-2-112);

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DAZO; GARF (7021-60-307); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2); VHF (# 43260); and YVA.

Jared McBride and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-149-31, p. 83.
2. Ibid., pp. 67 (verso side), 75 verso, 106 verso; Taras Bul'ba-Borovets', *Armiia bez derzhavy: Slava i trahediia ukrains'koho povstans'koho rukhu: Spohady* (Winnipeg, Canada: Nakladom t-va "Volyn'," 1981), p. 158. Iakiv Iosypovych Brechko, a member of the Sich stationed in Olevsk, reported seeing 600 soldiers at the garrison; see Iosyp Patsula and Ievhen Shmorhun, eds., *Povstans'kyi rukh otamana Tarasa Bul'by-Borovtsia: Doslidzhennia, spohady, dokumenty* (Rivne: Azaliia, 1998), p. 115.
3. Portions of the records of the raion council are located in DAZO, 1445-1, files 1–8.
4. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 67 and verso.
5. Ibid., pp. 32, 107 verso.
6. Ibid., pp. 13, 83 verso, 106 verso–107 verso.
7. Ibid., pp. 106 verso, 178; it is difficult to discern when this tax was levied and whether the German administration played any role in the affair. We can be sure that it was Simonovich, though, who organized the tax.
8. Ibid., p. 107 verso; it is noteworthy that Ukrainian residents complained of Sich members stealing from them as well. See pp. 67 verso, 75 verso, and 84 verso.
9. Bul'ba-Borovets' notes that the Gebietskommissar arrived on November 5. He then informed Sigolenko that the Polis'ka Sich would now fall under German command; see Bul'ba-Borovets', *Armiia bez derzhavy*, p. 166. Father Artemiy Selepyna also gives a vivid account of the arrival of the Germans; see Roman Petrenko, *Slidamy armii bez derzhavy* (Kiev: Ukraïns'ka vydavnycha spilka; Toronto: Doslidnyi instytut "Studium," 2004), pp. 137–139.
10. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
11. For the most extensive list of Germans who governed the Olevsk raion, see GARF, 7021-60-307, pp. 1–1 verso. Spisok nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov, sovershavshikh zlodeianiia vo vremenno okkupirovannom Olevskom raione Zhitomirskoi oblasti.
12. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 19 verso, 26, 32, 178.
13. Ibid., pp. 85–86.
14. DARO, R30-2-112, pp. 9–10. The Sich report of this incident records that Sich leader Kirill Sigolenko told Hitschke that the Sich had already been demobilized and that they were not to be used against women and children. Nevertheless, the participation of a number of Sich members in the Aktion is well documented. See also T. Gladkov and B. Stekliar, "Vse ravno konets budet!" in *So shchitom i mechom: Ocherki i stat'i* (L'vov: Kameniar, 1988), p. 177.
15. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 26, 110.
16. Ibid., pp. 12, 25–26, 83–84, 178.
17. Ibid., pp. 3, 13, 19 verso, 26, 69 verso, and 179; Pavel Kharchenko, one of the drivers who was present at the Aktion, told acquaintances that only two Germans reportedly took part in the shootings, but it was mostly conducted by Sich members and local Ukrainian police.
18. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 585 Jews were killed in total in Olevsk; see GARF, 7021-60-307, p. 161.
19. Ibid., 7021-149-31, pp. 4, 13, 95 verso.

ORATOV

Pre-1941: Oratov, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Oratow, Rayon center, Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Orativ, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Oratov is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) east of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 114 Jews lived in Oratov (4.7 percent of the total population). An additional 385 Jews lived in the villages of the raion.

Between June 30 and July 27, 1941, the date when the German armed forces occupied Oratov, part of the Jewish community was able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 70 to 80 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Oratov. In late October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Oratow was part of Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. SA-Oberführer Werder became the Gebietskommissar.[1] In Oratov itself, a German Gendarmerie post was created under whose command a Ukrainian police force served. Both played an active role in the measures taken against the Jewish population in the Rayon.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur created a local administration and organized the registration and marking of the Jews. All Jews were obligated to wear white armbands with the Star of David. They were also ordered to do various kinds of heavy labor.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, an open Jewish ghetto was established in the town.[2] Apparently Jews were resettled there from outlying villages as well. On October 15, 1942, when the ghetto was liquidated, 74 Jews were shot.[3]

In 1942, Jews living in the villages of the Rayon Oratow were also killed. In May 1942, 18 Jews were shot in the village of Staryi Zhivotov, 3 Jews were shot in the village of Chagov, and 38 Jews were shot in the village of Balabanovka.[4]

SOURCES The Oratov ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 45. 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), p. 942, dates the mass shooting of the Jews of Oratov on October 15, 1941 [*sic*].

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Documents relating to the elimination of the Jews of Oratov can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1238); and DAVINO (R1683-1-10 and 13).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

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1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAVINO, R1683-1-10 and 13.
3. GARF, 7021-54-1238, p. 127.
4. Ibid., pp. 15, 21, 119.

PAVLOVICHI

Pre-1941: Pavlovichi, village, Ovruch raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pawlowitschi, Rayon and Gebiet Owrutsch, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Pavlovychi, Ovruch raen, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Pavlovichi is located about 170 kilometers (106 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. A few Jews lived in the village on the eve of the German invasion in June 1941.

German armed forces occupied Pavlovichi in the first half of August 1941. Evgeniia Gural'nik (born 1928), who was fleeing from Novograd-Volynskii, along with other Jews, became trapped in Pavlovichi by the rapid German advance. According to Gural'nik, shortly after the start of the occupation, the commandant of the area, probably based in Pokalev, announced that Pavlovichi would become "a Jewish colony" and that Jews were being brought there from the surrounding area.[1]

One day during the first weeks of the occupation, all the Jews were rounded up and held naked in a warehouse for hours until a German official appeared. He then announced that they were being given a present of their lives and that they would live and work there. The Jews performed forced labor in agriculture and only received about 1 liter (4 cups) of skimmed milk per person for food. The Jews survived by bartering their possessions with local inhabitants.

In Pavlovichi the Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, with about 10 people sharing a room. All Jews had to wear armbands, and their place of residence was heavily guarded by the local police. Gural'nik recalls a particularly cruel policeman, Ivan Harpina, who regularly robbed the Jews with the help of his colleagues. Teenage Jews were beaten heavily, and on one occasion a Jewish man was tied to a horse and dragged for several kilometers behind it. Some young Jews were shot after being denounced as former Komsomol members.

The "Jewish colony" or ghetto in Pavlovichi existed until December 25, 1941, when two cars carrying a German detachment arrived at 4:00 P.M. and rounded up all the remaining Jews. They were escorted to the Polish cemetery, where a pit had already been prepared by some of the Jews, who had been told it was for storing turnips. The Jews were ordered to lie facedown in the pit and were shot in the back. Then the next group had to lie down on top of the corpses. As the shooting was not completed that day, the Germans carried on the next day. Gural'nik managed to survive pressed up against the wall of the pit and then escaping at night. She witnessed the shooting the following morning from under a pile of straw. She was helped by a forester and his wife, who gave her some clothing, and also subsequently by other local peasants.[2]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Pavlovichi can be found in the testimony of Evgeniia Gural'nik located at VHF (# 33101).

Martin Dean
trans. Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. VHF, # 33101, testimony of Evgeniia Gural'nik.
2. Ibid.

PETRIKOV

Pre-1941: Petrikov, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Petrikow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Petrykau, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Petrikov is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) west of Mozyr'. In 1939, the Jewish population of Petrikov was 1,074 Jews (18.6 percent of the total).

Petrikov was occupied by the Germans on July 29, 1941, and then again, after a brief Soviet reoccupation, on August 19.

Petrikov became the center of a Gebiet comprising the Petrikow and Shitkowitschi Rayons; it was attached to Generalkommissariat Shitomir in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. There was a garrison of up to 1,000 soldiers and policemen in Petrikov. The Gendarmes were housed on the premises of the former Petrikov raion committee of the Belorussian Communist Party; the SD, on Volodarskii Street; and Sonderstab R, in a former pharmacy. A sapper unit and six armored cutters for patrolling the river were stationed on the banks of the Pripiat'. A system of controlling the movement of the local population was also instituted.[1]

Separate killings of Jews, members of the Communist youth organization (Komsomol), and Soviet activists began in the summer of 1941. Aron Fainshtein (born 1871), who ran the pharmacy, was tied by his legs to a horse and dragged through the streets of Petrikov until he died. Fania Kustanovich (born 1936) was thrown into a fire because her mother Klara refused to reveal the hiding places of Red Army soldiers who had been caught behind German lines. Afterwards, Klara herself was shot.[2]

The Nazis also persecuted and shot Jews in the surrounding villages. According to the testimony of Yevgenii Dus', starting in the first days of August 1941, the Germans made a list of all the Jews in the Koptsevichi sel'sovet and demanded they report every day to the police station. Jews were forced to perform senseless work such as dragging a cart loaded with water, bricks and stones, scrap, and garbage from one place to

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another while the Germans laughed, insulted, or mocked them.[3] On September 15, 1941, an SS execution squad arrested the chairman of the kolkhoz, P.K. Gramovich, and a worker, L. Pasovskii, who were then led into the woods and brutally tortured. In August 1941, 4 people were shot in the village of Sekerichi.[4] At the end of September 1941, 25 Jews from Koptsevichi were placed in a vehicle under the pretext of being dispatched to Petrikov for interrogation and transported to the edge of Zheleznitsa, where they were shot.[5]

Until the end of September 1941, Jews lived in their own houses in Petrikov. They were obliged to wear distinguishing markings and had to unquestioningly carry out German orders. They were watched by a police force selected from local inhabitants. After the first mass execution, in September 1941, a ghetto was set up. To that end, the Germans allotted three buildings on Volodarskii Street. Many of these buildings lacked doors and windows. The ghetto was fenced off by barbed wire and placed under guard. The inhabitants themselves had to see to feeding themselves, providing their own heating, and coping with other problems of survival. The Jews were only able to leave the ghetto at night. Teacher Faina Raskina, Zaivel' Peschanskii, and another person named Branets were killed for violating the internal regulations of the ghetto as established by the Nazis. The Nazis also refused to let them be buried in the Jewish cemetery. Every day at 6:00 A.M., those who were physically able were taken out to work, either logging or clearing snow from the roads. The ghetto existed until April 1942.[6]

The first Aktion was conducted on September 14, 1941 (or September 22, according to other sources), when a punitive squad of around 100 men, probably from the 1st SS-Cavalry Brigade, arrived on motorboats along the Pripiat'. They ordered the Belorussians and Russians to mark their homes with the sign of the cross. At the time, the Jewish community was observing the Jewish New Year in the synagogue. At Bliuma Gertsulina's house, the executioners demanded she say where her valuables were hidden and then shot her. They killed a tenth-grader, Borukh Gertsulin, on Karl-Liebknecht Street. They chased the Jews—adults and children alike—in groups of 30 to 40 into the river. At the inlet Bychok, they forced them to lie facedown in the mud and then shot above their heads so that nobody would get up. Then they gathered around 400 people and told them all to undress and get in the water. The Germans opened fire with machine guns from the cutters. The dead and wounded floated in the water. Afterwards, the Germans finished off the wounded.

The next day, the Nazis sought out the surviving Jews within the town and killed them on the spot where they found them. A group of Jews were driven to a cattle yard at the kolkhoz "Chervonnyi ogorodnik" (Golden-red Gardener) and shot there. The executioners burned down 35 houses on Third International Street and 17 houses near the pier. In several of the houses, they burned adults and children alive.[7]

A second Aktion followed on February 15, 1942, when a punitive squad consisting of Germans and Hungarians passed through Petrikov and conducted a cleansing Aktion—a search for Jews who were still alive—in Rayons Kopatkewitschi, Petrikow, and Oktjabr. The squad burned some of the Jews seized, while others were stripped and chased in the frost towards the village of Belki, some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Petrikov, where they were then shot. In all, there were around 200 victims.[8]

The third Aktion took place in the last days of April 1942. The German Gendarmerie roused the remaining Jews at 4:00 A.M. and led them to a slaughterhouse about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) northeast of Petrikov. The Jews were locked up in a barn, and each was undressed separately and then led out to be shot. The local inhabitants were forbidden not only to bury them but also even to go near the bodies. They were allowed to do so only after two weeks.

In the following months, the Nazis and their accomplices hunted down surviving Jews who had hidden in the countryside with the assistance of Belorussian acquaintances. In March 1942, 23 Jews were killed in Kopatkevichi (Petrikow Rayon); in July 1942, 22 Jews in the village of Smetanichi; and on November 7, 1942, 20 Jews from the village of Babunichi. In February 1943, a police detachment of 15 men under the command of the chief of the indigenous police post in Koptsevichi, Igor' Tseslik, unexpectedly appeared in the village of Brinev. They arrested the family of Boris Komissarchik (four people), led them out to a kolkhoz barn, stood them up against the wall, and shot them with machine guns.[9]

Several Petrikov Jews survived the war. Among them was Ginda Gutman, whom the executioners had thought to be dead. She hid in the village of Belanovichi and then made her way to the village of Makarovka in the Kiev oblast', where she pretended to be a Pole under the name of Stepanida Beniak. Together with a group of Ukrainian women, "Stepanida" was sent to work in Germany.[10]

Petrikov was liberated on June 29, 1944. During the years of occupation, 770 Petrikov Jews perished at the hands of the Nazis and their accomplices. Of these, it was possible to determine the names of only 132 families, including 66 women (50 percent) and 48 children aged 15 and younger (36.4 percent).[11]

SOURCES Relevant information on the destruction of Petrikov's Jews can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats'. Petrykauski raen* (Minsk, 1995); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); and *Kholokost v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg. Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2002).

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Petrikov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; NARB (845-1-12); and YVA (M-41 JM/11219, and M-33/429).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. YVA, M-41 JM 11219.
2. Klara Kustanovich was posthumously awarded the medal "For Wartime Services." See *Pamiats'*, p. 275.
3. *Kholokost v Belorussii*, p. 215.
4. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 224–225.

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5. *Kholokost v Belorussii*, pp. 215–216.
6. NARB, 845-1-12, pp. 47 and verso.
7. YVA, M-33/429; see also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 117/67 (Nazi crimes in the Petrikov region), vol. 3, Closing Report dated September 3, 1973, which gives the date of September 21–22, 1941, for these first killing Aktions. And see GARF, 7021-91-22, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, December 19, 1944.
8. *Pamiats'*, pp. 275–276.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 224–225.
10. *Pamiats'*, p. 278.
11. Estimated by the author using ibid., pp. 326–329.

PIATKA

Pre-1941: Piatka, village, Chudnov raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Pjatki, Rayon and Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: P'iatka, Chudniv raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Piatka is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1926 census, there were 870 Jews living in Piatka (24 percent of the total population). In the second half of the 1920s and in the 1930s, the number of Jews in the village declined substantially.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 7, 1941, almost two weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military duty in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward. About 250 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In the period July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village, and it appointed a village elder and an auxiliary police force manned by local residents. In November 1941, a civil administration took the place of the German military administration. Until its liberation in late December 1943, Piatka was part of Gebiet Tschudnow in Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures implemented in other German-occupied Ukrainian towns and villages were introduced in Piatka: Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of armbands with the Star of David, made to do forced labor, and forbidden to leave the village. They had to hand over all their valuables. They were forbidden to sell products in the market, and the local Ukrainian inhabitants were not allowed to have any contact with Jews. Those who violated this order were flogged.

In August 1941, the first Aktion took place in the village. In its course, a group of Jewish men were arrested and shot in a park in Chudnov.[1] The remaining Jews were herded into a ghetto, which was set up in the synagogue building. Every day the Jews were led out to work on harvesting sugar beets. The ghetto was liquidated on October 24, 1941, when more than 200 people were shot on the northern edge of the village near a dilapidated mill (in 1950, a monument was erected at the site of the shooting).[2] The shooting apparently was the work of a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, with active participation by Ukrainian police. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Ukrainian policemen hunted down Jews who were in hiding and shot them. Thus 7 captured Jews were shot a few days later.

Later in the occupation, a Jewish fugitive from the Chudnov ghetto, Mariam Sandal (Askes), found refuge in the nearby village of Maloselka (about 5 kilometers [3 miles]) from Piatka, as her grandfather was from Piatka and enjoyed a good reputation with many of the local peasants, who knew him as the cooper from Berdichev. According to Sandal (Askes), there were no Jewish survivors from the village of Piatka.[3]

SOURCES Information about the destruction of the Jews of Piatka can be found in these publications: "Piatka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2008); "Piatka," 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), pp. 985–986; and I.O. Herasymov, ed., *Knyha pam'iati Ukrainy. Zhytomyrs'ka oblast'*, vol. 11 (Zhytomyr: L'onok, 1996).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Piatka can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-315); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my. Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), p. 389.
2. Archives of the Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost" (Holocaust Research and Educational Center), Moscow; "Piatka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6; Herasymov, *Knyha pam'iati Ukrainy*.
3. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), in Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 343–344.

PIKOV

Pre-1941: Pikov, village, Kalinovka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pikow, Rayon and Gebiet Kalinowka, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Pikiv, Kalynivka raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Pikov is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) north-northeast of Vinnytsia. In June 1941, there were probably around 1,200 Jews living in Pikov.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Pikov around July 22, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. The German commandant appointed village elders and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. It became part of Gebiet Kalinowka, within Gene-

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ralkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer. The SS- und Polizeigebietsführer in Kalinovka appointed in early 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange.

At the end of July 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in the village, and Jews from neighboring settlements were also brought to the ghetto. According to survivor Leonid Langerman, a certain Bronitzky, who had been appointed as the village elder in Uladovka, issued a decree ordering the expulsion of the Jews from there, such that his family moved to Pikov. On arrival there, all the Jews were forced to move to the center of the village in Novyi Pikov; if anyone tried to escape, they were immediately killed. The Ukrainian police was very active. The Jews had to wear badges and armbands, and there was also a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to help enforce the German restrictions on the Jews. Everyone was forced to work on the kolkhoz—including women and children; they harvested potatoes, beets, and other vegetables. A group of men were forced to build a road through the town to the neighboring town of Ivanov and did not receive any pay.[1]

Another survivor, Eudokiya Manko, recalled that all the Jews were forced to perform hard labor and wear badges on the left side of their chests and bands on their left arms. With these markings, they were not allowed to go outside, to the market, or to the houses of other Ukrainians. Nevertheless, she hid her badge in order to go out to find food. All she was able to find was a little bit of bread and a few potatoes.[2]

In mid-May 1942, a group of able-bodied Jews from the Pikov ghetto were selected and escorted on foot to the village of Kalinovka, where they were placed in a forced labor camp for about 500 Jews and assigned to work on the construction of an airfield. The barracks for Jews were fenced off with barbed wire, and anyone who attempted to leave the site of the airfield was shot. The prisoners were given food once a day—150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread and an unsalted pea soup.[3]

The Jews in the Pikov ghetto lived in great fear, since they knew it was just a matter of time until there would be a pogrom; the Germans could enter Jewish houses at any time, and the Jews had to do whatever they would demand. At night, the family of Eudokiya Manko all stayed together in one bedroom without a light, as they had so little kerosene. They never talked about the future (it was taboo) but reminisced about the past. Eudokiya saw a pit being prepared for what was to be the mass shooting, and after her mother and sister had been killed, she managed to escape into the forests.[4]

The Germans liquidated the Pikov ghetto on May 30, 1942. A force of about 30 German policemen that arrived in Pikov was enthusiastically assisted by the Ukrainian police, who abused and tortured the victims before they were killed. Jewish survivor Galina Lisitsyna, who had recently arrived in Pikov, recalled that in May or June the Germans arrived and organized a roundup of the Jews. She observed the Jews being led away into vehicles, and fortunately she was able to make her escape. As she escaped through the forest, she also saw how the Germans shot the Jews. The Jews were led through a corridor of guards supervised by a senior German and were then lined up 5 people at a time to be shot into a pit. The mass shooting took place near the Jewish cemetery that was located about halfway between Pikov and Ivanov (located about 10 kilometers [6 miles] to the south). According to Soviet sources, 960 Jews from Pikov were shot.[5]

In the first two weeks of June 1942, the Germans, assisted by the Ukrainian police, conducted two more Aktions, rounding up any Jews they found in hiding and shooting them. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in these Aktions first 76 and then 44 Jews were shot.[6]

The few Jews that survived from the Pikov ghetto managed to escape at the time of the mass shootings or from the Kalinovka labor camp and survived with the help of non-Jews in the region until the Red Army drove out the German occupiers in March 1944.

SOURCES Publications mentioning the Pikov ghetto include the following: Boris Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), pp. 83–85; and 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), p. 988.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Pikov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1274); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); VHF (# 115, 18247, and 23337); and YVA.

Martin Dean
trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 18247, testimony of Leonid Langerman; and also the published testimony by Langerman in Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 83–85.
2. VHF, # 115, testimony of Eudokiya Manko.
3. Testimony of Langerman, pp. 83–85.
4. VHF, # 115.
5. *Vinnichchina v period Velykoi vitchyznianoi viiny 1941–1945 rr.* (Khronika Podii), p. 29, as cited by Aleksandr Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 14, 24; and BA-L, B 162/7364, pp. 190–191—this source, however, gives the total of only 800 to 900 Jews from Ivanov and Pikov murdered altogether but is probably based mainly on the reports of the ChGK.
6. GARF, 7021-54-1274.

PLISKOV

Pre-1941: Pliskov, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pliskow, Rayon center, Gebiet Illinzy, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Plyskiv, Pohrebyshche raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Pliskov is located 59 kilometers (37 miles) east-northeast of Vinnitsa. The census of 1939 recorded 793 Jewish residents in Pliskov (24.4 percent of the total).

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German armed forces occupied the village on July 22, 1941, one month after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this time, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews succeeded in evacuating to the eastern regions of the country. Some of those who had tried to flee, however, were forced to return. As they traveled back to Pliskov, they were robbed by Ukrainian policemen on the roads. On their return, they found that their houses had been ransacked, and almost no possessions remained.[1]

In the period from July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The German military administration appointed a mayor (named Ivanko) and formed an auxiliary police force headed by Mileli Chirskii (after the war, he moved to Australia).[2]

In late October 1941, a German civil administration took over from the Wehrmacht. Until liberation in January 1944, Rayon Pliskow was part of Gebiet Illinzy in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In Pliskov itself, from the fall of 1941, there was a Gendarmerie post, which was in charge of a squad of about 30 Ukrainian policemen.

In the summer and fall of 1941, various anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Pliskov. According to Jewish survivor Tsilia Rabinovich, Jews were required to wear badges and were not allowed outside without them. They also were taken for forced labor. They had to farm potatoes and beets, but they were not allowed to take anything home with them.[3] Another survivor, Mikhail Rossinskii, notes that the Germans came to the Jewish houses and said, "Give us anything of value that you have!" Then they entered the houses and took what they wanted.[4]

In Pliskov, the Jews initially remained in their own houses, but since the Jews all lived on one side of the village and the non-Jews on the other, a kind of "open ghetto" already existed. According to Rossinskii, in the summer of 1941, the Germans took away about 30 of the few remaining men and said that they were being sent on a work assignment; subsequently it was discovered that the men had been shot. Other sources indicate that 23 Soviet activists were shot in a nearby forest in September 1941. Rossinskii's father was not arrested at this time, as he worked making leather items for the German soldiers. However, for safety his father sent Mikhail to work on the nearby Kolkhoz Raskopana, inhabited mostly by non-Jews, as he feared an upcoming Aktion.[5]

The German Security Police organized a major Aktion against the Jews of Pliskov and the surrounding area in late October 1941, during which 513 Jews were shot. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, actively assisted by the Ukrainian police, carried out the mass shooting.[6] Mikhail Rossinskii, who had returned to Pliskov to get a winter coat, was captured by a local policeman who recognized that he was Jewish. Mikhail was taken to the site of the mass shooting. Just in time, he managed to flee into the forest. Despite being wounded in the foot, he made good his escape.[7]

According to Tsilia Rabinovich, a formal ghetto (or remnant ghetto) was established in Pliskov after the October Aktion for the more than 250 Jews who remained. These prisoners probably consisted of specialist workers and their families who had been selected out and other Jews who emerged from hiding. Conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded, and Tsilia had to sleep on the floor. Her father constantly urged her to escape, as she did not look Jewish. He obtained false papers for her with her actual date of birth.

On May 23, 1942, German and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. On the following morning they rounded up the Jews and loaded them onto trucks. In total, about 250 people were transported away to be shot in a pit not far away, together with Jews from other ghettos in the area.[8] According to local policeman A.T. Natiagolovo, interrogated by the Soviet authorities in 1944, the Aktion took place in July 1942 under the direction of the head of the Gendarmerie, Schuster. The local police and the "Gestapo" (about 30 men) transported around 200 Jews into the Fruzinkovskyi Forest and shot them. According to Natiagolovo, the role of the local police consisted of guarding the victims during the shooting and filling in the grave afterwards.[9]

Tsilia Rabinovich managed to evade the roundup by hiding behind a false wall. She heard, however, how Germans discovered and took away another family from the attic of the same house. After she had fled from Pliskov at night, she heard gunshots from the killing site.[10]

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Pliskov during the German occupation include the following: 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), p. 1000; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 256; and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 45.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Pliskov can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Bd. I u. Anhang); DAVINO (R5022-1-176 and R6022-1-40); DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1269); USHMM (e.g., RG-31, 1996.A.0269); VHF (# 32533, 34943); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 34943, testimony of Mikhail Rossinskii; # 32533, testimony of Tsilia Rabinovich.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.
3. VHF, # 32533.
4. Ibid., # 34943.
5. Ibid.
6. GARF, 7021-54-1269, p. 6; testimony of Yakov Dekhtyar (Baltimore, MD), February 25, 1998 (www.plisk

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over.com/PliskovHistory.htm); BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 135, November 19, 1941. VHF, # 32533, dates the Aktion on October 25, 1941; other sources give October 22.

7. VHF, # 34943.
8. Ibid., # 32533.
9. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Anhang zu Bd. I (Soviet materials), Bild Nr. 250.
10. VHF, # 32533.

POGREBISHCHE

Pre-1941: Pogrebishche, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pogrebischtsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Kasatin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Pohrebyshche, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Pogrebishche is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) east-northeast of Vinnitsa. In 1939, the Jewish population of the settlement was 1,445 (15.2 percent of the total). In addition, there were another 259 Jews residing in the villages of the Pogrebishche raion. Jews in Pogrebishche were aware of the Germans' persecution of the Jews in Poland from radio and press reports, but some people dismissed this merely as Soviet propaganda. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jews tried to flee before the advancing German forces, but the majority stayed behind and awaited their arrival.

The German army initially occupied the town on July 22, 1941. They immediately established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David, and a curfew was also imposed on them after 9:00 P.M. Germans and the Ukrainian police would enter Jewish houses and rob their possessions. One Jewish survivor reported that his mother was raped by a German.[1]

In August 1941, German officials in black cars arrived in Pogrebishche and took away 20 Jews ostensibly for a work assignment, but instead these people were shot. This incident was repeated again two weeks later. These were Aktions conducted by the Security Police, directed initially against alleged Communists and Soviet activists. Sensing the danger, some Jews prepared to hide or flee on the next occasion when the Germans returned.[2]

As the Jews and non-Jews mostly lived in separate parts of the town, a form of open ghetto already existed. The Germans prohibited the Jews from buying food at the market or having other contacts with non-Jews. However, some Ukrainians continued to supply Jews with eggs and other food items. All Jews over the age of 13 were required to perform forced labor. Only those who worked were entitled to receive any food.[3]

In September (or October) 1941, the German and Ukrainian police, probably under the direction of Einsatzkommando 5 of Einsatzgruppe C, conducted a mass shooting of the Jews in Pogrebishche, which was directed particularly against children, the elderly, and others incapable of work. Before the Aktion there were probably more than 1,000 Jews living in the settlement. According to Anna Grinboim, after the Aktion only about 200 remained.[4] One Soviet source gives the figure of 1,360 Jews killed and dates the Aktion at the end of October, but Jewish survivors date it earlier.[5] After the Aktion a small ghetto was formally established for the remaining Jews, who were moved to just one or two streets. The other Jewish houses were looted and locked up. Jewish survivors do not specifically mention a fence, but they note that Jews could not leave because the Ukrainian police patrolled the ghetto's perimeter all the time.[6]

The transition from a military to a civil administration in this area occurred on October 20, 1941. Rayon Pogrebischtsche was located in Gebiet Kasatin of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The German Gebietskommissar was Hundertschaftsführer Steudel.[7] The head of the German Gendarmerie post in Pogrebishche was Meister der Gendarmerie Bruno Mayrhofer.

Overcrowding in the ghetto was terrible, as about five families had to share each house. The Jews were always hungry. Now under the civil administration, instead of an armband, the Jews had to wear yellow stars on their chest and back. Although they had been robbed repeatedly, Jews were still able to buy some food from the Ukrainians with the few valuable possessions that they had managed to preserve.[8]

Grinboim recalled of the ghetto: "There was no water to drink or to wash with, no food, terrible hunger. Occasionally kind Ukrainians came and brought food they had already prepared. Every morning all the young people and all the men were taken to work." Her own work consisted mainly of cleaning—streets, bathrooms, and stores. Anna's grandmother died of hunger, as did many others. No holidays were celebrated in the ghetto. There were very few children, since most of them had been killed in the pogrom. The most terrible thing, she recalled, was the knowledge that sooner or later there would be another Aktion to end it all.[9]

Michael Tokar stated that "anyone who refused to work was killed on the spot. The Ukrainian police drank all the time and would beat the Jews just for fun in their drunken stupor." Tokar was in the Pogrebishche ghetto until the beginning of February 1942. At that time a group of prisoners was transferred to Vinnitsa for labor, and he was among them.[10]

By early summer 1942, the German Gendarmerie had established a training school for noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in the Ukrainian police (now renamed Schutzmannschaft) in Pogrebishche, commanded by a man named Robowski. Stationed in the same barracks was also a Gendarme, Max Roth, who supervised the so-called railway protection police in the region, which was also composed of Ukrainian auxiliaries stationed along the railway.[11] In May or June 1942, the Jews in the ghetto learned from a translator who worked for the Germans about an impending Aktion, and a number of Jews went into hiding or fled the ghetto.[12]

In June 1942, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Heinrich Behrens ordered the execution of the remaining Jews of

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Gebiet Kasatin, who were being temporarily held in a barracks in Pogrebishche. As a result, those Jews who were rounded up were taken to a pit, where the Ukrainian auxiliaries translated the German orders to the Jews. The Jews were forced to undress, then line up for an SD squad from Berdichev, and were shot. In August 1942, after intense searches by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmes, 200 more Jews were gathered in the barracks. Behrens telephoned the SD post in Berdichev and agreed to assist the SD in the killing Aktion by providing about 40 Ukrainian police and some German soldiers who were stationed nearby. When the SD squad arrived at the local airfield, Behrens was there to greet them and then drove the killing squad to the Talymynivka ravine, which was the execution site near the barracks.[13] The Gendarme Max Roth also recalled the arrival of about four SD men in Pogrebishche during the summer of 1942, in connection with the murder of Jews being temporarily housed in the barracks of the Schutzmannschaft School while it was empty between training courses.[14]

Some of the Jews who fled were taken in by Ukrainains, but the danger of being discovered remained great. For example, Anna Grinboim decided to leave her initial protector after a policeman discovered her hiding on top of the stove. Her protector, an acquaintance of her father's, quickly improvised, saying that she was her niece. But she feared the police might soon return and arrest her.[15]

German Gendarmes, assisted by the Ukrainian police, continued to hunt for Jews in hiding for many months after the liquidation of the ghetto. In May 1943, Mayrhofer reported:

> On May 7, 1943, at 9:00 P.M., following a confidential report, eight Jews, that is, three men, two women, and three children, were flushed out of a well-camouflaged hole in the ground in an open field not far from the post here, and all of them were shot while trying to escape. This case had to do with Jews from Pogrebishche who had lived in this hole in the ground for almost a year. The Jews had nothing else in their possession except their tattered clothing. The few items of food they possessed, which lay strewn about the camp, were given to the village poor, as was the still somewhat-usable clothing. The burial was carried out immediately, on the spot.[16]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Pogrebishche can be found in the following archives: BA-L (204a AR-Z 137/67); DAVINO; DAZO; GARF; USHMM; and VHF (# 20772, 27058, 28086, 28092, 29156).

Martin Dean
trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 20772, testimony of Anna Grinboim; # 27058, testimony of Grigorii Sirota; # 28092, testimony of Ida Miretskaia; # 28086, testimony of Michael Tokar.
2. Ibid., # 20772; # 27058; # 28086; # 28092.
3. Ibid., # 20772; # 27058; # 28086.
4. Ibid., # 20772.
5. *Vinnichchina v period Velykoi vitchyznianoi viiny 1941–1945 rr.* (Khronika Podii), p. 23, as cited by A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 13, 22–23.
6. VHF, # 20772; # 27058; # 29156, testimony of Dvoira Khanis.
7. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
8. VHF, # 20772; # 27058; # 29156.
9. Ibid., # 20772.
10. Ibid., # 28086.
11. DAZO, 1182-1-35, p. 2, 1182-1-17, p. 150; BA-L, AR-Z 204 137/67, pp. 388–394, statement of Max Roth, January 21, 1966.
12. VHF, # 20772.
13. BA-L, AR-Z 204 137/67, vol. 2, Abschlussbericht, pp. 227–228.
14. Ibid., AR-Z 204 137/67, pp. 388–394, statement of Max Roth, January 21, 1966.
15. VHF, # 20772.
16. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 163, report of Meister d. Gend. u. Postenführer Mayrhofer to Kasatin SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, May 13, 1943.

RADOMYSHL'

Pre-1941: Radomyshl', town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Radomyschl, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Radomyshl', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Radomyshl' is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,348 Jews living in the town (20.1 percent of the total population). Additionally, 129 Jews resided in the villages of the raion.

German armed forces occupied the town in mid-July 1941, approximately three weeks after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were drafted into or enrolled voluntarily for the Red Army. Slightly less than 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military administration ran the town, appointing a mayor to administer its affairs. The Germans also created a Rayon administration and recruited a Ukrainian police force from among the local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions in Radomyshl'.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Radomyshl' became the administrative center of Gebiet Radomyschl, and Gauhauptstellenleiter Drechsler was named as Gebietskommissar. The Gebiet also encompassed the Rayons of Potievka and Malin.[1]

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A few weeks after the occupation of the town, in August 1941, the German military administration in Radomyshl' established an open ghetto for the Jews. All the Jews were moved onto Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht Streets (as they were known under the Soviet regime).[2] Jews were prohibited from going beyond the ghetto's borders. They were not allowed to buy products from the Ukrainians, and the Ukrainians in turn could not have any relations with the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands on their left arms, marked by yellow six-pointed stars. Jewish men were called on to perform heavy labor and were subjected to systematic robberies and assaults by the Ukrainian police.

In the first half of August 1941, two Aktions were carried out in the town. On August 5, 1941, a request was issued for Sonderkommando 4a (Sk 4a) to come to Radomyshl' and enforce security there. Sk 4a, which was a mobile squad of the Security Police subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C, arrived in the town shortly thereafter, and its members then arrested and shot the local mayor and his deputies as "Bolsheviks." They also shot one resident who had participated in the Soviet expulsion of Ukrainians and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). A number of Jews were also arrested and shot, apparently for violating the regulations issued by the occupying authorities. In total, Sk 4a murdered 113 persons during this Aktion.[3] One day later the same detachment carried out a second Aktion. In total during the two operations, Sk 4a shot "276 Jewish communist functionaries, saboteurs, Komsomol members, and communist agitators."[4]

At the end of August 1941, a part of Sk 4a was based temporarily in Radomyshl'. Among the reasons for choosing Radomyshl' as a base were the available food supplies and functioning infrastructure in the town, including a large dairy, a slaughterhouse, and a brewery.[5] Conditions significantly worsened in the ghetto at the end of August 1941. Jews were resettled into the ghetto from the surrounding villages, and the Jewish houses became terribly overcrowded. On average, 15 people had to live in a single room. Sanitary conditions therefore became extremely poor. Jewish corpses were carried out of the houses on a daily basis. It became impossible to provide sufficient rations for the Jews, especially for the Jewish children. The danger of an epidemic was constantly present.[6]

On September 6, 1941, Sk 4a, under the command of SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, liquidated the ghetto in Radomyshl'. The Security Police forces gathered the Jews together and loaded them onto trucks with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The Jews were then driven to a clearing in the forest several kilometers outside the town. The staff of Sk 4a shot the 1,107 adult Jews, and the Ukrainian police shot the 561 children, bringing the total number of those murdered during this Aktion to 1,668.[7]

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 694a; 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), p. 1048; and Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005).

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Radomyshl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216 to 217); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, AR-Z 269/60, investigation of Kuno Callsen); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-309).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-309, p. 21 (testimony of S.K. Boguslavs'kii, May 26, 1945).
3. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 58, August 20, 1941.
4. Ibid., EM no. 59, August 21, 1941.
5. *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, p. 143; see also Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 45.
6. BA-BL, R 58/217, EM no. 88, September 19, 1941; according to Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 87, the Jews brought in from the surrounding areas by the SD were crammed into an old school, where they began to die of hunger and disease.
7. BA-BL, R 58/217, EM no. 88, September 19, 1941. For further details on the circumstances of the mass shooting, see LG-Darm, Ks 1/67 (Gsta), verdict against Kuno Callsen and others, November 29, 1968, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694a.

RECHITSA

Pre-1941: Rechitsa, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Retschiza, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Rechytsa, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rechitsa is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) west-southwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population of Rechitsa was 7,237 (27.3 percent of the total).

In July and August 1941, at least 4,000 Jews were evacuated from Rechitsa by rail and road, and in barges on the Dniepr River, before the Germans arrived.[1]

German military forces occupied the city on August 23, 1941. Initially Rechitsa was administered by a local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In October 1941, the town became the center of Gebiet Retschiza in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Among the German units based in Rechitsa were detachments of the Sicherheitspolizei (initially Sonderkommando 7b), Geheime Feldpolizei, Feldgendarmerie, and Schutzpolizei. A detachment of Waffen-SS was also based there for a time.[2] The Germans established a local police station on Vokzal'naia Street, appointing Korzhevskii chief of police. A man named Chalovskii became assistant mayor.[3]

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For the first two months of the occupation, the Jews were allowed to live in their own houses. The former *melamed* (religious teacher) Malenkovich was ordered to compile a list of the remaining Jews in Rechitsa.[4] Soon the Germans began taking people away for "work," and they were never seen again. In September 1941, Sonderkommando 7b reported shooting 216 Jewish men in Rechitsa.[5] Several individual killings of Jews also occurred during these first weeks.[6]

In November 1941, a new commandant arrived in Rechitsa and declared that he would not take over the town while "kikes and Communists remain alive."[7] Shortly after November 20, 1941, the Jews, obeying an order posted throughout the town, gathered at the cultural center, and from there they were sent to two two-story buildings on the grounds of a former prison in the factory area, on the corner of Frunze and Sovetskaia Streets. The Germans set up a prison-style ghetto there. The ghetto territory was surrounded with barbed wire about 2 meters (6.5 feet) high. There was a gate for entering and leaving the area. The prisoners were kept in unusually crowded quarters, with 40 people in each room; this meant that they were forced to stand. In the daytime, when the able-bodied were taken off to work, there was a bit more space available. The ghetto was closely guarded by police.[8] Also placed in this ghetto were undesirable prisoners of war (POWs), Communists, and Soviet activists, including some non-Jews.[9] Around 300 prisoners from the "ghetto" were taken away on trucks and shot on November 25.

Some details of this Aktion are known. The policemen told the Jews that they were being taken to pick cabbages and carrots at the kolkhoz. The trucks stopped at the edge of town in the area of the wine distillery, near an antitank ditch dug during the first weeks of the war. Three German officers were in charge of the operation. The Jews realized that they would be shot, and a few tried to run away but were killed by rifle fire. The guards stole whatever they could from the Jews, including earrings, rings, and bracelets. Boris Smilovitskii, before he died, shouted, "Bandits, fascists, you spill our blood now, but remember, the Red Army will win and avenge us!" According to eyewitnesses, the perpetrators were in "a drunken state."[10]

Those Jews who did not appear in response to the order were rounded up by the Germans and the police and placed in the ghetto by December 12. At the same time, Jews from the surrounding villages were brought to Rechitsa. According to Iakov Gutarov, his grandparents were brought to Rechitsa along with other Jews from a nearby settlement and later shot there.[11]

The details of subsequent mass shootings are unclear, but it appears that the Germans took out groups of Jews from the ghetto prison to be shot on several other occasions in December 1941.

According to the testimony of Il'ia Kolotsei, the occupying authorities ordered the Jews to sew white and yellow patches on their clothing and sent them out to work. Kolotsei saw how 10 Jews were mocked as they were used in place of draft animals to haul a wagon with a barrel of water out of the ghetto. A German soldier sat on the barrel and drove them forward with a stick. Around the same time, under police guard, Jews spent two weeks digging a large pit on the grounds of the ghetto, near the toilet.[12]

The last group of prisoners was not taken to the ditch on the edge of town but was lined up next to the pit dug in the ghetto area. The majority were women, children, and old people. Many of the mothers had infants in their arms. Then two Germans described as Gendarmes, with a metal chain on their chests (probably members of the Feldgendarmerie subordinated to the Wehrmacht), took the first person out of the line. One of the Feldgendarmes bludgeoned the man on the head, and the local policemen standing next to him threw the body into the ditch. This scene was repeated until all the Jews were killed. Then the policemen covered the corpses with dirt and dispersed.[13]

Accused of organizing and carrying out the murders of the Jews of Rechitsa and Rechitsa raion were Oberleutnant Fischer, the head of the Rechitsa Gendarmerie; Gebietskommissar Blüming; a colonel named Orlitschek; and others.[14] According to one estimate, some 1,300 to 1,400 Jews died in Rechitsa at the hands of the Nazis during the occupation (around 18 percent of the pre-war population).[15]

During the years of Rechitsa's occupation, only a few Jews escaped with their lives. On the eve of the Aktion on November 25, Larisa Borodich (born 1930) was brought to the assembly place with her mother Khaia and other members of her family.[16] At night Khaia helped Larisa climb over the barbed wire and told her to go to Lidia Nazarova's home. For a few months, she was hidden by the Bogdanov, Gorshkov, Ferentsov, Kozorev, and Stankevich families. On May 1, 1943, she joined the Soviet partisans.[17]

Ol'ga Anishchenko, a teacher at the Rechitsa Teacher Training Institute, managed to save Masha Raikhlina, a kindergarten teacher who had been one of her students. When neighbors found out that Ol'ga was sheltering a Jewish woman, she found Masha a new place to hide, then sent her to the Frunze partisan detachment of the Voroshilov partisan brigade. In 1997, Anishchenko was awarded the title "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem.[18] Girsh Slavin was protected by the entire village of Zhmurovka, in the Rechitsa raion. During the pogrom in the Rechitsa synagogue, a man named Atamanchuk managed to rescue the Torah scroll, and after the war he helped the victims' relatives find and rebury the remains of their loved ones.[19]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Rechitsa during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Albert Kaganovich, *Rechitsa: Istoriia evreiskogo mestechka Iugo-Vostochnoi Belorusii* (Jerusalem, 2007); Boris Umetskii, *Rechitsa. Kratkii istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk* (Minsk, 1963); *Pamiat'. Rechitsa. Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1998); Leonid Smilovitskii, "Rechitsa," in *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo,

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2000), pp. 259–277; Leonid Smilovitsky, "My Rechitsa" [in Hebrew], *Yalkut Moreshet*, no. 60 (1995): 125–132; A. Kaganovich, "Evrei Rechitsy v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1943 gg.," in *Uroki Kholokosta: Istoriia i sovremennost'* (Minsk, 2008), pp. 6–11; *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–1944: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk: Belarus', 1963), pp. 268–272, 295; and Raisa Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg. Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal'perin, 1997).

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Rechitsa and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (Case file 234, vol. 4); GAGOMO (1345-1-1); GARF (7021-85-217; 7021-85-413); NARB (861-1-6); RTKIDNI, formerly RGASPI (69-1-818); and YVA (M-33/476; M-33/481). Some additional material is located in the personal archive of author Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel and Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 264.
2. GARF, 7021-85-217, p. 14.
3. PALS, letter of Mikhail Balte and Sara Ber from Rechitsa, January 12, 2000.
4. One source indicates that more than 400 Jewish families were registered, AUKGBRBGO, 1-234, vol. 4, pp. 4–7, 14–17.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 90, September 21, 1941.
6. YVA, M-33/476, p. 19.
7. PALS, letter from the Rechitsa Local Museum, March 29, 2002.
8. A. Dvornik, "'Poslednii svidetel'," *Aviv*, no. 7 (1998): 2; letter from Avraam Dovzhik dated September 28, 2001; testimony of Tamara Kuz'minich on August 7, 2005—all as cited by Kaganovich, *Rechitsa: Istoriia evreiskogo mestechka Iugo-Vostochnoi Belorusii*, p. 300.
9. YVA, JM/20006, pp. 1–2, 74–75 verso.
10. *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii*, pp. 270–271. Testimony of Dar'ia Ignat'evna Seleverstova, February 8, 1968, AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 4, pp. 11–13, gives further details of this Aktion and estimates 500 people were killed.
11. YVA, page of testimony of Iakov Gutarov, June 15, 2001. Gutarov himself managed to run away and hide.
12. Testimony of Il'ia Vasil'evich Kolotsei, February 8, 1968, AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 4, p. 8.
13. Ibid., p. 9.
14. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, pp. 11–13.
15. Ibid., file 234, vol. 4, p. 4.
16. Chernoglazova, *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 116.
17. PALS, letter from the Rechitsa Local Museum, March 29, 2002.
18. See *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), p. 74.
19. PALS, letter of Maria Rubinchik, May 25, 2002.

ROGACHOV

Pre-1941: Rogachov, village, Baranovka raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rogatschow, Rayon Baranowka, Gebiet Zwiahel (Nowograd-Wolynskyj), Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Rohachiv, Baranivka raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Rogachov is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) west-northwest of Zhitomir. In June 1941, there were about 300 Jews living in the village.

German forces occupied Rogachov on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During those weeks, a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of military age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Rogachov at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. The German military administration appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents. The local police played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Rogachov was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj, where Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar.[1]

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village elder and Ukrainian policemen to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. They were forced to wear armbands bearing a six-pointed star and to perform heavy labor solely on account of their race. At the end of July 1941, on the instructions of the German military administration, an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) was formed in the center of the village. The German regulations prohibited Jews from leaving the ghetto without permission or from buying products from the Ukrainians. As a result, food was in very short supply for the ghetto inhabitants. Jews caught violating the rules and going beyond the borders of the ghetto without permission were shot by the Ukrainian police. The German authorities and local police also forced the Jews to hand over all their valuables and good articles of clothing.[2]

In August 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the village. A number of Jews were escorted into the forest and shot. On October 1, 1941, the day of Yom Kippur, the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, the German security forces and their collaborators assembled the Jews in the local assembly hall (*klub*). They separated the families of the craftsmen (reading out 20 or 25 names) from the rest, then placed all those remaining into trucks, drove them into the forest 4 or 5 kilometers (about 2.5 to 3 miles) to the east of the village, and shot them. The small children stayed behind in the assembly hall. Two days later, the Ukrainian policemen also transported the children on carts into the forest and shot them there. In

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November 1941, after having been confined within three houses in the interim period, the craftsmen and their families were relocated to the "ghetto" in Novograd-Volynskii.[3]

SOURCES A relevant survivor testimony has been published in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 41–44.

Documents dealing with the persecution and extermination of the Jews in Rogachov can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-283).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES:

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Grigorii Vainerman, in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), p. 79; an English translation is available in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 41–44.
3. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 79–80.

RUZHIN

Pre-1941: Ruzhin, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rushin, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ruzhyn, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Ruzhin is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 1,108 Jews lived in Ruzhin, about one quarter of the total population. There were also 633 Jews residing in the nearby village of Belilovka and 2,056 Jews in all living in the Ruzhin raion (4.22 percent of the total). Only a small number of Jews were able to evacuate from the area with the retreating Red Army.

German forces occupied Ruzhin on July 17, 1941, and almost immediately began robbing and humiliating the town's Jews; they even captured one incident on film.[1] Shootings began as early as September 10, when 750 Jews in Ruzhin were shot.

The official transition from a military to a civil administration in the Shitomir region occurred on October 20, 1941. Ruzhin, as a Gebiet center in Generalkommissariat Shitomir, was responsible also for the Rayons of Popilnia and Wtscherajsche. The German Gebietskommissar in Ruzhin was Regierungsassesor Ganglhoff. The commander of the Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin and also SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer there was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Gustav Dutkowski.[2] Among the senior local policemen in Ruzhin were Josef Rudenko, Artur Reglin, and Dmitri Wosnjak, who were responsible for a squad of about 40 Ukrainian policemen in the Ruzhin Rayon and about 100 in the entire Gebiet.[3]

After the September Aktion, the remaining Jews were placed on one bank of the river in a ghetto consisting of a dozen houses enclosed by a wire fence. The Germans also brought into the ghetto Jews found in the surrounding villages, including from Veselovka and Belilovka, where similar Aktions had been conducted. In forming the ghetto, the local Ukrainian elder in Ruzhin, Kachanovski, ordered the Jews to vacate some 200 homes and rebuild them for the use of the Germans and the local Ukrainian police, who guarded the ghetto. The Germans appointed a Jewish elder by the name of Yankel. He organized several craft guilds, including guilds for cobblers and tailors.[4]

The craftsmen worked mainly to fulfill the orders of the police. In exchange for food, they also performed work for members of the local population who came to the ghetto fence with their requests. The craftsmen shared their food with the other Jews in the ghetto, as the captives received no rations. Young Jews were sent to work on construction sites and perform other forced labor tasks, and the local police sometimes gave them the leftovers from their own meals. Once a week Jews were brought before the local German commandant for a roll call. In December 1941 and January 1942, onerous financial "contributions" were levied on the Jews.

On April 30, 1942, the local police rounded up 90 Jewish men from the ghetto, saying that they would be escorting horses to the front lines. One managed to run away, but the rest were never heard from again. At the same time, local policemen entered the ghetto and took away everything that had been produced by the craftsmen, including their unfinished products. This caused great anxiety among the ghetto inhabitants, and some of them started to prepare hiding places. However, very few could finish these bunkers, as on the next day, May 1, 1942, the Germans, together with local Ukrainian police under the command of police chief Josepf Rudenko, entered the ghetto and selected 250 to 300 people. This group of Jews was escorted in a single column (the children were put onto several horse-drawn carts) to the grain storage facility and locked inside. Afterwards, in groups of 25 or 30, they were taken to a specially prepared ditch at the site of the Novyi Mir kolkhoz, made to lie on the ground or on top of the corpses of previous victims, and shot in the back of the head by the German Security Police, assisted by the Gendarmerie and local police.[5] Several Germans photographed the mass shooting. In his report dated June 3, 1942, the Generalkommissar, Kurt Klemm, reported that for the most part the "Jewish question" had been settled in Generalkommissariat Shitomir, as 606 Jews had been "resettled" in Ruzhin.[6] On June 14, 1942, in accordance with orders from the captain of the Gendarmerie in Vinnitsa, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin reported that no more Jews were being employed at the Gendarmerie posts in his district.[7]

On the orders of the Germans, a number of Jewish workers and their families had been excluded from the Aktion. Some of these people were transferred to other forced labor camps in the region, such as to the camp at Nadonesi.[8] About 200 Jews were retained to work in and around Ruzhin, sorting the possessions of those who had been shot and also as specialist craftsmen.[9] On the orders of the Germans, the Jewish crafts-

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men taught the basics of their craft to a group of local Ukrainians. According to the postwar evidence of police chief Rudenko, in the summer of 1942 the police conducted another raid on the interned Jews and set aside about 100 specialist workers. The local police then escorted the other approximately 100 Jews to a killing site, where German police forces shot them. The remaining specialists were interned within a separate residential area (probably in the nearby village of Balamutovka) and had to report daily to the Gendarmerie.[10]

A number of Jews had successfully managed to hide at the time of the roundups and had escaped into the surrounding countryside. Some of them subsequently returned to the camp in Balamutovka. In September and October 1942, the local police in Ruzhin were ordered to capture and kill all the Jews remaining in the area and reported that they had shot several.[11] At the end of September, more than 60 Jews were collected at the office of the Gendarmerie in Balamutovka, later to be shot at the grave site in Ruzhin. Realizing that they were about to be killed, the Jews started to flee across the orchards towards the forest in the direction of Ruzhin. A number of these prisoners were shot while fleeing, and 20 more were recaptured and shot subsequently. The SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin reported that the SD from Berdichev shot 44 Jews in Ruzhin on October 1, 1942.[12] Around 10 Jews managed to escape and hide in the woods.

The last Jews in Ruzhin were probably shot in 1943. On March 1, 1943, the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin wrote to the Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin, requesting that the remaining Jews be registered by name, together with their occupations, and asking at the same time whether the "ditch" was ready.[13]

The Red Army liberated Ruzhin on December 28, 1943.

SOURCES Among the available published sources are: M. Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu: Da budut korni nashi zhivy* (Moscow: M. Belilovskii, 1998); Iu.M. Liakhovitskii, *Evreiskii genotsid na Ukraine v period okkupatsii v nemetskoi dokumentalistike 1941–1944* (Kharkov and Jerusalem, 1995), p. 138; *Nemetsko-fashistskii okkupatsionnyi rezhim na Ukraine: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kiev, 1963), p. 389; and Martin Dean, "The German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft and the 'Second Wave' of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44," *German History* 14:2 (1996): 168–192.

Relevant documents, including survivor testimonies on the fate of the Jews of Ruzhin during the Holocaust, can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 6/310); BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67); DAZO (1182-1-36, 1452-1-2); GARF (7021-60-310); TsGAMORF (236-2675-134); VHF (# 20509, 25047, and 40731); and YVA (E-1149; M-33/126; M-37/316; M-52/438; M-52/444; O-3/7260).

Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48, Military report on crimes committed by the Nazi German occupying forces in Ruzhin.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also DAZO, 1151-1-9, pp. 37–39, KdG Shitomir KdO Befehl 30/42, September 3, 1942; see also 1182-1-15, which contains a list of local policemen (Schutzmänner) in Ruzhin dated September 27, 1942. Copies of material from DAZO can also be found at the USHMM (RG-31, Acc. 1996.A.0269).

3. DAZO, 1182-1-36, p. 170, recommendation for an award for bravery regarding Josef Rudenko (born October 7, 1914); 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Orders 14/42 and 18/42, July 11 and 25, 1942. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 (Ruzhin and Vcheraishe), vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18, statement of Fania Feiga (Zipora) Esterowicz (née Duchowna), July 1, 1957. Esterowicz describes the ghetto as a "barrack camp surrounded by barbed wire." Also see TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu*, pp. 197–199.

5. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; and BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946.

6. BA-BL, R 6/310, p. 17, report of Generalkommissar Shitomir for the month of May, dated June 3, 1942. This figure probably includes those murdered in Vcheraishe on May 1, 1942 (200–300), as well.

7. DAZO, 1182-1-36, p. 30, Gend. District in Ruzhin to Gendarmerie Captaincy in Vinnitsa, June 14, 1942.

8. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18, statement of Fania Feiga (Zipora) Esterowicz (née Duchowna), July 1, 1957.

9. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48.

10. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946, and pp. 143–144.

11. DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 214, 275–278, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin, monthly reports for September and October 1942.

12. DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 275–278, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, monthly report for October, November 5, 1942; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946. Rudenko also describes the incident in the fall of 1942 when about 40 Jews were shot following an attempted escape.

13. DAZO, 1452-1-2, p. 144, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin to Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin, March 1, 1943.

SAMGORODOK

Pre-1941: Samgorodok, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Kasatin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Samhorodok, Koziatyn raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Samgorodok is located 41 kilometers (26 miles) northeast of Vinnitsa. In 1926, the Jewish population in the town was 1,243.

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Units of the German 17th Army occupied Samgorodok on July 20, 1941. Soon after their arrival, the German authorities registered the Jews. According to the records of Feldkommandantur 675, based in Vinnitsa, in August 1941 there were 3,000 people residing in Samgorodok, of whom 700 were Jews.[1]

Initially the military authorities ordered Jews to wear a white armband with a Star of David. Subsequently they had to wear a Star of David patch on their clothing. A large contribution was collected from the Jewish population, and over time virtually all Jewish property was confiscated. The Jews were also forced to perform physical labor. On one occasion they were forced to clean the area around the church and then run around it. Those who failed to carry out such orders were severely beaten. It was also forbidden for the Jews to buy or barter food items, and even their access to water from the well was restricted.[2]

According to the Jewish survivor Semen Beger, who was only 11 in 1941, shortly after their arrival the Germans rounded up all the Jews and forced them to live concentrated together in the center of the town, forming an open ghetto. On Sundays there was a market in Samgorodok that the Jews were able to visit, which was also attended by peasants from the surrounding villages. On one occasion the Jews who had attended the market were brutally beaten by the Ukrainians.[3]

The transition from a military to a civil administration in the Vinnitsa region occurred on October 20, 1941. Rayon Samgorodok was located in Gebiet Kasatin of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The German Gebietskommissar in Kazatin was Hundertschaftsführer Steudel. The chief of the local police in Samgorodok was Anton Nikolaevich Vashchenko, who was tried by the Soviet authorities after the war. The commander of the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok from February 1, 1942, was Oberwachtmeister Josef Richter. He was killed by Soviet partisans on August 20, 1943.[4]

On May 16, 1942, the German authorities, assisted by local Rayonchef Shvabskii, forcibly resettled the Jewish population into a separate part of town on the other side of the river. The Jews did not take much of their personal property with them as they suspected that an Aktion would soon be conducted against them, and in any case, there was little room in this second ghetto. The overcrowding was such that between three and five families occupied each house.[5]

Then on June 4, 1942, German police forces, men of the Hungarian army, and the local Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto at 3:00 A.M. Under the command of police chief Vashchenko, the local policemen collected the Jews from their houses and drove them into the middle-school building. Those who tried to escape, refused to go, or were too infirm to walk were shot on the spot. On that morning 24 local peasants were ordered by the police to dig a grave 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town on the road to Germanovka. The grave was approximately 10 meters long by 8 meters wide and 3 meters deep (33 by 26 by 10 feet).

At about 10:00 A.M, the German forces, Hungarians, and local police escorted the column of Jews to the grave site. Two carts carried the elderly and unfit. At the grave the Jews were forced to remove their clothes and were led down into the ditch, where two or more SD men who had arrived from the Security Police outpost in Vinnitsa shot them.[6] Gebietskommissar Steudel, who oversaw the Aktion, ordered the peasants to move away and lie facedown on the ground until the shooting was completed. Then they returned to help the local policemen fill in the grave.[7]

During the Aktion, 492 Jews were shot (including about 240 children), together with 15 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).[8] The local police chief in Samgorodok, Vashchenko, later "confessed" that he "selected the specialist workers, who were to be employed on various tasks by the Germans, and under my direction the Samgorodok police kept the Jews under strict guard during the shooting."[9] About 10 or 15 Jews were selected and sent to Kazatin as specialist workers; they were subsequently shot there by the SD in September.[10]

Some Jews, such as Moshe Berger, managed to survive the roundup by hiding in cellars and other places of concealment.[11] They later sought refuge in the surrounding countryside. However, in early July the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin, Behrens, sent a memorandum to the Gendarmerie post commander in Samgorodok, Richter, writing that he was aware of Jews hiding in the villages and forests and instructing that all villages must report the presence of Jews. He warned that if Gendarmes or Ukrainian policemen found Jews, "the entire village was to be punished."[12] Over the following months, most of the Jews in hiding were captured by local police patrols. For example, on March 1, 1943, a patrol from the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok found two female Jews, Busa and Sulka Chernus, hiding in a hayrick, and they were then "shot trying to escape" (a euphemism used by the Germans to report their summary execution). On March 19, three more Jews were captured by the Gendarmerie in Samgorodok, and the SD was informed.[13] A Ukrainian Schutzmann, Wasyl Palamarchuk, based in Samgorodok, was recommended for a decoration in the summer of 1943, as he had "especially distinguished himself during the resettlement of the Jews in June 1942 and in the subsequent apprehension of individual Jews who variously concealed themselves."[14]

The Red Army liberated Samgorodok on January 1, 1944. Among the Jewish survivors from Samgorodok were Elisabeth Lifshitz and Mark Bresman.

SOURCES Several references to events in Samgorodok can be found in the author's article, "The German *Gendarmerie*, the Ukrainian *Schutzmannschaft* and the 'Second Wave' of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44," *German History* 14:2 (1996): 168–192.

Information on the murder of the Jews of Samgorodok can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/II 204a AR-Z 188/67); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); DAZO (e.g., 1182-1-6); GARF (7021-54-1261); RGVA (1275-3-662, 1323-2-228); USHMM; VHF (# 23382); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, report of Feldkommandantur 675 in Vinnitsa, August 25, 1941.
2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 252–255, statement of Elisabeth Akimovna Lifshitz, September 23, 1944; and vol. 1, pp. 221–224, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for Samgorodok, October 26, 1944.
3. VHF, # 23382, testimony of Semen Beger.
4. DAZO contains detailed records of the Gendarmerie and local police in Gebiet Kasatin in fond 1182-1; for those serving at the Samgorodok post, see especially files 1182-1-18, 22, and 32. Copies of material from DAZO can also be found at the USHMM (RG-31, Acc.1996.A.0269).
5. VHF, # 23382.
6. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, closing report on the Kazatin investigation.
7. Ibid., ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 232–237, 242–245, statements of Feodosy Fyodorovich Repetazkiy on August 27, 1953, Grigorij Stepanovich Rapatzkiy on November 8, 1944, and Abraham Likandrovich Palamarchuk on February 27, 1970.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 252–255, statement of E.A. Lifshitz, September 23, 1944. A list of the heads of 102 Jewish families in Samgorodok and the size of each family can be found in vol. 1, pp. 225–228.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 229–231, statement, of A.N. Vashchenko, June 2, 1953.
10. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gebietskommissar, September 30, 1942.
11. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 238–241, statement of Moshe Naumovich Berger, February 27, 1970.
12. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gend.-Posten in Samgorodok and Pogrebishche, July 6, 1942.
13. Ibid., 1182-1-6, pp. 157, 164–165.
14. Ibid., 1182-1-6, p. 163, report of Gendarmerie in Samgorodok, May 31, 1943.

SOBOLEVKA

Pre-1941: Sobolevka, *village*, *Teplik raion*, *Vinnitsa oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sobolevka*, *Rayon Teplik*, *Gebiet Gaissin*, *Generalkommissariat Shitomir*; *post-1991: Sobolivka*, *Teplyk raion*, *Vinnytsia oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Sobolevka is located 103 kilometers (64 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. In 1926, 1,168 Jews lived in the village, while 23 more Jews lived in the three surrounding villages of Brodok, Orlovka, and Velikaia Mochulka.[1] According to the available sources, only 434 Jews were still residing in Sobolevka in 1939 (7 percent of the total population).

The village of Sobolevka was occupied by German troops on July 28, 1941, five weeks after the start of their invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time a number of Jews had managed to escape to the east. When German troops arrived in Sobolevka, about 400 Jews were still residing in the village. The German occupiers named an administrative head (starosta) for the village and created a local police force. Between October 1941 and the liberation in 1944, the village was in Gebiet Gaissin, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher, and Leutnant Pösselt commanded the Gendarmerie forces in Gebiet Gaissin.[2]

At the beginning of September 1941, a ghetto was established in Sobolevka. However, it was not strictly guarded. The head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the ghetto was Ioyna Zhornitzkii. In April 1942, about 100 young Jews were selected and sent to a labor camp. The German forces, assisted by their collaborators, shot the rest of the ghetto inmates, about 300 people, on May 27, 1942. The shooting Aktion took place in a forest about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from the village. Jews had dug the pits over the course of two months, thereby digging their own graves. Among those murdered were Rabbi Srul' Chechelnitzkii and his family.[3]

Due to the help of some of the local Ukrainian inhabitants, a number of Jews survived the Aktion. Among those who helped to hide Jews were the Moiko family, Anatoly Magera (who saved four individuals), and the Liakhovski family (which saved three people).[4]

SOURCES Information about the killing of the Jews of Sobolevka can be found in an article by L. Trachtenberg, "Sobolevka. Istoriia proshlogo bez budushchego (XVII–XX veka)," in *Istoki: vestnik Narodnogo universiteta evreiskoi kul'tury v vostochnoi Ukraine*, *Khar'kov* (Kharkov, 1999), no. 4, pp. 124–135.

The files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) investigations into the crimes committed by the German forces and their collaborators can be found in DA-VINO (R6022-1-43) and in GARF (7021-54-1237).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Trachtenberg, "Sobolevka," pp. 124–126.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Trachtenberg, "Sobolevka," pp. 132–133. According to the ChGK report (GARF, 7021-54-1237, p. 50), 382 Jews (90 men, 150 women, and 142 children) were shot on May 27, 1942. In reality, this figure probably represents all the Jews who were killed or died during the German occupation.
4. Trachtenberg, "Sobolevka," p. 134.

STRIZHAVKA

Pre-1941: Strizhavka, *village*, *Vinnitsa raion and oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Strishavka*, *Rayon Winniza-Land*, *Gebiet Winniza*, *Generalkommissariat Shitomir*; *post-1991: Stryzhavka*, *Vinnytsia raion and oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Strizhavka lies 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of Vinnitsa and was the location of a People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) prison. Before the war, more than 300 Jews lived in the village.

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Units of the German 6th Army occupied Strizhavka on July 19, 1941, four weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. In the interim, a small number of Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men were drafted or volunteered for service in the Red Army. About 230 Jews remained at the start of the occupation.

In July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. It appointed a village elder, Vladimir Chaikun, and set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In late October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Strizhavka became part of Gebiet Winniza (Gebietskommissar: Gemeinschaftsführer Halle), which belonged in turn to the Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures employed in other German-occupied villages of Ukraine were introduced in Strizhavka: Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David (later, a yellow circle); they were used for forced labor; they were prohibited from leaving the village; and they were systematically robbed and beaten by the Ukrainian police.

In the latter half of December 1941, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) north of Vinnitsa, construction of Hitler's field headquarters, his Werwolf bunker, began. Security in the construction area was in the hands of the Reichssicherheitsdienst (RSD), Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Friedrich Schmidt (deputy: SS-Untersturmführer Karl Danner). They began their activities by checking the nearby villages for the presence of Jews and Communists, who allegedly could present a threat to the building project.

In particular, while questioning the village elder of Strizhavka, they learned that the Jews of the village (221 people) had been resettled into a ghetto and were working on a kolkhoz, though their work performance was inadequate. Schmidt and Danner stated that "as all the Jews are supporters of the Communist regime and represent a threat to the security of the German Army," they must be removed immediately from the construction area.[1] The "removal" of the Jews was carried out on January 10, 1942. Members of Organisation Todt (OT) and military servicemen created a mass grave by means of an explosion and filled it in after the Aktion. The participants in the Aktion were four officials of the Security Police from Vinnitsa (subordinated to the Sipo/SD chief there, Theodor Salmanzig), who did the actual shooting of the Jews, 20 officials of the Feldgendarmerie and Schutzpolizei, and all the members of Schmidt's group, who drove the Jews from their houses, brought them to the grave, and formed a protective cordon around the execution site.[2] On January 11, 1942, Ukrainian policemen arrested 12 more Jews in Strizhavka and moved them to the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp at Vinnitsa, where they were shot on January 12. Finally, on January 13, the village elder of Strizhavka handed over to Schmidt's group 3 more Jews, and SS-Untersturmführer Ernst Bunde passed them on to the SD in Vinnitsa.[3]

SOURCES Documents about the extermination of the Jews in Strizhavka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/8466: Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner); DAVINO (R6023-5-3, 4); and RGVA (1323-2-230).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. RSD, Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, Unterkunft, December 24, 1941, in DAVINO, R-6023-5-3, pp. 64, 83, and R6023-5-4, pp. 99–103.
2. RSD, Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, Unterkunft, January 12, 1942, in RGVA, 1323-2-230, pp. 6–7; BA-L, B 162/8466, Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner, Bd. II, pp. 299–318, Einstellungsverfügung (closing remarks), Munich, October 11, 1972.
3. BA-L, B 162/8466, Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner, Bd. II, p. 304.

TEPLIK

Pre-1939: Teplik, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Teplyk, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Teplik is located 111 kilometers (69 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, a total of 1,233 Jews (or 23.5 percent of the total population) lived in Teplik. Between the end of June and July 26, 1941, when German forces arrived in the town, about 200 Jews managed to flee to the east. Several dozen Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army or voluntarily joined the military forces to defend the town. When German forces occupied Teplik, there were probably some 1,000 Jews still residing there.[1]

After the town was occupied, a German military administration assumed authority in August 1941. In the fall of 1941, the temporary military authorities gradually handed over authority to a German civil administration. Until the liberation of the area in March 1944, Teplik and the Teplik Rayon belonged to Gebiet Gaissin in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher.[2] The Gebietskommissar in Gaisin was responsible for the Rayons of Gaissin and Dshulinka, as well as Teplik. Once the civil administration was firmly established, the Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated to the local Gendarmerie post in Teplik. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

A short time after the occupation of the town, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the area. The Jews had to wear white armbands with the Star of David on them in order to show in public that they were Jewish. They were also forced to carry out various kinds of physically demanding work. In December 1941, all the Jewish fami-

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lies were forced to move to two streets behind the main street, bordered on one side by the local river.[3] This area was called the ghetto, but it remained unfenced as an "open ghetto." In total, about 1,000 people were concentrated in the ghetto, including Jews brought in from some of the neighboring villages, although there remained a separate ghetto in Sobolevka, within the Teplik Rayon.[4] The local Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto.

During the winter of 1941–1942, Jews aged between 13 and 45 who were able to work had to clear snow from the streets of Teplik under the close supervision of the Ukrainian police. The Ukrainian policemen abused their position of power to beat the Jews and steal from them.[5]

At some time in the first few months of 1942, the Germans also established a Jewish forced labor camp (ZAL) in Teplik on the site of the former local club, which held 200 to 300 Romanian Jews from Bukovina, including women and children. Local policemen also guarded this camp, which was under the command of German Polizeimeister Otto Brettin in the summer of 1942.[6]

The food rations in both the ghetto and the labor camp were very poor, and many Jews died of disease and starvation. The local population was forbidden to give them food.[7] Jews from the ghetto and the labor camp were made to work on the Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV construction project, building the road from Vinnitsa to Uman'. Some Jews from the ghetto had to perform agricultural work, while others worked as bakers or tailors or performed various cleaning tasks for the Germans.

In April 1942, approximately 250 Jews between the ages of 13 and 45 who were capable of work were transferred from Teplik to a labor camp in Raigorod, at that time under Romanian occupation.[8] On May 26, 1942, most of the remaining Jews in the ghetto were shot by a detachment of the Security Police, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie, the local Ukrainian police, and Lithuanian auxiliaries. Filipp Biberman recalls being woken at 4:00 A.M. and being brutally driven by men in uniform out of the ghetto to a site near a park about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) out of town. The elderly, the sick, and children were transported on carts. At the killing site, the Jews were forced to undress, and German SS men shot them with machine guns.[9] According to one local witness, the forensic examination of the bodies conducted by the Soviet authorities after liberation revealed that many of the women and children had been buried alive in the mass grave.[10]

Biberman managed to escape on the way to the park and hid behind some bushes. Then he went to the house of some school friends, the Kazachinsky family, who gave him food and clothes but were too scared to hide him. He then hid in the cemetery but was spotted by some local inhabitants the next day and taken to the commandant's office. His mother, sisters, and blind grandfather were among those shot on May 26. From Teplik, he was sent to the forced labor camp in Raigorod and managed to survive the war.[11]

After the Aktion on May 26, 1942, about 40 Jews, mostly carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers, remained in the ghetto. Their families also survived the liquidation Aktion.[12] Most of these people were murdered in 1943. The inmates of the Jewish forced labor camp either were murdered together with those from the ghetto or were transferred to other labor camps.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, the number of Jews murdered in Teplik was 769: 279 men, 330 women, and 160 children. Among these victims were apparently also 530 Jews (175 men, 280 women, and 75 children) who had been deported to Teplik from the Bukovina area. It is not clear whether the Jewish craftsmen murdered in 1943 are included in this figure.[13]

SOURCES Relevant publications on the Jewish community of Teplik and its fate during the Holocaust include 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), pp. 1302–1303. One testimony regarding the fate of the Jews of Teplik can be found in the collection of published testimonies edited by Boris Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 192–194.

Documents on the murder of the Jews in Teplik can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/2332); DA-VINO; GARF (7021-54-1237); USHMM (Acc. 1995.A.512); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-L, B 162/6169 (II 213 AR-Z 20/63 [Friese and others, DGIV], vol. 18), p. 3227.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512, personal testimony of Filipp Biberman, born 1931. According to Konrad Schweser, the German construction leader with the Organisation Todt in Teplik, the Jews were not concentrated into one quarter of the town until April 1942; "about four to six weeks before the mass shooting" at the end of May 1942, see BA-L, B 162/2332, pp. 33–57, statement of Konrad Schweser, January 18, 1962. However, Schweser himself did not arrive in Teplik until April 1942.
4. See the entry in this volume on Sobolevka.
5. Sophia Palatnikova, "This Can Never Be Forgotten," in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 192–194.
6. BA-L, B 162/6169, pp. 3226–3246. This site will be dealt with in a later volume covering Jewish forced labor camps (ZALs) and other types of camps.
7. Ibid., B 162/2332, pp. 375–392.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1237, p. 101; Palatnikova, "This Can Never Be Forgotten," pp. 192–194.
9. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512, personal testimony of Filipp Biberman.
10. BA-L, B 162/2332, p. 382, statement by the Jewish survivor Srulya Benevica Volosina, September 27, 1967.
11. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512; it is not clear if Biberman is referring to the German commandant or to the Ukrainian commandant or "warden" named in his testimony as Kozar. Biberman returned briefly to Teplik in 1945 and then lived in

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the eastern regions of the Soviet Union before migrating to New York City in 1988.

12. Palatnikova, "This Can Never Be Forgotten," pp. 192–194.

13. GARF, 7021-54-1237, pp. 87–88, 102.

TERNOVKA

Pre-1941: Ternovka, village, Dzhulinka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ternowka, Rayon Dshulinka, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ternivka, Bershad' raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ternovka is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,488 Jews living in the Dzhulinka raion, including the 212 Jews in Dzhulinka itself. Most of the remainder—about 1,276 Jews—lived in Ternovka.

Between late June 1941 and July 26, 1941, when the village was captured by German armed forces, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, while a few dozen men were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. From August 4, 1941 onward, the functions of the Ortskommandantur in the village were performed by Armee-Gefangenensammelstelle 15.[1] In late October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. From this date until liberation in March 1944, the village was incorporated into Rayon Dshulinka, in Gebiet Gaissin, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Pösselt.[2] Subordinated to the latter were several Gendarmerie posts, including one in Ternovka. The Ternovka post was in charge of several Ukrainian policemen.

On August 19, 1941, on the instructions of the Ortskommandantur, the men of the 602nd Wachbataillon and the 414th Landesschützenbataillon searched the residences of Jews with the aim of confiscating weapons and "hidden property." No weapons were found, but they took clothing and nine bales of dried wool from the Jews. At about this time, the Ortskommandantur ordered the Jews to wear white armbands with the Star of David.[3] Subsequently the Jews were made to wear yellow stars on the left side of their chests.[4]

In the summer, or more likely the fall of 1941, the German authorities established an open ghetto, or "Jewish residential district," in Ternovka. All the Jews were moved together onto one or two streets in the center of the village. The Jews were permitted to take with them some of their property, such as bed linens, cooking utensils, and furniture, but the rest had to be left behind. The Ukrainians were not allowed into the ghetto, and the Jews were not permitted to leave, except for work assignments, such as agricultural labor on the nearby kolkhoz. The Jews lived in crowded conditions, with several families in each dwelling.[5]

Despite the restrictions, local Ukrainians came to the ghetto and traded food for the Jews' remaining possessions, such as clothing or shoes. There were therefore few cases of starvation in Ternovka. There were no mass killings of Jews before the summer of 1942, but sometimes groups of about 10 Jewish men were taken away for forced labor and were subsequently shot. The Germans also robbed the Jews of any valuables. People were scared to go outside.[6]

In the winter of 1941–1942, able-bodied Jews under the guard of Ukrainian policemen were ordered to clear the snow from the roads and were beaten and humiliated while doing this. In the spring of 1942, a group of young Jews were transported to a labor camp. Several Jewish families ran away into the Romanian zone of occupation.

On May 27, 1942, the first large-scale Aktion was carried out against the Ternovka ghetto. German and Ukrainian police arrested and shot most of the Ternovka Jews in a pit in the forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the village.[7] After the Aktion was completed, the ghetto was reduced in size; it consisted of only a few residences near the market square. In these homes lived the Jewish artisans and their families and also those Jews who had been in hiding and thus escaped the mass shooting on May 27. For example, Raisa Teplitskaia remained hidden for three days without food and water; when she emerged she saw dead bodies lying everywhere. However, she was able to enter the remnant ghetto unmolested. Severe overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and semi-starvation resulted in an outbreak of epidemic typhus. At the start of March 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. Only a few artisans were left alive. A small group of Jews survived by going into hiding.[8] In total, in the years 1942–1943, at least 756 Jews of the village of Ternovka were killed.[9]

A few Jews survived from the Ternovka ghetto. They passed as non-Jews, went into hiding with the assistance of local Ukrainians, or fled to the Romanian-occupied zone, which by 1943 had become considerably safer than on the German side of the Bug River, where hardly any Jews remained alive.

SOURCES The Ternovka ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), pp. 407–410; Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 225.

Documents dealing with the destruction of the Jews of Ternovka can be found in the following archives: DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1240); RGVA (1275-3-664); USHMM (RG-31.027); and VHF (# 445).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-664, p. 4, report of the Ortskommandantur in Ternovka, August 22, 1941.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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3. RGVA, 1275-3-664, pp. 4 and reverse side, report of the Ortskommandantur of Ternovka, August 22, 1941.

4. VHF, # 445, testimony of Roza Nemirovskaia; USHMM, RG-31.027, interview with Raisa Kivovna Teplitskaia.

5. VHF, # 445, Nemirovskaia states that the ghetto was made immediately after the Germans arrived. Testimony of Lidia Stepchuk-Goikhma, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 407, dates it in the fall. USHMM, RG-31.027, Raisa Kivovna Teplitskaia dates it within six months of the occupation (probably sooner).

6. VHF, # 445.

7. Testimony of Grigorii Umanskii, in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944*, p. 225; VHF, # 445.

8. Testimony of Goikhma, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 408–410.

9. I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i opir ukrains'koho evreistva, 1941–1944: Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1999), p. 76. The Jewish victims are listed there by name. The ChGK's figure of 2,400 murdered Jews (see GARF, 7021-54-1240) seems to be far too high unless this includes other Jews brought into Ternovka for labor, perhaps from the Romanian zone of occupation.

TSIBULEV

Pre-1941: Tsibulev, village, Monastyrishche raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zybulew, Rayon and Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Tsybuliv, Monastyryshche raion, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Tsibulev is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, Tsibulev had 434 Jewish residents, 7.3 percent of the village's total population.

German armed forces occupied Tsibulev on July 22, 1941, just one month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By then, some of the local Jews had managed to escape eastward, fleeing ahead of the advancing German army. Other Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for service in the Red Army. About 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, the village was under the command of a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which created a village council headed by an elder. The military administration also established an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents. In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village of Tsibulev was located in the Rayon and Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village council to register and mark the local Jewish population, requiring them to wear armbands with the Star of David. In addition, the Jews were used for forced labor.

The first killing of Jews occurred in late July 1941. At that time, all six members of the rabbi's family were publicly shot.[1] On September 25, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first Aktion in the village in which 78 Jews were killed, according to the Einsatzgruppen report "for insolence towards the Ukrainian population."[2]

No detailed information has been found about the living conditions of the Jews in Tsibulev during the occupation, but it appears that, as in the nearby Rayon center of Monastyrischtsche, the remaining Jews of the village were forced into some form of ghetto in the summer or fall of 1941. In any case, more than 200 Jews remained in the village throughout the winter of 1941–1942.

According to an account prepared for publication by Ilya Ehrenburg: "The winter of 1941–1942 was a severe one. The Germans forced unclothed women and barefoot old men to work." The same report mentions the murder of about 100 children, shot and buried in a pit not far from the village.[3]

The ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942, when all its inmates were herded to Monastyrishche to be shot there together with most of the remaining Jews of the Rayon. On the way there, 105 children and around 50 elderly people were taken out of the column and shot in the forest.[4]

According to the account prepared for *The Complete Black Book*, an eight-month-old baby boy was cast onto the road as the Jews were being transported away in the hope that he might be rescued, but a German smashed the baby's head against the side of a vehicle. Tamara Arkadevna Rozanova hid a Jew in her cellar, but the Germans burned down her house, and Rozanova was herself only spared by chance.[5]

SOURCES Relevant information can be found in the following publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), p. 28; "Cybulev," 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), p. 284.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Tsibulev can be found in the following archive: BA-BL (R 58/218).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), Memory of the Holocaust Program, Cherkasy oblast', village of Tsibulev.

2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941.

3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, p. 28.

4. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine.

5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, p. 28.

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ULANOV

Pre-1941: Ulanov, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ulanow, Rayon center, Gebiet Kalinowka, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ulaniv, Khmil'nyk raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ulanov is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) north-northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,188 Jews were living in the village (70.5 percent of the total population). Altogether, in 1939 there were 1,754 Jews living in the Ulanov raion, with most of the others residing in the nearby village of Sal'nitsa.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. At that time, some men of eligible age were conscripted into or enrolled voluntarily in the Red Army. More than 80 percent of the total pre-war Jewish population remained in Ulanov at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the village in July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village's affairs. The military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Lorenz. Initially there were seven men serving under him.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur organized the registration of the Jewish population. The Jews were required to wear armbands on their sleeves and also to perform various forms of heavy manual labor. In August 1941, the German military administration recorded a village population of 1,200, a figure that included some 1,000 Jews.[2]

At the end of October 1941, authority passed into the hands of a German civil administration. Ulanov was incorporated into Gebiet Kalinowka, and Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Kalinowka became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[3] In November or December of 1941, a squad of four Gendarmes arrived in Ulanov from Germany and established a post initially under the command of Josef Rückl. The Gendarmerie also assumed control over the Ukrainian police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst, which consisted of about 30 men.[4]

At some time prior to December 1941, the German authorities in the village ordered the creation of a ghetto. One street was cordoned off in the center of Ulanov and was surrounded by barbed wire. Jewish families lived together in this confined area.[5] Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and were forbidden to buy goods from the local Ukrainians. Starvation quickly broke out in the ghetto as a consequence. In December 1941 and in the spring of 1942, more than 450 Jews from the village of Sal'nitsa were resettled into the ghetto.[6] Probably in mid-May 1942, several hundred able-bodied Jews were taken in two groups to an airfield site near Kalinovka, where a Jewish forced labor camp was established.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on June 10, 1942.[8] The Gendarmes in Ulanov received notice of the forthcoming Aktion, as they were instructed to prepare the necessary pits in advance. The Gendarmerie and local police, including forces brought in from Kalinovka under the command of the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange, rounded up somewhere between 600 and 1,200 people from the ghetto and escorted them to the Jewish cemetery opposite the Gendarmerie post on the edge of town. Here a small squad of the Security Police and SD, probably from Vinnitsa, carried out the shootings, while the Gendarmerie and local police guarded those waiting to be shot. The Gendarmerie based in Ulanov also carried out at least two subsequent shooting Aktions at the same site against smaller groups of Jews uncovered in and around the town over the ensuing weeks.[9]

Only a few Jews managed to survive the Ulanov ghetto by escaping and either hiding in the surrounding countryside or successfully concealing their Jewish identity.[10]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Ulanov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R4422-1-39; R1683-1-10); GARF (7021-54-1234); RGVA (1275-3-662); VHF (# 29072, 29097, and 51316); and YVA. Microfilm copies of much of this documentation are also available at the USHMM.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII) in Winniza an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. BA-L, B 162/7364 (ZStL, 204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 135–138, statement of E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977.
5. Ibid.; Heinisch commented that the ghetto was in existence on his arrival in Ulanov in November or December 1941. Also see DAVINO, R4422-1-39; R1683-1-10.
6. GARF, 7021-54-1234, p. 4.
7. See the entry in this volume for the Kalinovka ghetto.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1234, pp. 1, 5.
9. Ibid., pp. 1, 5, 7. According to the findings of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), during the course of the three Aktions in June 1942, there were 3,285 Jews killed. This number appears to be significantly too high. E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977, stated that the number of Jews in Ulanov at the time could not have exceeded 600; see BA-L, B 162/7364, pp. 135–138.
10. VHF, # 29072, 29097, and 51316, video testimonies of Aleksandra S., Elizaveta G., and David F.

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VCHERAISHE

Pre-1941: Vcheraishe, village and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Wtscherajsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Rushin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Vcheraishe, Ruzhyn raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Vcheraishe is located 57 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 494 Jews lived in the village (12.9 percent of the total population). Additionally, 131 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Vcheraishe raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate, but others who tried to leave were forced back by the rapid German advance. At that time, men of military age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 400 Jews remained in Vcheraishe at the start of the German occupation.

The village was occupied by German armed forces in mid-July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Vcheraishe. The German military commandant set up a local administration and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local villagers. Soon after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. The Jews had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David.

Between August 10 and August 23, 1941, Einsatzkommando 5 "inspected" the village on two separate occasions. During the first Aktion, the German Security Police shot 22 Jews and Communists; during the second one, they shot an undisclosed number of Jews and activists.[1]

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Vcheraishe was initially incorporated into Gebiet Rushin, where Regierungsassessor Ganglhoff was the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Rushin formed part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2] The head of the local police in Vcheraishe from April 1942 until December 1943 was the ethnic German Feldwebel in the Schutzmannschaft, Arthur Reglin. In July 1942, the Gendarmerie post in Vcheraishe had a nominal strength of four Gendarmes and 40 local policemen (Schutzmänner).[3] By 1943 Vcheraishe had been transferred to the neighboring Gebiet Kasatin, where the police forces were commanded by Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Behrens.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, all the Jews of Vcheraishe were forcibly resettled into an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) on one street. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from outlying villages. Several families were forced to share a single house. People had to sleep on wooden bunks or on the floor. The local physicians were forbidden to provide medical care to the Jews, and the local population was forbidden to sell them food. Despite some illegal bartering for food, people suffered from hunger in the ghetto, and in the overcrowded conditions diseases spread rapidly. The Jews were routinely beaten by the local police as they were escorted daily out of the ghetto to various forms of manual labor.[4]

On May 1, 1942, a large Aktion took place in which about 200 Jews were brutally dragged out of their houses in the ghetto and were assembled by the German Gendarmerie and the local police. Once the skilled workers had been selected, these forces then escorted the bulk of the Jews to the ditches that had been prepared in the forest about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Vcheraishe near the village of Budenovka. Some Jews were shot on the way. Four Gestapo men (members of the Security Police and SD from Berdichev) then shot the Jews in a mass grave.[5] Warned by the head of the village, Vladyk, some Jews managed to escape or hide during the Aktion, but most returned to the run-down houses of the ghetto a few days later, as they were unable to find refuge among the surrounding population.

A second Aktion was carried out about six weeks later when about 40 Jews were shot. After these two Aktions, around 40 artisans remained behind in the village. The Gendarmerie and local police continued to search for any escaped Jews in the surrounding countryside for many months afterwards. On June 9, 1943, Meister der Gendarmerie Strumpf in Vcheraishe reported that he had "resettled" (shot) 3 Jews who had been found wandering around in Rayon Wtscherajsche.[6]

For over a year, the remaining Jews continued to perform forced labor, registering every day with the police. At the end of July 1943, 6 of the Jews escaped.[7] When this was discovered at the daily roll call, the Germans decided to kill most of the few Jews left. On July 31, 1943, the Gendarmerie post in Vcheraishe reported that the SD in Berdichev had "resettled" 24 Jews in the village.[8] According to witness evidence, the Jews were shot by two Gestapo men at the cemetery.[9] After this Aktion, only about 7 Jews remained. To prevent an escape, they were placed in cells and employed only for special work assignments. On one occasion Soviet partisans attempted to liberate them, but 4 of the 7 detainees were shot in the ensuing exchange of gunfire.[10]

Altogether about 300 Jews were killed in the village of Vcheraishe between July 1941 and August 1943, including more than 100 children.[11]

SOURCES There is a brief testimony by Sofia Rozenberg, a survivor of the open ghetto in Vcheraishe, published in Boris Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), pp. 79–81.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Vcheraishe Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R58/216); BA-L (ZStLII 204 AR-Z 128/67); DAZO (e.g., 1182-1-6); GARF (7021-60-289); USHMM (RG-31); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 58, August 20, 1941; and EM no. 60, August 22, 1941; Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 160, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 3, Berichtszeit 15.8.–31.8.1941, reported that

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22 functionaries, plunderers, and saboteurs were executed in Vcheraishe.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, KdG Shitomir, Gend. Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 15/42, July 11, 1942. For lists of the Wtscherajsche Schutzmänner, see also there 1182-1-15, p. 3, list dated June 1, 1942; and 1182-1-24.

4. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

5. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 Ganglhoff (Rushin), vol. 1, pp. 139–140, confrontation between witness A.F. Smoljanskij and accused Arthur Reglin, December 30, 1951.

6. DAZO, 1182-1-6, Gend. Posten Wtscherajsche an SS- und Polizeigebietsführer in Kasatin, June 9, 1943.

7. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

8. DAZO, 1182-1-6, Gend. Posten Wtscherajsche, July 31, 1943.

9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 Ganglhoff (Rushin), vol. 1, pp. 138–140.

10. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

11. GARF, 7021-60-289, p. 3.

VINNITSA

Pre-1941: Vinnitsa, city, raion, and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Winniza, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Vinnytsia, capital, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Vinnitsa is located 198 kilometers (123 miles) southwest of Kiev. In 1939, there were 33,150 Jews living in the city (35.6 percent of the total population).

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, about 18,000 Jews remained in the city.

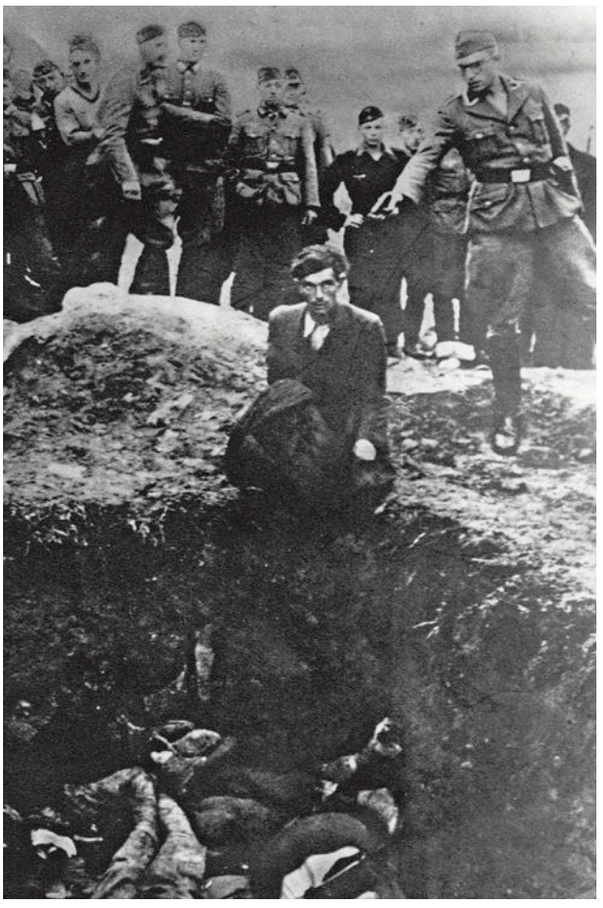
German armed forces occupied the city on July 19, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration ran Vinnitsa. On July 22, 1941, the Feldkommandant appointed a local administration and an auxiliary police unit recruited from among local inhabitants. In October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Vinnitsa had its own city administration (Winniza-Stadt) within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Fritz Margenfeld was named the city commissioner (Stadtkommissar).[1] A variety of police units, including Einsatzkommando 6 and parts of Einsatzkommando 5, along with local auxiliaries, provided the forces to back up German edicts.

In the summer of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Vinnitsa. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. Jews were required to wear distinctive armbands bearing the image of the Star of David. They were forced into different forms of heavy labor for the German military forces and occupation administration. The Jews were not allowed to leave their place of residence without permission, had to surrender all items of value, and were prohibited from buying products at the market. The local Ukrainian residents of Vinnitsa were not permitted to have any contact with the Jewish population.

The main functions of the Judenrat were to assign Jews to different labor tasks, to maintain order within the community, and to look after the health and welfare of the Jewish population. But in the first days of its existence as an organization, the Security Police and SD liquidated the first Judenrat, and another one was established in its place. The military commandant's office also collected a massive fine or "tribute" from the Jews of the city.[2]

The German police conducted a series of mass executions in the summer and fall of 1941, first of Jewish Intelligentsia and then of ordinary Jewish citizens. In a large Aktion on September 19, the 45th Reserve Police Battalion shot more than 10,000 Jews. Then on April 15, 1942, about 4,800 Jews were shot in the Pianichanskii Forest. After this Aktion, approximately 1,000 Jews, all artisans, remained alive.

From among the Jewish artisans, the mechanics and technicians were immediately sent to Zhitomir,[3] and those left



Waffen-SS and Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst) members look on as an Einsatzgruppe member prepares to shoot a Ukrainian Jew kneeling on the edge of a corpse-filled ditch near Vinnitsa, n.d.
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behind were assigned to different groups for specialized labor tasks. About 150 Jews were resettled into a labor camp run by the Organisation Todt (OT), which was located in a former military barracks at the end of Krasnoarmeiskaia Street.[4] Some 26 people who worked as cabinetmakers, as coopers, and as other specialists formed a work team at the carpentry factory. They lived in makeshift barracks, consisting of a former stable on the grounds of the factory.[5]

The majority of the Jewish artisans lived in the "ghetto," which was located in a cordoned-off area on the former Kommunisticheskaia Street.[6] On May 15, 1942, 801 Jewish specialist workers were recorded in Vinnitsa.[7] Among the crafts represented, there were tailors, dyers, and leather workers. There was also overcrowding in the ghetto, with at least 12 people per room. According to one witness, conditions were slightly better in the ghetto than in the other labor camps in Vinnitsa, as the beatings were less frequent and there was more food in the ghetto.[8] The majority of the artisans were shot during the course of 1942 and 1943. For example, in March 1943 a number of elderly people were taken from the ghetto and shot; and the last remaining Jewish leather workers were "removed" in September 1943.[9] A small group of Jews were able to escape and survived with the help of local Ukrainian residents in Vinnitsa.

At least 17 Jews in the city were members of the underground organization, including six Communists, three members of the Komsomol youth organization, and eight unaffiliated (nonparty). At least nine of these Jewish resistance fighters were killed in combat against the German occupying forces.[10] A small number of Jews were able to flee into the forests and join the partisan resistance.

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Vinnitsa: *Vinnychchyna v period Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny 1941–1945 rr.: Khronika podii* (Kiev, 1965); *Vinnychchyna v roky Velykoi Vitchyzianoi viiny 1941–1945: Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Odessa, 1971); Y. Maliar and F. Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast': Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie: Svidetel'stva evreev—uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994); A. Kruglov, *Unichtozhenie evreiskogo naseleniia v Vinnitskoi oblasti v 1941–1944 gg.* (Mogilev-Podol'skii, 1997); Y.M. Finkel'shtein, *Kniga muzhestva i skorby* (*Evrei Vinnitsy v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny*), vol. 1 (Vinnitsa, 1999); and A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreiskoi obshchiny Vinnitsy v 1941–1942 gg. v svete nemetskikh dokumentov," *Istoki: Vestnik Narodnogo Universiteta Evreiskoi Kul'tury v Vostochnoi Ukraine*, no. 7 (2000). Information on the activities of the Ukrainian nationalist unit "Bukovyns'kyi Kurin'" can be found in V. Veryga, "Bukovyns'kyi Kurin' 1941," in *Na zov Kyiva: Ukrains'kyi natsionalizm u II svitovii viini: Zbirnyk statei, spohadiv i dokumentiv* (Kiev, 1993).

Documents and testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of Vinnitsa can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 136/67); BA-MA (RW 30/201); DAVINO (R1312-1-13); GARF (7021-54-1236); RGVA (e.g., 1323-2-230 and 1275-3-662); TsDAVO (R3637-4-116); USHMM (RG-50.226); and YVA (M-33).

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Undated portrait of rescuer Boris Bochkov (top right) and family. Bochkov hid two Jewish escapees from the Vinnitsa ghetto, Yuri Rakhman and his father, for which he was honored as Righteous Among the Nations in 1995 by Yad Vashem.
USHMM WS #57644, COURTESY OF JFR

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März, 1942, Berlin, March 13, 1942. After the war, Fritz Margenfeld was under investigation by the West German authorities for some time. The state prosecutor in Stuttgart discontinued the investigation on July 28, 1971.
2. RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 17–18, Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Winniza, report, August 14, 1941.
3. Testimony of Boris Pritsker, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 105.
4. Testimony of Iurii Rakhman, in ibid., p. 61.
5. Testimony of Pritsker, in ibid., p. 105.
6. Testimony of Rakhman, in ibid., p. 63.
7. DAVINO, R1312-1-13, p. 24.
8. Testimony of Rakhman, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 63; USHMM, RG-50.226.0027, interview with Iurii Rakhman.
9. USHMM, RG-50.226.0027, interview with Iurii Rakhman; BA-MA, RW30/201, Military Economic Administration Vinnitsa, report for July to September, September 30, 1943.
10. Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, pp. 174–175.

VORONOVITSA

Pre-1941: Voronovitsa, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Woronowiza, Rayon center, Gebiet Nemirow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Voronovytsa, Vinnytsia raion and oblast', Ukraine

Voronovitsa is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 860 Jews lived in the

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village. An additional 70 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Voronovitsa raion.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Voronovitsa on July 21, 1941. The majority of the Jewish population did not evacuate and remained in town. The speedy advance of the German troops caught them off guard, and even many of those who attempted to leave were forced to turn back and return home on foot. From July until October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. It established a local administration and formed an auxiliary police unit from among the local residents. A man named Lishchuk was initially appointed head of the Ukrainian police at the end of July 1941. In August 1941, there were 10 policemen under his command. At this time there were 2,000 residents of the village, including 1,000 Jews.[1]

On October 20, 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Voronovitsa was incorporated into Gebiet Nemirow. Kameradschaftsführer Sittig was appointed as Gebietskommissar.[2] In 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Karl Heinze served as the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Nemirov.[3] He had authority over the Gendarmerie post in Voronovitsa, commanded by a man named Lorenz. In the summer of 1942, the nominal strength of the Gendarmerie post was four Gendarmes and 40 local policemen (Schutzmänner).[4]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which was tasked with collecting a large "contribution" from the Jews. Jews were ordered to wear an armband bearing the Star of David and later a yellow circle on the front and back of their clothing. They were forced into daily hard labor: cleaning, cutting wood, and loading railway cars. The local police ensured that the Jews complied with German regulations and orders.

A ghetto was set up in August 1941 in the southwestern part of the village. It was not fenced off, but whenever a Jew ventured outside the two streets where the Jews were forced to reside, he or she would be severely beaten and sometimes killed. The policemen Kostiuk, Kondratiuk, Mudrik, and Kravchuk were especially zealous in abusing and torturing the Jews. A new head of the police, Panas Boiko, was appointed once the ghetto was established. Alongside these brutes, there were decent people among the local population, and some of them risked their lives to smuggle food to the inmates of the ghetto.[5]

On November 11, 1941, the Jews were herded into the building of the former Catholic church, where the Germans singled out about 30 Jewish craftsmen. The following morning, the remaining Jews were loaded onto trucks and taken to large silage pits behind the sugar refinery in Stepanovka, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) to the east of the village. The Jews were ordered to undress and were shot by a squad of five or so SD men using machine pistols. Among the victims were women, children, and the elderly. The mass shooting lasted the entire day. The policemen were drinking alcohol at the execution site during the Aktion. According to investigative records, somewhere between 600 and 900 Jews were shot in this first Aktion.[6]

A number of Jews managed to escape from the Aktion into the forests and fields, but hunger and cold soon forced the fugitives to return to the ghetto, where they discovered that their houses had been plundered. The survivors of the massacre were placed in the few remaining houses. In the second Aktion, which took place on December 3, 1941, 380 Jews were murdered.[7] Security Police officers from Einsatzkommando 5, which was based in Vinnitsa at this time, organized the two Aktions with the assistance of the local Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. The commander of the Security Police detachment in Vinnitsa was Theodor Salmanzig.

On May 27, 1942, the ghetto in the village was liquidated. On that day, 270 Jews were shot in a ditch near the Stepanovka sugar refinery.[8] This mass shooting was carried out by a detachment from the Security Police and SD post in Vinnitsa (consisting mainly of former members of Einsatzkommando 5), assisted by the Ukrainian police.

Some Jews who had escaped from the massacres in Generalkommissariat Shitomir in 1941 and the first half of 1942 passed through the Voronovitsa area in an effort to cross the Bug River and make it to the Romanian-occupied zone to the south (Transnistria), where conditions for Jews were comparatively better.[9]

In August 1942, a labor camp was created in the village. Around 500 Jews were taken there as prisoners, many of whom were from the ghetto in Mogilev-Podolskii, at that time under Romanian administration.[10] The prisoners were utilized for building roads. On January 20, 1943, 280 Jews deemed unfit for labor were shot near the Machine-Tractor Station (MTS) in Stepanovka. On May 24, 1943, the prison camp was liquidated, and all the remaining prisoners (270 people) were killed.[11]

SOURCES Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Voronovitsa can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL II 204a AR-Z 141/67); GARF (7021-54-1260); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM; VHF (# 30099); and YVA (M-33).

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trans. Steven Seegel and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. DAZO, 1151-1-9, pp. 37–39, KdG Shitomir, Kommandobefehl Nr. 30/42, September 3, 1942.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1974, pp. 23–30; DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 15/42, July 11, 1942.

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5. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz, a survivor from Voronovitsa, received by Vadim Altskan at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Boiko is listed in German Gendarmerie documents as an NCO in the Schutzmannschaft; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14. The existence of a ghetto is also mentioned by the *Report of the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project*, prepared in 1996, see www.iajgs.org.

6. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6, gives the figure of 630. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz, states that some 1,500 Jews were shot during the Aktion on November 12, 1941 (this figure is probably too high). BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1974, pp. 14–16, gives the figure of some 900 victims.

7. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1974, pp. 14–16. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz—this source again gives a much higher number of victims of this Aktion.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6.

9. VHF, # 30099, testimony of Elina Zinaida.

10. Testimony of D. Mann, in B. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), p. 32.

11. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 7.

ZHITOMIR

Pre-1941: Zhitomir, city, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Shitomir, Rayon and Gebiet center, capital of Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Zhytomyr, raion and oblast' center, Ukraine

Zhitomir is located 136 kilometers (85 miles) west-southwest of Kiev. According to the 1939 population census, 29,053 Jews lived in the city of Zhitomir (30.6 percent of the total population).

Jews rounded up by the Wehrmacht to view the hanging of Mosche Kogan and Wolf Kieper on the Zhitomir market square, August 7, 1941.
USHMM WS #17549, COURTESY OF DÖW

On July 9, 1941, German forces of the 1st Panzer Division occupied the city, just 17 days after the German invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, nearly 20,000 Jews evacuated the city. Eligible men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. No more than 7,000 Jews remained in Zhitomir at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military administration ran the affairs of the city. The Wehrmacht established a city authority in Zhitomir and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Zhitomir became the administrative center of Gebiet Shitomir. Regierungspräsident Kurt Klemm became the Gebietskommissar. Gustav Magass was appointed as Stadtkommissar. SS-Oberführer Otto Hellwig served from November 1941 to May 1943 as the SS- und Polizeistandortführer in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In October 1942, Gauleiter Ernst Ludwig Leyser was appointed as deputy to the Gebietskommissar. Initially the head of the Schutzpolizei was Hauptmann Friedemann from the police administration in Dresden; he was succeeded by Hauptmann Netzbandt. They each served under Gotthilf Oemler, the Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (KdO) in Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[1]

From July to September 1941, Sonderkommando (Sk) 4a, commanded by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, was the first of the various punitive German units to be deployed in the city of Zhitomir. Starting in October 1941, Einsatzkommando (Ek) 5 was deployed in the city. It was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Herbert Meyer. In January 1942, part of Ek 5 was reorganized into the office of the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Shitomir, which was headed until the end of 1942 by SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Franz Razesberger.[2]

The first murders of Jews in Zhitomir were carried out by Sk 4a upon its arrival in the city. As of July 26, 1941, the unit had killed 363 persons; between July 27 and August 9, 1941, it killed 1,015 people; between August 10 and August 23, 1941, it killed 266 people. Of these 1,644 people who were murdered, the majority were Jews.[3]

At the end of July, Sk 4a shot 148 Jews "for robberies and engaging in communist activity." Following that Aktion, Ek 5 killed another 74 Jews in the city.[4] The best-documented anti-Jewish Aktion during this period was carried out on August 7, 1941, when 2 Jews were hanged and 402 Jews were shot in public.[5]

Further mass executions of Jews were carried out at the end of July 1941 by the 3rd Company of the 45th Police Reserve Battalion, commanded by Oberleutnant Berensen.[6] Altogether, in the months of July and August 1941, around 2,000 Jews were murdered in the city of Zhitomir. Many of the mass shootings took place in a wooded area about 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) west of the city.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Zhitomir. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. Jews were ordered to wear

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distinctive armbands bearing the Star of David. Jews were also subjected to forced labor.

In August 1941, a ghetto or Jewish residential quarter was created in Zhitomir. A number of streets—Chudnovskaia, Ostrovskaia, and Katedral'naia—were cordoned off for that purpose, enclosing an area of roughly 500 by 400 meters (547 by 437 yards). Inside the ghetto area was the largest synagogue and also a former prison building, both of which were used to house Jews, together with a number of residences. The ghetto was overcrowded, with about 5 people sharing each room. Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto, and they were forced to perform the dirtiest and hardest work.[7] According to one witness, the ghetto was fenced with barbed wire, but it was still possible for the inhabitants to barter items for food. The Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto, but Jews were able to leave its area for one or two hours per day, and some non-Jews also approached the fence.[8] A local census taken on September 5, 1941, registered 4,820 Jews in the ghetto.[9]

On September 19, 1941, Sk 4a carried out a large-scale Aktion against the prisoners in the ghetto. The following details are taken from Einsatzgruppen report no. 106, dated October 7, 1941:

> After the resettlement of the Jews into the designated area by the Feldkommandantur, at the behest of Sonderkommando 4a, the situation in the markets and other public places appeared to calm down considerably. At the same time, stubborn rumors began to die out and it appeared that the concentration of the Jews had largely denied communist propaganda its basis of support. Within a few days, however, it seemed that the mere concentration of the Jews without the establishment of a formal ghetto was not sufficient and in a short time the previous problems emerged again. Various offices reported complaints about the insolent behavior of Jews in their places of work. It was ascertained that the Jewish living quarter was the source for the dissemination of [communist] propaganda among the Ukrainians, which asserted that the Red Army would soon return to recover its lost territory. The local police was shot at from concealed positions both at night and in broad daylight. Furthermore, it was established that Jews were selling their belongings for cash and trying to leave the city in order to settle in Western Ukraine—that is—on territory that was already under a civil administration. All these developments were confirmed, but the Jews concerned were only rarely captured, since they had sufficient possibilities to escape arrest.
>
> Therefore, on September 18, 1941, a meeting was convened with the Feldkommandantur on this issue, which concluded that the Jews of Zhitomir should be radically and completely liquidated, since the previous warnings and special measures had not produced a noticeable relief.
>
> On the evening of September 18, 1941, the Jewish quarter [*Judenviertel*] was encircled by 60 Ukrainian policemen. At 4:00 A.M. on September 19, 1941, it was cleared. The transport operation was carried out using 12 trucks, which had been made available by the Feldkommandantur and also the city administration of Zhitomir. Once the transport was completed, and the necessary preparations [digging the grave] had been completed with the assistance of 150 prisoners, 3,145 Jews were registered and executed.[10]

Charna Glibovskaya, who managed to escape from the ghetto at this time by telling one of the guards she was a Ukrainian from a children's home who had only come to look at the ghetto, says that the Germans duped the Jews before the Aktion by announcing that they would be resettled to the west for a better life. She understood, however, that the Germans wanted to kill the Jews and made good her escape.[11]

In October 1941, Ek 5 and the Ukrainian police shot the majority of those who had remained alive in the ghetto after the Aktion on September 19. On October 5, 1941, a local newspaper reported that 340 Jews were still living in the city of Zhitomir.[12] These people were doctors, craftsmen, and skilled laborers, resettled into a special labor prison camp.[13] In April 1942, a few hundred artisans and skilled laborers from Vinnitsa were added to the population of the camp.[14] At least a part of the workforce was responsible for the building of Himmler's field command post (Feldkommandostelle Hegewald), which was located a few kilometers south of the city. In the second half of 1942, the majority of the prisoners in the labor camp were shot. On August 19, 1942, 237 Jewish laborers were executed.[15] At the end of October and November 1942, there were two separate mass shootings: during the first one, approximately 60 people were killed, and during the second, around 300 Jews. These shootings were carried out by an SS-Feldgendarmerie company under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Karl Gillner, which was stationed in Zhitomir from May to November 1942.[16] In 1943, all the remaining Jewish artisans—only a small group by this time—were murdered.

From September 15, 1941, to November 26, 1943, a number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were incarcerated in what was designated as POW prison camp no. 358 (*Kriegsgefangenen-Stammlager* 358), located in Boguniia, on the western outskirts of the city of Zhitomir. The prison population included Jews and Communists or those suspected of being Jews and Communists. SD forces separated them from the rest of the POWs and regularly took them out to be shot in the nearby woods. Friedrich Buck, former chauffeur in the prison, testified that during the first few months of the prison's existence, he and five or six other chauffeurs transported 1,200 to 1,400 Jewish POWs to the site, where they were shot.[17]

Of the 7,000 or so Jews trapped in Zhitomir by the German occupation in July 1941, only around 20 people are known to have survived to be liberated by the Red Army in December 1943.

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SOURCES Relevant publications include Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), pp. 73–74, 79–83, which deals especially with anti-Jewish violence in Zhitomir during the first months of the occupation, including photographs of the public hanging of two Jews; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univesity Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 694 (hereafter cited as *JuNS-V*); Y. Maliar (Israel) and F. Vinokurova, eds., *Vinnitskaia oblast': Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie. Svidetelstva evreev—uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994); and Bernd Boll and Hans Safrian, "Auf dem Weg nach Stalingrad: Die 6. Armee 1941/42," in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995), pp. 260–296, here pp. 270–272.

Documents on the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Zhitomir can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214-18); BA-L (e.g., II 204 AR-Z 8/80); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-294); RGVA (1323-2-121); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.226*0009); TsDAHOU (57-4-225); VHF (e.g., # 31379); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March, 13, 1942. See also the memorandum (Schnellbrief) of the Security Police chief of October 25, 1941, in RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34; and the Abschlussbericht d. Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen Ludwigsburg betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I).

2. Abschlussbericht betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I).

3. Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 30, 37, 38, 47, 58, 86 (BA-BL, R 58/214-217). See also the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Ukrains'ke slovo* (Zhitomir), August 3, 1941. It included an announcement that the shooting of Jews in the city was a reprisal for alleged Jewish arson attacks. GARF, 7021-60-294, p. 116.

4. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 58 (BA-BL, R 58/216). Details about the operations can be found in Schwurgericht bei dem Landgericht in Darmstadt, Urteil vom November 29, 1968 in der Strafsache gegen Kuno Callsen u.a., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694.

5. See Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators & Bystanders* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997), pp. 107–117.

6. On these murders, see the report of January 3, 1942, by Major Rösler, commander of the 528th Infantry Brigade, in *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 108–112.

7. VHF, # 31379, testimony of Michail Blioumenfeld; GARF, 7021-60-164; 7021-60-294, p. 118; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225. A German translation of the Soviet protocol dated February 5–16, 1944, can be found in BA-L, B 162/5681, pp. 129–137.

8. VHF, # 31379.

9. GARF, 7021-60-294, pp. 83, 118. See also report of Feldkommandantur 197, September 20, 1941, which reads: "In almost all the territories of the Feldkommandantur there are no Jews left. Only in Zhitomir, there still remained approximately 5,000 Jews on September 18, assembled in a ghetto." NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 34, fr. 46.

10. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 106, October 7, 1941 (BA-BL, R 58/218). On the details of this operation, see Schwurgericht bei dem Landgericht in Darmstadt, Urteil vom November 29, 1968 in der Strafsache gegen Kuno Callsen u.a., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694.

11. USHMM, RG-50.226*0009, interview with Charna Glibovskaya.

12. Abschlussbericht d. Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen Ludwigsburg betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I, p. 73).

13. BA-L, 204 AR-Z 1301/61, p. 4, statement of Karl Kietzmann, September 9, 1960, as cited by Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 234.

14. Testimony of the witness Boris Pritsker, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 105.

15. *Khronika Kholokosta v Ukraine* (Dnepropetrovsk: Tsentr "Tkuma"; Zaporozh'e: Prem'er, 2004), p. 117.

16. Abschlussbericht betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I, pp. 75–76).

17. Ibid., p. 83.

ZHORNISHCHE

Pre-1941: Zhornishche, village, Il'intsy raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Shornischtsche, Rayon and Gebiet Illinzi, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Zhornyshche, Vinnytsia raion and oblast', Ukraine

Zhornishche is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 375 Jews resided in all the villages of the Il'intsy raion, but most lived in Zhornishche.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 16, 1941. The German occupation forces appointed a village headman (Gordienko), a chairman of the village council (Kozovenko), and two Ukrainian policemen. The village headman was sentenced to 15 years in a corrective labor camp after the war, and the chairman of the village council was killed by partisans in February 1943.

In August 1941, the German Security Police organized the first Aktion against the Jews in the village. They arrested and shot 13 Jewish men, including one teenage refugee from Vinnitsa.[1]

In September 1941, a ghetto was created in the center of the village, to which all Jews were relocated—both local residents and refugees from Vinnitsa. The ghetto was guarded by the local policemen, the village headman, and the chairman

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of the village council to ensure that nobody left without permission. Jews had to wear armbands with a blue Star of David on a white background. A certain number of Jews were assigned to various work tasks, mainly in agriculture, each day.[2]

In October 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a civil administration. Zhornishche was located in Gebiet Illinzi, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar in Il'intsy was Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra. The Gendarmerie post in Il'intsy was commanded by Meister Andreas Wagner. The German Gendarmerie also took over responsibility for the Ukrainian local police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft.

On May 27, 1942, a team of Security Police assisted by the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft surrounded the Zhornishche ghetto at night. These forces rounded up all the Jews living there (some 200 to 300) and escorted them to Il'intsy. Here they were shot, together with Jews from the Il'intsy ghetto, in pits just outside the town.[3]

Some Jews evaded the roundup by hiding, including Boris Yavorsky and two of his siblings, who hid in an attic. The three children (aged 8, 13, and 15) survived with the help of non-Jewish friends, the Vershigora family. They received shelter and food in return for work and were not betrayed to the authorities. Subsequently they moved to the Romanian-occupied area, where they became inmates of the ghetto in Pechera. Only about 20 Jewish residents of Zhornishche are known to have survived.[4]

SOURCES The testimony of Boris Yavorsky concerning the fate of the Jews of Zhornishche has been published in the volume edited by Boris Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 385–387. The ghetto in Zhornishche is also mentioned in A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 116. A brief article on the Jewish community in Zhornishche can be found in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:453.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, p. 385 (testimony of Boris Yavorsky).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 386.
4. Ibid., pp. 386–387; GARF, 7021-54-1243, pp. 45, 99.

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KIEV REGION

A member of Sonderkommando 4a orders Jews to undress at the killing site at Lubny in Generalkommissariat Kiew, October 16, 1941. Piles of clothing can be seen in the background; from the Johannes Hähle photographic collection.
USHMM WS #83022, COURTESY OF A-HIS

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KIEV REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT KIEW)

Pre-1941: Kiev and Poltava oblasts, Ukrainian SSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1943: initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then from September 1941 (west bank of the Dnieper River) or from September 1942 (east bank of Dnieper) Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1943: Kiev and Poltava oblasts, Ukrainian SSR; 1954: Kiev and Poltava, and part of Cherkassy oblasts; 1991: Ukraine

Generalkommissariat Kiew (GkK) was a German administrative unit carved out of the pre-war Soviet Kiev and Poltava oblasts. In contrast to western Ukraine, especially Distrikt Galizien, where a number of ghettos existed until the summer of 1943, in the eastern and central regions of Ukraine almost all ghettos were destroyed in the fall of 1941 or the spring and summer of 1942. Judging from available sources, such as Soviet and German wartime situation reports, war crimes trial records, and survivor testimonies, it appears that the longevity of the ghettos in GkK depended on the will and whim of the local German military and civil administrations. In accordance with Nazi guidelines, German officials aimed at the total annihilation of Soviet Jews as the most dangerous racial and political enemy of the Third Reich. However, they retained a substantial degree of autonomy in administering the ghettos, depending on the specific needs of the army and the civil administration. In localities with large Jewish populations, the Germans created some "work ghettos," whose inmates were temporarily deployed to perform a variety of agricultural and construction tasks. Other Jewish ghettos became merely "death traps," serving as collection points until the killing units arrived in the locality or the local administration had the manpower necessary to complete the mass murders.

Before the Soviet invasion of Poland in September 1939, Kiev oblast' contained the largest Jewish community of the Ukrainian SSR—297,409 people including 224,236 in the city of Kiev. In Poltava oblast', the majority of Jews—32,740 out of 46,928—also lived in the largest urban centers of Poltava and Kremenchug. Since Soviet contingency plans prioritized the evacuation to the east of industries, specialists, and state and party functionaries, large numbers of Jews who belonged to these categories and their families were evacuated in the summer and early fall of 1941. From Kiev alone, about two thirds of the Jewish population—approximately 140,000 people (of the total 335,000 evacuees)—left in July to September of 1941. Similarly, between 50 and 70 percent of the Jews in Poltava oblast' were also evacuated.[1]

In late September 1941 in the area west of the Dnieper River, the German military was replaced by the civil administration. Kiev oblast' on the west bank was named the Generalkommissariat Kiew and became a part of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine (RKU). The east bank of Kiev oblast' and the entire Poltava oblast' remained under the jurisdiction of the Rear Area Army Group South until September 1942, when it was also transferred to the RKU. The Generalkommissar in Kiev supervised the district chiefs, or Gebietskommissars. Military commandants performed similar functions in the east bank area. On both sides of the Dnieper, low-level administrative posts were filled mainly with reliable Ukrainians, Russians, and some ethnic Germans.

The blueprint for ghettoization in the Soviet Union was the "Brown Folder," which defined ghettos as the means to separate Jews from the rest of the population and exclude them from social, cultural, and economic life. In his May 1941 provisional guidelines, Alfred Rosenberg, who would head the Ministry of the Occupied Territories, proposed that Jews in the occupied territories were to be removed from all spheres of public life, concentrated in ghettos, and forced to work on construction and in agriculture. All Jewish property was to be registered and confiscated. After the war broke out, several additional decrees stipulated the deployment of Jewish men and women aged 14 to 60 into labor details and the supervision of the ghettos by the Jewish Councils and the Jewish Police.[2] The RKU government issued similar instructions to create "Jewish residential districts" in localities with over 200 Jews. The inmates of the ghettos were to be prohibited from leaving the premises without a special authorization. Although on paper Jewish laborers were to be paid for their services, special taxes were levied on Jews so that most payments came back to the RKU treasury.[3]

The German military matched the initiative of its civil counterparts. In mid-July 1941, the commander of Rear Area Army Group South Karl von Roques ordered the creation of Jewish ghettos and the formation of labor details deployed for clearing rubble and repairing streets; Jewish communities were to pay for transportation and equipment. Jewish religious services were prohibited and religious artifacts confiscated. Further directives of the German High Command specified the racial definition of a "Jew" according to Nazi regulations, authorized the registration and labeling of the Jews, and ordered the formation of Jewish Councils.[4]

The ghettoization process began with the registration and labeling of Jews by the Ukrainian town and village councils. The councils also assisted the military in selecting ghetto sites, often in large vacant structures, such as stables, abandoned factories, schools, or military barracks. The size of the ghettos varied according to the Jewish population. Thus, in a large pre-war Jewish enclave in Belaia Tserkov', up to 4,000 Jews from the town and vicinity were ghettoized in the former military barracks and a brick factory. In Zvenigorodka, the ghetto was confined to several houses, where at least 2,000 Jews from the district and Jewish refugees from western Ukraine and

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Belorussia shared a very limited space. In the east bank area, one of the largest ghettos was in Kremenchug, where about 3,000 Jews were confined to a military barracks. In contrast to many ghettos in GkK, the military commandant in Kremenchug ordered the ghetto fenced, to prevent "Jewish sabotage." In Piriatin, the ghetto grew from several hundred to 1,500 Jews by the spring of 1942, while in Kobeliaki, around 100 older Jews were confined to a ghetto on the town's outskirts. Since the Kobeliaki military commandant expected that the ghetto would soon be liquidated, food rations for the inmates were drastically reduced.[5]

That the Germans expected the ghettos to exist only for a short time is attested to by their makeshift character—most were unfenced, and in a number of places, like Lokhvitsa, most Jews were allowed to live in their pre-war houses and apartments. Some small Jewish communities of several dozen individuals were not ghettoized. As long as the German Army needed Jewish skills, a number of blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers were allowed to operate outside the confined areas. In total, during the second half of 1941, about 25,000 Jews were confined within about 26 ghettos in GkK and the area then still under military control; of these ghettos, 7 had already been liquidated by the end of the year.

Life in the ghettos was strictly regulated by numerous restrictions and prohibitions. Entering and leaving the premises was forbidden without a special permit. The Ukrainian police set up checkpoints, and those who avoided ghettoization or were apprehended outside the ghetto were shot as a deterrent for others. Maintaining contact with non-Jews was also prohibited, although in Zvenigorodka ghetto inmates were occasionally allowed to go to the local market to buy food. The Germans appointed Jewish elders, selected from the Jewish intelligentsia or religious Jews. For example, in Uman one of the councilmen was Dr. Rabinovich (later hanged by the Germans), while in Belaia Tserkov' some members were of more modest social origin. The elders were to oversee the collection of valuables, money, and furniture from ghetto inmates, and in the countryside, of cattle and poultry. In several large ghettos the administration ordered the formation of a unit of Jewish Police to enforce order among the inmates. Survivors from Uman recall the policewoman Ida Teplitskaia-Shkodnik, who in an attempt to curry favor with the Germans was especially brutal to her fellow Jews.[6]

Day in the ghetto began with the formation of labor details. Under the supervision of the Jewish Councils, all inmates with the exception of small children were dispatched for various forced labor tasks. In the summer and early fall of 1941, Jews in Piatigory, Boguslav, and Skvira collected the harvest and were initially remunerated with grain. In Chernobyl', the ghetto residents had to collect scrap metal; in Ol'shana, they cleaned fuel containers and repaired roads; in Cherkassy and Korsun' Shevchenkovskii, they cleaned the streets, and in Tarashcha and Boguslav, they repaired roads. Some Jewish women cleaned German officers' quarters and worked as maids in German hospitals. In winter, the Jews in the ghettos were deployed to clear snow from roads. In some localities, Jewish laborers received rations of flour or millet or between 200 and 400 grams (7 and 14 ounces) of bread a day; nonworking family members received only 200 grams. Because of German food rationing and corruption among Ukrainian councilmen, by late September or early October 1941, most ghettos faced starvation.[7]

The threat of death was an ever-present psychological burden as the Germans used reprisals for any alleged "transgressions" such as unfulfilled work quotas or violation of the curfew. For example, in Uman, when fire broke out in a German office, several Jews were publicly hanged. The conditions became especially precarious as the first cold set in. Since the ghettos had no heat or electricity, and water had to be brought in from neighboring wells, they were soon hit by a wave of epidemics. Fearing the spread of disease, in some ghettos, such as Ol'shana and Kremenchug, the Germans allowed Jewish medical personnel to attend the inmates. In Zvenigorodka, Dr. Starosel'skaia performed complicated surgery without necessary medication or equipment. Jewish dentists also treated Jews and German officials.[8]

Robbery, economic exploitation, and deliberate starvation of Jews served as the tools for the ethnic "remapping" of Ukraine. In the fall of 1941, the killing units returned to the localities they had "combed" in the summer. On September 21, local rabble and German soldiers carried out a vicious pogrom in Uman, sparked by antisemitic agitation in the town newspaper *Uman'skyi holos*, which caused Einsatzkommando (Ek) 5 to complain that it had disrupted their "planning" for the orderly mass execution of the Jews. Once order was restored, on September 22 and 23, Ek 5 and the Order Police murdered about 1,400 Uman Jews. A group of young Jewish women was spared and deployed to help build roads using grave stones from the Jewish cemetery.[9]

The attitudes of the Ukrainian population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. All survivors and eyewitnesses stress the deadly role of the Ukrainian police, which in many localities supervised the ghettos and robbed the Jews at will. These policemen hunted Jews who escaped or avoided ghettoization, and they participated in mass executions with or without German supervision. Ukrainian guards also constantly harassed and brutalized Jewish labor details. Some Ukrainians and Russians entered ghettos to barter food for Jewish valuables, money, or furniture, enriching themselves at the expense of their former neighbors. In other instances, Ukrainians moved into empty Jewish apartments.[10] On the other hand, Jewish survivors admit that they managed to escape death because of the bravery and kindness of individual Ukrainians and Russians. Galina Klotsman, who posed as a Ukrainian in Piatigory, recalls that local Ukrainians were helpful to her, while one policeman warned the ghetto inmates of impending Aktions. The Kremenchug mayor, Synytsia Verkhovs'kyi, provided Jews with false baptism certificates and was later executed by the Germans.[11]

The speed of destruction in the eastern regions of the USSR impeded organized resistance in the ghettos. In contrast

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to Lithuania, Belorussia, and Eastern Galicia, where the traditional communal structures of Jewish communities contributed to resistance, in Soviet Ukraine it came mainly in the form of individual acts of defiance. Thus, in GkK some Jews escaped from the ghettos and joined the partisans, while others avoided registration, wandered in the countryside, or posed as Ukrainians or Russians.[12]

In comparison to Reichskommissariat Ostland (the Baltic regions and Belorussia), where economic considerations forced the German civil administration to slow down the killing, there was very little letup in the annihilation in GkK. Problems with food supplies in urban centers—largely due to Soviet scorched-earth policies and German requisitions—caused the German administration to reduce food rations for non-Germans, especially Jews. Those incapable of work were deemed "superfluous mouths" and were marked for annihilation. Once the ghettos in GkK had been robbed of their financial means, they outlived their usefulness. Hence, racial and economic considerations drove the resumption of mass murder.

With the assistance of the German military and civil administration, Einsatzgruppe C and the forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Friedrich Jeckeln (from late October, Hans Prützmann) continued their murderous task. The same ruse was used to allay the fears of the victims—public announcements indicated that the ghetto inmates would be "resettled," and Jews had to have warm clothing and provisions for several days. Between the end of September and the end of November 1941, Jeckeln organized several mass shootings in Kremenchug, which resulted in the deaths of 8,000 Jews from the city and its environs. By December, the majority of Jewish males had been murdered on both sides of the Dnieper River. In small localities the Ukrainian police did the killing or escorted victims to the collection points for mass executions.

The "second sweep" in central and eastern regions of Ukraine began in the winter, rather than in the spring of 1942. It appears there was no specific instruction from Berlin to resume the annihilation, but local German officials took the initiative as soon as they had the means to carry it out. Again, the "Jewish question" was viewed as the core of economic and security issues. Thus, the administration expected that the murder of Jews would solve the food-supply problem. In addition, since Jews were allegedly fomenting resistance, their murder would nip the growing partisan movement in the bud. In January 1942, Einsatzgruppe C and the HSSPF murdered Jews from the ghettos in Zolotonosha, Zen'kov, and Kremenchug as part of an antipartisan sweep through the region. Military commandants stimulated the killing by requesting that the "Jewish problem" within their jurisdiction be solved as soon as possible. Simultaneously, the killing also accelerated in the RKU area. In the first months of 1942, Gendarmes and Ukrainian police shot more than 500 Jews in Belaia Tserkov' in several Aktions.[13]

In early spring, RKU headquarters ordered the "removal" of all Jews not employed in German enterprises and construction. On March 1, Reichskommissar Erich Koch authorized Prützmann to take over the "Jewish affairs." He was assisted by the Chief of the Security Police and SD in the RKU Max Thomas. Thomas ordered all the Sipo/SD commanders to report how many Jews were still in the areas of their jurisdiction and to begin their liquidation.[14] On March 17, 800 Jews from the Shpola ghetto were murdered, and 500 younger inmates were sent to construction camps near the town, where they had perished by December 1942. The German administration also spared 13 Jewish tailors and blacksmiths, who survived until 1943. The destruction of the Uman ghetto proceeded along similar lines. On April 22, 1942, the Germans selected able-bodied inmates for the so-called Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) strategic construction camps. The remaining Jews were shot.[15] In the Zvenigorodka ghetto the Germans concentrated approximately 1,500 Jews from the town and the district. In June they separated out able-bodied individuals who were assigned to the DG IV. Jewish craftsmen and their families were also temporarily spared until August 1943. The remaining 1,375 people were shot in a nearby meadow.

Thus, by the summer of 1942 the majority of the ghettos had been destroyed. Nevertheless, the German civil administration still retained small Jewish enclaves, disregarding Heinrich Himmler's insistence on the total liquidation of Jews. In

SS-Obergruppenführer Hans Prützmann, Higher SS and Police Leader of Ukraine-Russia South (right), reports to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #60411, COURTESY OF JAMES BLEVINS

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Uman, Gebietskommissar Rudiger still maintained a small remnant ghetto until the winter of 1942–1943.

Most surviving Jews were employed on the DG IV. The SS transferred those exempted from the ghetto massacres to a series of construction camps, including those in Smel'chintsy, Budishche, and Nemorozh along the road. The ghetto in Buki was converted into a labor camp, once those incapable of work had been shot and other working Jews were brought in. Conditions in the camps were similar to life in the ghettos except that the numbers of inmates were smaller, and those incapable of work were immediately liquidated. The inmates lived in barracks, pigsties, and stables; wore armbands with the Star of David; and were prohibited from leaving the quarters. Receiving rations of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread daily, they labored 14 hours a day felling trees or working in stone quarries. Constantly brutalized by Ukrainian and Lithuanian guards, the camp inmates were subjected to frequent "selections," and those no longer able to work were shot. The last Jewish labor camps were liquidated in the summer of 1943.

The history of the Jewish ghettos in the GkK reveals the relatively decentralized Nazi ghettoization policies. Although the ghettos served German economic interests by performing a wide variety of work tasks, the availability of Ukrainian laborers rendered them only temporarily useful and hence easily discarded. In addition, the smaller numbers of Jews remaining here—in comparison with Weissruthenien or Wolhynien und Podolien—made the killing process easier and quicker. Hence, the existence of the ghettos depended entirely on the will of the local civil or military administration. Simultaneously with the liquidation of the ghettos, the local German administration—the DG IV is the case in point—retained small numbers of Jewish laborers to be killed more slowly through work (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). Very few Jews survived from these ghettos, leaving only a fragmentary picture behind for historians.

SOURCES There are very few secondary sources dealing specifically with the fate of the Jews and particularly with German ghettoization policies in GkK. Of the many books and articles on the Holocaust in Ukraine, the following include key information on this specific region: Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Yitzhak Arad, "Alfred Rosenberg and the 'Final Solution' in the Occupied Soviet Territories," *Yad Vashem Studies* 13 (1979); Wendy Lower, "Facilitating Genocide: Nazi Ghettoization Practices in Occupied Ukraine, 1941–1942," in Eric J. Sterling, ed., *Life in the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), pp. 120–144; Norbert Müller, "Massenverbrechen von Wehrmachtorganen an der sowjetischen Zivilbevölkerung im Sommer/Herbst 1941," *Zeitschrift für Militärgeschichte* 8:5 (1969); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); 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); Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, eds., *V ogne katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izdatel'stvo "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998); F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996); Samuil Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit: O katastrofe i geroizme evreev v gorodakh i mestechkakh Ukrainy* (New York, 1995); I.M. Liakhovitskii, *Perezhivshie katastrofu: Spasshiesia, spasiteli, kollaboranty, martirolog, svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov-Jerusalem, 1996); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAChO; DAKiO; DAPO; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-11.001M, reel 92, p. 15.
2. *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (*IMT*) (Nuremberg: n.p., 1947), 25:302–303.
3. TsDAVO, 3206-2-30, pp. 13 verso, 23 and 23 verso.
4. NARA, RG-242, T-315, reel 2217, fr. 111.
5. USHMM, RG-11.001M.15 (Osobyi Fond # 1323), reel 80, p. 18; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 499–504, reel 33, fr. 000391; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 2, p. 75; TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 36–39; DAPO, r-3388-1-688, pp. 5–6.
6. USHMM, RG-31.018 (SBU), reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 24, 32, 33–35.
7. USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0015, 0022, 0024; USHMM, SBU, reel 3, case. 19896, vol. 3, p. 14, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 24, 32, 33–35; TsDAHOU, 62-9-4, pp. 157–158, 166-3-351, pp. 1–3, 166-3-256, p. 1, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; DAChO, r-51-1-20, p. 10.
8. TsDAVO, KMF-8/2/157, t. 1, p. 244; USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0016 and 0032; DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30; USHMM, SBU, reel 7, case. 7250, p. 97.
9. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 234, fr. 976, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 119; USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 19–20, 163.
10. USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 33–35, reel 5, case. 4452, vol. 2, pp. 7–24; TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39.
11. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 499–504; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 2, pp. 75, 238, 4620-3-236, p. 144; TsDAHOU, 62-9-4, pp. 157–158, 166-3-242, pp. 37–39; DAChO, r-51/1/20, p. 10; USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0015.

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12. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2722586, EM no. 94; T-501, reel 33, fr. 391, reel 349, fr. 483, 486, 569–570, 611.

13. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 235, fr. 2722675, EM no. 156; T-501, reel 7, fr. 415, 424; USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, fr. 100899, 100950, 100955; BA-L, B 162/6650, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen des Polizeiregiments 'Süd,' Bd. 2, pp. 376–377.

14. TsDAVO, 3206-2-3, pp. 12–14; 3206-2-14, pp. 5–6; KMF-8-2-175, pp. 99, 148; NARA, RG-242, reel 39, fr. 000259-000261, 000267-000268; BA-L, B 162/1570, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Robert Mohr, Bd. 1, p. 56.

15. USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 15–17, 21; TsDAHOU, 1-22-269, vol. 1, p. 118, 166-3-351, p. 3; GARF, 7021-65-241, pp. 46, 87–88; TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 7.

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Boundaries as of August 1942

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BELAIA TSERKOV'

Pre-1941: Belaia Tserkov', town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Belaja Zerkow, Gebiet and Rayon center, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Bila Tserkva, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Belaia Tserkov' is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. On the eve of the German invasion, there were 9,284 Jews in Belaia Tserkov'.

After the beginning of the Soviet-German war, approximately half of the Jews of the city managed to evacuate. On July 16, 1941, the Germans captured Belaia Tserkov', and in August the military administration ordered Jews from the town and the surrounding area to move into a ghetto located in the former Red Army military barracks and in a brick factory with no light or water. Between 2,000 and 4,000 ghetto residents were registered and made to wear identifying insignia. A council of elders was established to assign Jews to various work tasks, especially collecting the harvest, street cleaning, and tree felling.[1] On August 19–20, 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a shot adult Jews near POW Camp (Stalag) 334; about 500 people were murdered. On August 22, under the supervision of a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, led by SS-Obersturmführer August Häfner, the Ukrainian police shot 90 Jewish children. The murder of the children marked the beginning of the attempt to exterminate the Jews in the USSR.[2] According to some sources, there was another mass shooting of about 3,000 Jews in the city at the beginning of September 1941.[3]

In October 1941, the military administration was replaced by a German civil administration. Belaia Tserkov' was integrated into Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The district commissar (Gebietskommissar) in Belaia Tserkov' was Regierungsrat Dr. Stelzer. Among the leaders of the Ukrainian police in Belaia Tserkov', notorious for his brutality, was Anton Spak.[4]

Several hundred Jews remained in the ghetto and were deployed to clean the streets. The Ukrainian police closely supervised the Jews and guarded the ghetto. In January 1942, the Gendarmes and Ukrainian police carried out a further Aktion, capturing about 30 old and sick Jews, who were taken to the site near the POW camp and shot. In February, in a large sweep through the district, the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police escorted several hundred Jews to the town where they were placed in two prisons. Then 100 Jews incapable of work were shot. On March 15, 1942, the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police murdered about 500 Jewish men, women, and children at Stalag 334. The last large killing Aktion took place in early May, when the Security Police from Belaia Tserkov', the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police murdered all the remaining Jews in the ghetto. As late as September 1943, the Germans were bringing Jews from the surrounding countryside to Belaia Tserkov', where they were murdered.[5]

SOURCES Background information on the Jewish community of Belaia Tserkov' can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 99. On the murder of the Jewish children, see Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *"The Good Old Days": The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Free Press, 1988), pp. 138–151; and Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 598–605.

References to the murder of the Jews of Belaia Tserkov' can be found in documents from the following archives: BA-L (B 162, AR-Z 269/60, AR-Z 11/61, AR 1.477/62, AR-Z 1.163/62, and AR-Z 21/58); NARA (RG-242, T-175 and T-501); USHMM (RG-06.025*02 and RG-31.018M); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 19, file 312; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 000886, reel 33, fr. 000886; F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii*. (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 51–52.

2. NARA, RG-242, T-175 (Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86, September 17, 1941), reel 233, fr. 27222379; T-501, reel 7, fr. 000886; USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 19, file 312; BA-L, AR-Z 269/60, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Sk 4a, Bd. 34, pp. 374–375.

3. Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), pp. 108–111.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. On the activities of Anton Spak, see *Their True Face* (Kiev: Ukraina Society, 1978), pp. 50–57. Spak retreated with the Germans and later migrated to Canada.

5. USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 2, file 133; microfiche 19, file 311, 312; USHMM, RG-31.018M, Acc.2002.97, "Postwar war crimes trials related to the Holocaust," reel 3, spr. 56527, ark. 14, 24, 62rev-63, 106rev-107; BA-L, B 162/3785, p. 174 (AR-Z 11/61, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Sk 4b); BA-L, B 162/2643, pp. 1849–1857, 2645, p. 3175 (AR-Z 21/58, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Erich Ehrlinger u.a.); BA-L, B 162/5999 (AR-Z 1.163/62, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Dienstelle des KdS Kiew), p. 4.

BOGUSLAV

Pre-1941: Boguslav, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Boguslaw, Gebiet Korsun, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Bohuslav, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

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Boguslav is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) south-southeast of Kiev on the Ros' River. According to the 1926 population census, the Jewish population of Boguslav was 6,432 out of a total of 12,140.[1] The 1939 census reported the figure of 2,230 Jews, or 25.53 percent of the total population. An additional 195 Jews were residing in what was then the Boguslav raion (including 125 Jews living in the villages of Medvin).[2] This considerable decline in the Jewish population was due mainly to the migration of Jews to other areas.

The German Army occupied Boguslav on July 26, 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. Following the invasion, most Jews managed to evacuate eastward, while those eligible for military service were either drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. Only around 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Boguslav under German occupation. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military administration set up a town council and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. The latter took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In November 1941, the military authorities were replaced by a German civil administration. Boguslav was incorporated into Gebiet Korsun, where Gemeinschaftsführer Lomann was appointed as Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Korsun was in turn part of Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[3]

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the newly established Jewish Council (Judenrat) to register all the local Jews. They were forced to wear a distinctive armband on their sleeves and were employed for forced labor tasks (including road maintenance and construction work).

In August 1941, the German occupying forces conducted a first Aktion in Boguslav, in which 45 people (including some Jews) were seized and shot as Communists and Soviet activists.[4] On August 15–20, 1941, the military commandant ordered all the Jews to be resettled into one area of the town (Proval'naya Street), which was declared to be a "Jewish residential district."[5] This open ghetto was liquidated one month later, on September 15, when a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 shot 322 Jews and 13 Communists.[6]

In September 1941, German forces shot 49 Jews in the village of Medvin I and more than 100 in Medvin II.[7] These shootings were probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5.

According to one source, some Jewish skilled workers remained in Boguslav after the Aktion in September 1941; the Germans shot them in July 1943, shortly before retreating.[8] A few Jewish children from Boguslav managed to survive the occupation in hiding.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Boguslav can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKiO (4758-2-5); GASBU (79-1-937); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 56.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. DAKiO, 4758-2-5, p. 3.
5. GASBU, 79-1-937, p. 100 (intelligence report: "On the history of the anti-Jewish pogroms carried out by the German fascists in Boguslav in 1941").
6. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 92.
7. DAKiO, 4758-2-5, pp. 63–65.
8. 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), p. 165.

BUKI

Pre-1941: Buki, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Buki is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) north-northeast of Uman'. According to the census of December 16, 1926, there were 1,114 Jews living in the entirety of what then was the Buki raion.[1] According to the 1939 census, 546 Jews (17.64 percent of the population) lived in Buki, with 183 more residing in the villages of the Buki raion: in total, 729 Jews. The reduction of the raion's Jewish population by one third in the years 1927–1938 was due to the death of Jews during the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and to the resettlement of Jews to other towns and villages.

German armed forces occupied Buki on July 19, 1941, almost one month after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, some of the Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. About 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Buki at the start of the occupation.

In the period from July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office governed the town. The German military administration set up a town council headed by a starosta, or elder, and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Buki became part of Gebiet Taraschtscha, which in turn was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Soon after Buki was occupied, the German military commandant's office ordered the local authorities to organize the

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registration and marking of the Jews with an armband displaying a six-pointed star, as well as their use for various types of forced labor.

As early as August 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in Buki, in which they shot several dozen Jews. The shooting took place near the Gornyi Tikich River on the southeastern outskirts of the town. Today a granite monument stands there, bearing this inscription: "To the victims of fascism from their mourning relatives and countrymen." In the fall of 1941, members of the Jewish "intelligentsia" were shot in a livestock burial ground 100 meters (about 328 feet) northwest of the village. Those Jews still alive, along with the Jews of the surrounding villages, were forced to move into a ghetto set up at a former landowner's country house, about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 miles) from the center of Buki. In May 1942, those Jews who were unable to work were shot, while those deemed fit for work labored in a quarry. Additional Jews capable of work were brought in to the Buki labor camp from Man'kovka and Piatigory in the second half of April 1942.[3] This work camp was liquidated in 1943 when the Germans shot all the remaining prisoners.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto and forced labor camp in Buki can be found in the Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," report on the village of Man'kovka, Cherkasy oblast'; and in A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 51.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznyi perepys liudnosti 1926 roku* (Moscow, 1929), 12:210.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," Cherkassy District, village of Man'kovka; directive issued by the Man'kovka Area Council No. 41 from March 18, 1999; and Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 51.

CHERKASSY

Pre-1941: Cherkassy, city, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tscherkassy, Rayon center, Gebiet Smela, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Cherkasy, oblast' center, Ukraine

Cherkassy is located 26.5 kilometers (16.5 miles) south of Zolotonosha. In 1939, there were 7,637 Jews living in Cherkassy.

The Germans captured Cherkassy on August 22, 1941, but the majority of the Jewish population was evacuated or managed to flee before the German advance. Much of the city was destroyed in the fighting. The military administration organized the registration of the Jews and ordered them to wear distinctive armbands. The military administration also ordered the establishment of a Jewish Committee consisting of three people that was to take responsibility for the actions of the Jewish community and to pass on German instructions. Initially the Jews still lived in their homes or with relatives if their houses had been occupied or destroyed. Jews ages 15 to 65 were taken by the Ukrainian police to perform menial labor tasks. Some Jews were also robbed by the Ukrainian police.[1]

In October 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority from the military. Cherkassy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Smela. The Gebietskommissar in Smela was Regierungsrat Schwehr.[2]

On October 10, 1941, the German authorities ordered the creation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") near the customs office within two days, which was supervised by the Ukrainian Rayon administration and the Ukrainian police. The ghetto consisted of just three streets. Approximately 900 ghetto inmates, including women and children, were deployed for cleaning the streets. In November or December 1941, the Security Police from Kiev (Einsatzkommando 5), the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police liquidated the ghetto, murdering the majority of its Jewish inhabitants. According to some sources, there was a further Aktion in early 1942, when almost all of the remaining Jewish population was murdered.[3]

With the help of a friend, the Ukrainian woman Aleksandra Shulezhko organized a Children's Home for orphans, which by the end of 1942 had collected about 100 children, some 25 of whom were Jews. She saved the Jewish children by changing their names and nationalities when registering them. The Red Army recaptured the city on December 14, 1943. Yad Vashem honored Shulezhko as a person "Righteous Among the Nations" for her work.[4]

SOURCES Information on the Holocaust in the city of Cherkassy can be found in the following archives: DAChO (R49-1-20); DAKiO (4758-2-52); GARF; TsDAHOU (166-3-256; 62-9-4); USHMM (RG-50.226); and YVA (M-31, M-33, and M-52).

Alexander Prusin and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0024, interview with Dmitri Mironenko.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942, p. 25.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-256, p. 1; 62-9-4, pp. 157–58; DAChO, R49-1-20, p. 10. DAKiO, 4758-2-52, p. 43 reverse side, indicates that the liquidation of the ghetto took place in November 1941 with more than 300 victims. See also Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia*

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of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 246–247.

4. YVA, M-31. See also the useful article by Esther Rechtshafner, "Research on Cherkassy," available at www.jewishgen.org/Ukraine/Kiev/chergassy/cherkassy_3.htm.

CHERNOBYL'

Pre-1941: Chernobyl', town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschernobyl, initially in Gebiet Nowo-Schepelitschi, then Gebiet Chabnoje, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Chernobyl', Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Chernobyl' is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north-northwest of Kiev.

In 1926, the Jewish population of Chernobyl' numbered 3,165 (39 percent of the total population). According to the 1939 census, there were 1,783 Jews living in Chernobyl' (21 percent of the population).[1] The significant decline in the Jewish population by almost 1,400 in the years 1926–1939 is explained by the resettlement of Jews to other areas, as well as by the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and political repression.

German armed forces occupied the town on August 25, 1941, two months after the invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this time, many Jews were evacuated or fled to the east, and reservists born between 1905 and 1918 were called up for military service. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Chernobyl' on the arrival of the German army.

In the period from the end of August until November 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration created a raion council (*uprava*) and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, recruited mainly from local residents. Between September 12 and 14, 1941, units of the 1st SS-Brigade conducted security operations in the region between Chernobyl' and Ovruch, in which they killed 437 Jews. At this time, however, most remaining Jews capable of work and their families were left alive in the larger towns.[2]

In November, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Chernobyl' initially became part of Gebiet Nowo-Schepelitschi, within Generalkommissariat Kiew, in Reichskomissariat Ukraine. Subsequently it became part of Gebiet Chabnoje. The Gebietskommissar in Nowo-Schepelitschi and then in Chabnoje was Nachwuchsführer Venediger.[3]

Soon after the town's occupation, the German commandant ordered the council to register and mark the Jews (they were made to wear armbands). In October 1941, by order of the Ortskommandantur, a small "Jewish residential area" (open ghetto) was created in the town, and all the Jews were forcibly moved into it. Jews from the ghetto were compelled to perform forced labor. Among the assigned tasks was the collection of scrap metal.

German security forces liquidated the ghetto on November 19, 1941,[4] by shooting all the Jews. More than 500 Jews were killed in total.[5] The Aktion was probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Chernobyl' can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-52); GARF (7021-65-241); and USHMM (RG-31.002M and RG-31.018M).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.

2. Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), p. 205. The Brigade also reported that the Ukrainian police (Miliz) had assisted in the arrest of Jews, handing them over to the German army.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; and USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-19, p. 34.

4. The date of the shooting is taken from the inscription on the memorial erected at the site of the execution. 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), p. 248, however, dates the Aktion as occurring on November 7, 1941.

5. DAKiO, 4758-2-52, p. 43 reverse.

FASTOV

Pre-1941: Fastov, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Fastow, Rayon center, Gebiet Wassilkow, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Fastiv, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Fastov is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) southwest of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, there were 3,545 Jews living in Fastov.[1] The 1939 census recorded a Jewish population of 2,149, or 10.37 percent of the total.[2] This considerable decrease in the number of Jews in the period from 1926 to 1939 was due largely to the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 22, 1941, one month after the invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this intervening period, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the USSR, and men liable for military service entered the Red Army as conscripts or volunteers. Around 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

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In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration created a town council and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force consisting of local residents, which took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Fastov became part of Gebiet Wassilkow. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Döhrer.

Soon after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the newly created Judenrat to organize the registration and marking of the Jews (they were required to wear armbands), as well as the collection of a monetary "contribution" and the use of the Jews for various types of forced labor. In August 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a conducted the first Aktion in the town, in which its members seized and shot 261 Jews between the ages of 12 and 60 and one "terrorist." Before the detachment's arrival, the Wehrmacht (a detachment of the Geheime Feldpolizei and members of a Landesschützenbataillon) had already shot 50 Jews and about 30 snipers (partisans).[3]

The remaining women, children, and old people in the town were then moved into an open ghetto. The Germans liquidated the ghetto on October 6, 1941, by shooting all the Jews. The victims included not only the local Jews but also Jewish refugees from Zhitomir and Jews from the Jewish kolkhoz in the village of Veprik.[4] In total, up to 1,000 Jews were murdered in the town in the period from August to October 1941.[5]

A few Jews from Fastov managed to survive by going into hiding or assuming a non-Jewish identity.[6]

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); BA-L (B 162/5641–72); DAKiO (4758-2-49); USHMM; VHF (# 42017, 47413, and 47453); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.
3. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 80, September 11, 1941; see also BA-L, 114 AR-Z 269/60, Concluding Report, December 30, 1968.
4. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), "Memory of the Holocaust" Program: Kiev oblast'.
5. According to lists of names, 120 people were killed in the town, including 85 Jews (DAKiO, 4758-2-49, pp. 5–6), while information from the town soviet indicates that 172 people were killed (ibid., p. 4).
6. VHF, # 42017, testimony of Mikhail Roitman, who assumed a non-Jewish identity; # 47413, testimony of Boris Goldschmidt, who went into hiding with the aid of non-Jews; and # 47453, testimony of Galina Kuchinskaia, who also went into hiding.

GORODISHCHE (IMENI G.I. PETROVSKOGO)

Pre-1941: Imeni G.I. Petrovskogo (former Vorontsovo-Gorodishche), town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Petrowskowo, (later renamed Woronzowo-Gorodischtsche), Rayon center, Gebiet Smela, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Gorodishche, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Gorodishche is located 107 kilometers (67 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, 570 Jews (4 percent of all residents) were living in the town. At that time, it was a settlement named after G.I. Petrovskii.

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Gorodishche at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The Ortskommandantur established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Nosar', and a certain Zhuk served as his deputy.

In December 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Gorodishche was incorporated into Gebiet Smela, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military ordered the registration and marking of all Jews. The Jews had to wear distinguishing armbands, and they were forced into various kinds of heavy physical labor, such as road construction and repair.

In the fall of 1941, by order of the German military administration, a ghetto was created in Gorodishche. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and were not allowed to buy goods from Ukrainians. As a result, the inmates of the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease.

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on March 29, 1942. All the remaining Jews in Gorodishche, around 300 Jews altogether, including some from nearby villages, were driven into a courtyard by the Gorodishche police. At dawn the next morning they were taken out and shot by the Ukrainian police and the German Gendarmerie in a ditch near "Sadstantsiia."[2]

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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2. Act of the Gorodishche Town Commission dated March 7, 1944, published in *Karatel' zhivet v Kliftone: O fashistskikh prispeshnikakh, ukryvaiushchikhsia v SShA* (Moscow: Iuridicheskaia literatura, 1985), p. 40. According to another source (*Karatel' zhivet v Kliftone*, p. 22), the ghetto was liquidated on April 4, 1942.

KOBELIAKI

Pre-1941: Kobeliaki, town, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Kobeljaki, from September 1942, center of Gebiet Kobeliaki, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kobeliaky, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Kobeliaki is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Poltava on the River Vorksla. On the eve of World War II, there were 360 Jews in Kobeliaki (3.85 percent of the town's total population).

The Germans occupied Kobeliaki in September 1941, and until September 1942, it remained within the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South. The military administration set up a ghetto on the outskirts of the town. Adult Jews were taken from the ghetto to perform menial jobs. The ghetto was not guarded. Due to shootings and starvation the number of ghetto inmates declined rapidly. According to German reports, by the end of December 1941 there remained mainly older Jews in Kobeliaki, who received "very small rations" of food.[1]

On January 19, 1942, Group 719 of the Secret Field Police (GFP) reported that men of the German police had been fired upon from the Jewish ghetto. Since they were unable to find the culprits, the GFP suggested to the military commandant in Kobeliaki that 56 Jews be shot as a reprisal. The commandant ordered that the guard around the ghetto be strengthened, and between January 21—26, 1942, the GFP, the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police shot the remaining Jews in the ghetto (about 100 people) in a mass grave 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) to the east of the town.[2] Then in March 1942, with German consent, the health department of the Ukrainian town council, the Ukrainian police, and the personnel of the town hospital carried out the murder of about 25 Jewish children and elderly people by giving them lethal injections.[3]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community in Kobeliaki can be found at the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project: Ukraine (2001), published on the Web at www.jewishgen.org. Documentation on the destruction of the Jews in Kobeliaki can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/204 AR-Z 48/68); GARF (7021-70-1119); NARA (RG-242, T-501); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU [Poltava oblast'], no. 7250, trial of Makar I. Sklyar, and no. 17576, trial of Mikhailo I. Khodot and others); and TsDAVO.

Alexander Prusin

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 7250, ark. 97; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 000499 and 000504; TsDAVO, f. KMF-8, o. 2, spr. 157, t. 2, p. 75.
2. GARF, 7021-70-1119, pp. 33–34; USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 17576, ark. 68zv., 90, and 125; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 349, fr. 000568.
3. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 17576, ark. 88-88 verso and 193–194; and GARF, 7021-70-1119, pp. 33–34. See also Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnya govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 129, which dates the murder of 25 children (using morphine) in March 1943, probably incorrectly, as this source dates the mass shooting of the Jews in December 1942.

KORSUN' SHEVCHENKOVSKII

Pre-1941: Korsun' Shevchenkovskii, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Korsun, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Korsun' Shevchenkovskyi, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Korsun' Shevchenkovskii is located 122 kilometers (76 miles) south-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, 2,486 Jews were living in the Korsun' raion, most of them (2,449) in the town. In 1939, a census recorded 1,329 Jews in the town itself (14.2 percent of the total population) and another 570 Jews in villages (Shenderovka and Steblev) in the Korsun' raion, as it was then constituted, for a total Jewish population of 1,899.[1] The decrease in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 was mainly the result of the migration of Jews to other regions during that period.

German forces occupied Korsun' on July 30, 1941, five and a half weeks after Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. In the interval, a significant number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up or volunteered for military service. Roughly one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town following the occupation.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Korsun' during the summer and fall of 1941. The German military administration established a municipal authority and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, both staffed by local inhabitants. The Ukrainian police took an active role in the implementation of anti-Jewish measures during the occupation.

In November 1941, governing authority shifted to a German civil administration. Korsun' became the administrative center of Gebiet Korsun. The Gebietskommissar was Gemeinschaftsführer Lohmann. Gebiet Korsun was part of Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskomissariat Ukraine.[2]

By order of the German military commandant's office soon after the occupation, the municipal authority organized the registration of all Jews, required them to wear armbands identifying them as Jews, and subjected them to various kinds of manual forced labor. Among the labor tasks performed by

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the Jews of Korsun' were trash collection and cleaning the streets.

In October 1941, the German military administration in Korsun' ordered the creation of an "open ghetto" in the town, for which purpose several houses were commandeered. The Germans forbade the Jews from leaving the limits of the ghetto to buy produce from the Ukrainians.

The Germans and their collaborators liquidated the ghetto in November 1941 when they shot the Jews of Korsun'[3] as well as Jews brought from the town of Kanev[4]—altogether 543 people.[5] The shooting took place in a ravine known as "Rezanii Iar."

SOURCES Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Korsun' Shevchenkovskii can be found in the following archival files: DAKiO (4758-2-24 and 26).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 55.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzen Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10 März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Information from the Cherkassy oblast' branch of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Remembrance, no. 72, October 15, 1990, PAAKru.
4. DAKiO, 4758-2-24, pp. 11 and reverse side.
5. Information from the Cherkassy oblast' branch of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Remembrance, no. 72, October 15, 1990, PAAKru. DAKiO, 4758-2-26, pp. 5–6, contains a list of 74 of the Jews from Korsun' who were shot when the ghetto was liquidated.

KREMENCHUG

Pre-1941: Kremenchug, city, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Krementschuk, initially under the control of Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd) and (from September 1942) center of Gebiet Krementschuk, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kremenchuh, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Kremenchug is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west-northwest of Dnepropetrovsk. In 1939, there were 19,880 Jews residing in Kremenchug.

In the weeks after the start of the German invasion in June 1941, about two thirds of the Jews of Kremenchug managed to evacuate to the east. Units of the German 17th Army captured Kremenchug on September 9, 1941, and the city remained under the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South until September 1942. One week after capturing Kremenchug, the military administration ordered that Jews be registered with the city council and that they wear the Star of David on their sleeves. Between September 13—26, 1941, Sonderkommando 4b, under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Herrmann, arrived in Kremenchug and shot 125 Jews.[1]

On September 27, 1941, the military commandant ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto located in a barracks on Lenin Street no. 22 in the suburb of Novo-Ivanivka, where they were deprived of all possessions and documents. Altogether about 3,000 Jews from Kremenchug and the vicinity were concentrated in the ghetto. After their departure, the Ukrainian policemen and city rabble plundered the empty Jewish apartments; some Ukrainians also attempted to seize Jewish apartments.[2]

The German administration imposed a special curfew on the ghetto, and Jews were not allowed to visit the "Aryan" quarters or communicate with Ukrainians. The Ukrainian city council, headed by Synytsia Verkhovs'kyi, was authorized to organize Jewish labor details for various tasks such as cleaning streets. Those working in the labor details received 400 grams (14 ounces) of bread daily; those remaining in the ghetto received only 200 grams (7 ounces) per person. The German administration imposed several "contributions" on the ghetto, which were collected by the Jewish council of elders. The Germans and Ukrainian police often raided the ghetto, robbing Jews of their remaining possessions. In late September, the Germans discovered that city council chief Verkhovs'kyi had procured false certificates of baptism for Jews through a local church (allegedly in return for large bribes). He was subsequently arrested and executed.[3]

On October 28, 1941, the forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader South Russia (HSSPF Russland-Süd) collected about 2,000 Jews from the Kremenchug ghetto and the surrounding countryside and murdered them outside the city at a place known as the Sand Hill.[4] About 500 Jews remained in the ghetto. Between November 5—19, German forces subordinated to HSSPF Russland-Süd murdered 285 more Jews (147 men, 101 women, and 37 children) in Kremenchug in a series of Aktions.[5] On November 24, 1941, the local military headquarters (Ortskommandantur 239) reported that Kremenchug was "almost cleansed of Jews." Nevertheless, a number of Jews still lived in the ghetto. They were again registered, and the registers were handed over to the HSSPF. Some Jewish doctors and nurses were also spared to work at local hospitals. In January 1942, during a large antipartisan sweep through the Poltava region, the Germans shot all the remaining Jews they could find in Kremenchug. Altogether about 8,000 Jews from Kremenchug and its vicinity lost their lives during the war.[6]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Kremenchug can be found 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), p. 676. The ghetto in Kremenchug is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), pp. 129–131.

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Documentation relating to the murder of the Jews of Kremenchug can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162, AR 6700045, AR-Z 6000013); DAPO (R-3388-1-688); GARF (7021-70-917); NARA (RG-242, T-501, reel 33; NO-5384; NOKW-2272); NARB (861-1-36); TsDAHOU (57-4-270 and 166-3-242); TsDAVO (KMF-8-2-157); USHMM; VHAP; and YVA.

Alexander Prusin

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 111, October 12, 1941.
2. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; GARF, 7021-70-917, p. 11 and reverse, testimony of E.A. Bradebur, November 14, 1943; DAPO, R3388-1-688, p. 5.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 36–37; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 000391; DAPO, R3388-1-688, pp. 5–6.
4. GARF, 7021-70-917, p. 4, gives the figure of 3,000 Jews killed in this Aktion.
5. See the reports of HSSPF Russia South published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 279–280.
6. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 1, p. 244; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 000398; DAPO, R-3388-1-688, pp. 6–7.

LOKHVITSA

Pre-1941: Lokhvitsa, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Lochwiza, initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); from September 1942, center of Gebiet Lochwiza, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Lokhvytsia, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Lokhvitsa is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) south of Konotop. In 1939, there were 614 Jews residing in Lokhvitsa and another 114 Jews residing in the villages of the Lokhvitsa raion.

The Germans occupied Lokhvitsa on September 12, 1941, signifying also the completion of the encirclement of Soviet armies to the east of Kiev. Many Jews from Lokhvitsa were evacuated or managed to flee before the arrival of the Germans. The town remained under the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South and then Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B) until September 1942, when it became the center of Gebiet Lochwiza in Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

In early October 1941, the German military commandant ordered the creation of a ghetto, which restricted the Jews to the most densely Jewish-populated areas of the town. The ghetto consisted of two separate sections: the first included part of what was then called Lane III (later, Tupikova Street); and the other section included two Jewish quarters in the area of Gogol' and Tel'man Streets. The ghetto was not sealed, but the Ukrainian police set up checkpoints, and Jews apprehended outside the ghetto were shot on the spot. In addition to the town's Jewish residents and those Jews fleeing from further west who became trapped in Lokhvitsa, the Germans also brought some Jews from surrounding villages to the ghetto. For example, in December 1941, Jews from the village of Sencha were brought to the Lokhvitsa ghetto.

With the onset of winter and left with no means to survive, adult Jews sneaked out of the ghetto to collect wood or to exchange any valuables they had left with the Ukrainians for food. The Ukrainian auxiliary police in Lokhvitsa, which in April 1942 comprised 116 men,[1] escorted the Jewish labor details tasked with cleaning the streets of mud, snow, and ice.

In early May 1942, additional Jews from the vicinity of Lokhvitsa, including a few from the nearby town of Chervonozavodskoe, were brought to the ghetto.[2] On May 12, 1942, a Sonderkommando headed by Karl Plath (operating under the auspices of the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South) and the Ukrainian police escorted 287 Jews outside the town to the northeast and shot them in a ravine near the village of Blagodarovka. After the mass shooting, the edge of the ravine was blown up to cover the bodies.[3] Feldkommandantur (V) 239, responsible for a large area including the town of Lokhvitsa, reported on June 17, 1942, that a "Jewish Aktion" (Judenaktion) had been conducted in Lokhvitsa on May 12, 1942, and that thereafter only a few individual Jews remained within its jurisdiction.[4]

Farmers working on a kolkhoz near Lokhvitsa assisted the female Jewish doctor Tsipa Sherman, who was living there on Aryan papers as a medical student. When she was arrested following a denunciation, the farmers wrote a petition asserting that she was a good worker and definitely not a Jew. Shortly afterwards she was released.[5]

Soviet forces drove the Germans from Lokhvitsa in the fall of 1943.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Lokhvitsa can be found in: BA-MA (RH 22/203); the Lokhvytsia Ethnographic Museum (Lokhvyts'kyi krayeznavchyi muzei im. G.S. Skovorody), file 6/R/2); and YVA (M.31/6386).

Alexander Prusin and Alexander Kruglov

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 18, fr. 815.
2. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 338. In 1939 the Jewish population of Chervonozavodskoe in Lokhvitsa raion was 89. Most Jews managed to flee before the arrival of the Germans.
3. Interview with Vera Riazanskaia, July 22, 1998, Lokhvytsia; Lokhvytsia Ethnographic Museum, file 6/R/2, pp. 1–10. Some sources indicate there may have been 340 victims in total, although only 287 people are recorded in the list of names—information supplied by Alexander Kruglov.
4. BA-MA, RH 22/203, Feldkommandantur (V) 239, Abtlg. VII, Monatsbericht May 16 to June 16, 1942.

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5. YVA, M.31/6386, as cited by Frank Golczewski, "Die Revision eines Klischees: Die Rettung von verfolgten Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg durch Ukrainer," in Wolfgang Benz and Juliane Wetzel, eds., *Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit: Regionalstudien II*, *Ukraine*, *Frankreich*, *Böhmen und Mähren*, *Österreich*, *Lettland*, *Litauen*, *Estland* (Berlin: Metropol, 1996), p. 66.

MAN'KOVKA

Pre-1941: Man'kovka, *town and raion center*, *Kiev oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mankowka*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Uman-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Kiew*, *Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Man'kivka*, *Cherkasy oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Man'kovka is located about 34 kilometers (21 miles) north of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 105 Jews residing in Man'kovka, where they comprised 2.2 percent of the local population, and an additional 719 Jews lived in the other settlements of the Man'kovka raion.[1]

Man'kovka was occupied by units of the German 6th Army in late July 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. During the chaos following the invasion, some local Jews managed to flee eastward, ahead of the advancing German troops. Jewish men born between 1905 and 1918 found themselves conscripted into military service. On the arrival of German forces in Man'kovka, about 70 percent of the community's pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

Between July and October 1941, Man'kovka was ruled by a German military administration (Ortskommandantur), which established a village council and appointed a local mayor. The military administration also set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In November 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority over Man'kovka, which became a Rayon center in Gebiet Uman-Land, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine. In December 1941, the Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Peterson.[2]

Shortly after the German invasion, the military administration ordered the village council to register the Jews and required them to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. The military administration ordered all able-bodied Jews to perform various kinds of physically demanding labor for little or no pay.

In late 1941, all the Jews of Man'kovka were forced to relocate into a separate area within the town designated as a ghetto. On April 18, 1942, those Jews able to work were transferred to a labor camp in Buki. Those ghetto residents deemed unfit for work, mainly children and the elderly, numbering about 50 people, were shot on May 2, 1942.[3] A few Jews managed to survive by joining Soviet partisan units operating in the area.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Man'kovka and its fate during the Holocaust include the following: Aleksandr Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Khar'kov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 204; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 5:378.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 55.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; and USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-31, p. 9.
3. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Man'kovka; directive no. 41 issued by the Man'kovka Area Council, March 18, 1999.

OL'SHANA

Pre-1941: Ol'shana, *town*, *Kiev oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Olschana*, *town and Rayon center*, *Gebiet Swenigorodka Generalkommissariat Kiew*, *Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Ol'shany*, *Cherkasy oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Ol'shana is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) northeast of Uman'. Due to the effects of World War I, the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian Civil War, the migration of Jews to the cities, and the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933, the size of the Jewish community declined considerably from 1,233 in 1897 to only 195 in 1939.

German forces of Army Group South captured Ol'shana on July 25, 1941. In August the military administration (Ortskommandantur) ordered the Jews to surrender all their valuable items such as gold, as well as furniture, cattle, and poultry. In October 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C) shot all the adult Jewish males (up to 100 people) in Ol'shana.[1] In the fall of 1941, Ol'shana was transferred to the German civil administration. The town became a Rayon center within Gebiet Swenigorodka, in Generalkommissariat Kiew. The Gebietskommissar in Swenigorodka was Hannjo Becker.

Sometime between August and October 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto, which was set up in a few dozen houses in the northern part of town. Jews from the smaller settlements around Ol'shana were also ordered to move into the ghetto. All inmates over the age of 12 had to wear special armbands, and Jews were forbidden to speak to local Ukrainians. The military commandant appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) within the ghetto. The German and Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto, and Jews apprehended outside its limits without permission could be shot. The Ukrainian and German police also searched the ghetto frequently, looking for concealed valuables. Inside the

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ghetto, several Jewish doctors and nurses provided medical services to the inmates. The German military and the local Ukrainian administration forced all ghetto inmates, with the exception of small children, to perform a variety of forced labor tasks, including cleaning fuel containers, repairing roads, collecting the harvest, and clearing snow. The Jews were beaten at work, and sick or weak Jews were shot.[2]

During the winter of 1941–1942, the number of ghetto inmates declined due to deaths from sicknesses, starvation, and the terror imposed by the German administration and the Ukrainian police. Some Ukrainians supplied food to their friends in the ghetto. On May 2, 1942, the German administration formed the remaining 100 or so ghetto inmates into a column and marched them to Zvenigorodka, where the Jews were divided into two groups: the elderly and small children were put into a ghetto, while the older children and younger women were sent to forced labor camps at Smil'chyntsi and Nemorozh, which were established for the construction of the new highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV).[3] In June, many of the Jews from Ol'shana perished during the liquidation of the Zvenigorodka ghetto. On November 2, 1942, the Germans murdered the inmates of the Smil'chyntsi camp; and on August 23, 1943, the remaining Jews at Nemorozh were murdered.[4]

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Ol'shana can be found in Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ognie katastrofy (shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partisanskogo dvizheniia* (Kiryat-Haim, Israel: Beit Lokhamei ha-gettaot, 1998), pp. 205–209; and in Boris Zabarko, ed., "*Nur wir haben überlebt.*" *Holocaust in der Ukraine: Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 54–55.

Additional information can be found in the following archives: DAChO; DASBU (spr. 19896, tom. 3); GARF (7021-148-11); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 13; and RG-50.226.0032); and VHF.

Alexander Prusin

NOTES

1. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 243; I.M. Liakhovitskii, ed., *Zheltaia Kniga: Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Khar'kov: Biblioteka gazety "Bensiakh," 1994), p. 100.

2. Agmon and Maliar, *V ogne katastrofy*, p. 205; letter of Nina Umanskaia published in Leonid Koval', ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:121–124; DASBU, spr. 19896, tom. 3, ark. 14 (USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 13); Zabarko, "*Nur wir haben überlebt*," p. 54; USHMM, RG-50.226.0032, interview with Tatyana Pit'kina (Shnaider); another testimony by the same person can be found in Liakhovitskii, *Zheltaia Kniga*, pp. 100–101. According to the deposition of I.T. Nesterenko, the former chief of police in the Ol'shana district, there were 103 Jews; see GARF, 7021-148-11.

3. USHMM, RG-50.226.0032, interview with Tatyana Pit'kina (Shnaider).

4. Ibid.; Agmon and and Maliar, *V ogne katastrofy*, pp. 205, 209.

PIATIGORY

Pre-1941: Piatigory, village, Tetiev raion, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon Tetijew, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Piatigory is located about 69 kilometers (43 miles) north-northwest of Uman'. According to the census of December 1926, 531 Jews were living in Piatigory. By 1939, however, the Jewish population had declined to less than half this number.

Two German light tanks entered Piatigory on July 16, 1941. In the four weeks from the start of the German invasion, part of the Jewish population attempted to evacuate to the east using horses and carts or traveling by rail. Some, however, such as the family of Galina Klotsman, were forced to turn back by the rapid German advance. On their return, by July 10, the family found that their house had been robbed; Galina's father was then conscripted into the Red Army, just before the Soviet authorities abandoned Piatigory.[1]

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Piatigory. Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant ordered the registration of the Jews and required them to wear distinguishing armbands. On July 31, 1941, German security forces shot 2 Jews in Piatigory as hostages. Then on August 28, 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to report to the school building. They selected 17 male Jews over the age of 14. These men were taken away and shot, including the father of Raisa Zelenkov.[2]

The remaining women and children, together with a few male specialist workers, were held in the school building, and some form of ghetto was probably established in Piatigory. The female Jews were required to perform farmwork every day. Some Jews who had evaded the roundup passed themselves off as Ukrainians and worked for a time on nearby kolkhozy, but eventually most were denounced and forced to register as Jews with the Gendarmerie and local police in Piatigory. Half-Jews, however, were treated with somewhat greater leniency, not being required to wear armbands.[3]

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civilian administration. Piatigory was incorporated into Gebiet Taraschtscha, where Kameradschaftsführer Wurach served as Gebietskommissar.[4]

On April 26, 1942, those Jews capable of work—namely, the young and couples without children—were selected and transferred to the Buki labor camp, where they worked in a nearby quarry.[5] The 133 Jews that remained in Piatigory were shot in a local park on November 16, 1942. According to the testimony of Raisa Kleter (Zelenkov), who with several other Jews from mixed marriages was spared at the killing site along with her daughter, German Gendarmes, including a man named Hochmann, and local Ukrainian police were responsible for the shooting.[6]

SOURCES The recollections of Raisa Zelenkov, "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," have been published in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book:*

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The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 169–185. An oral history by the same woman, now called Raisa Kleter, can be found in VHF (# 37434). Another relevant oral testimony can be found in USHMM (RG-50.226 # 0015).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," pp. 169–185, here p. 170; and USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015, Oral History interview with Galina Iosifevna Klotsman, born 1923.

2. "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," pp. 170–171; and A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 87, 90.

3. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015. "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," pp. 169–185, does not use the term *ghetto*; however, VHF, # 37434, testimony of Raisa Kleter (aka Zelenkov), has been indexed by the Shoah Foundation as describing the ghetto in Piatigory. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:312, also states that a ghetto was established in Piatigory.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 51; 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), p. 985; and USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015.

6. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta*, pp. 89–91. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 6:312, indicates that 133 Jews were shot on November 16, 1942, but the source for this is unclear. "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," pp. 169–185, dates the shooting in November 1942, but gives no numbers. VHF, # 37434, testimony of Raisa Kleter (aka Zelenkov), however, dates the shooting in November 1943 (*sic*).

PIRIATIN

Pre-1941: Piriatin, town and raion center, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Pirjatin, initially under the control of Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), subsequently (from September 1942) center of Gebiet Pirjatin, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Piriatin, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Piriatin is located on the Udai River 142 kilometers (88 miles) to the east-southeast of Kiev. According to the population census of 1939, 1,747 Jews lived in Piriatin (12.68 percent of the total).

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and particularly during August and September 1941, a small portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were conscripted into or volunteered for the Red Army. Yet more than 80 percent of the Jewish population remained in Piriatin and came under German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Piriatin on September 18, 1941. A military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the township and the Rayon until September 1942. A local administration and Ukrainian auxiliary police force were created, serving under the German occupying forces.

In September 1942, power was transferred into the hands of a German civil administration. Piriatin was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew and became the administrative center of Gebiet Pirjatin, which included the Rayons of Pirjatin, Tschernuchi, and Sentscha.

Shortly after the occupation of the township, the German administration ordered all Jews to be registered and marked. The Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing six-pointed stars in plain view. A large amount of Jewish property was confiscated, including any items of value. Jews were forbidden to appear in public places. Jewish men had to perform various forms of forced labor.

At some date between the end of September 1941 and the beginning of 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in Piriatin. At the end of March or the beginning of April 1942, the Jewish population in the ghetto numbered 1,530 persons.[1] On April 6, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto. Almost all the Jews, mainly old men, women, and children, were shot in the woods at Pirogovskaia Levada about 3 kilometers (1.9 mile) south of the town.[2] The Jews were made to undress, and their remaining property was taken from them. Then the Germans forced them into a pit and shot them in groups of 5 with submachine guns. The graves were filled in by local non-Jewish residents, including Pyotr Chepurenko. As he worked, he saw several Jews who had only been wounded, including a five-year-old boy, trying to climb out of the pits. However, they were immediately shot and killed by Germans and local policemen who were still overseeing the operation.[3]

The mass shooting was apparently organized and carried out by the SD unit "Sonderkommando Plath" (headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Plath). On May 18, 1942, it is likely that this command force carried out another Aktion in the town. On this occasion the SD shot 380 Communists and Soviet activists, along with 25 Roma (Gypsies) and 163 Jews belonging to various families.[4]

SOURCES A brief description of the mass shooting on April 6, 1942, can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 57.

Documentation on the extermination of the Jews of Piriatin can be found in the following archives: DAPO (R3388-1-1086; R-1876-8-98); GARF; NARA; and YVA (O-3/3951).

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NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 643, report of Feldkommandantur 607 on activities during the period from March 18 to April 15, 1942; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6:235–236, dates the establishment of the ghetto at the beginning of 1942, but it is unclear on what sources this is based.
2. DAPO, R1876-8-98, p. 1; see also International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project, available at www.jewishgen.org/cemetery/e-europe/ukra-p.html.
3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 57.
4. DAPO, R3388-1-1086, p. 1.

SHPOLA

Pre-1941: Shpola, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schpola, Rayon center, Gebiet Swenigorodka, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Shpola, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine.

Shpola is located about 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) east-southeast of Zvenigorodka. According to the 1926 census, 5,401 Jews lived in what was then the Shpola raion. This included the Jews living in the town of Shpola.[1] The 1939 census counted 2,397 Jews living in Shpola (16.24 percent of the total population). The decline in the Jewish population by more than half between 1926 and 1939 can be explained mainly by the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

Shpola was occupied by German forces on August 1, 1941, five and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During this period, the Germans bombed Shpola, and some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. It is estimated that just over 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents, which played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, power was transferred to the German civil administration. Shpola became part of Gebiet Swenigorodka, and Oberbannführer Becker became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Swenigorodka was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with armbands. The Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor tasks, such as street cleaning, construction work, and cutting wood.

At the start of September 1941, the Germans conducted the first Aktion in Shpola, during which 160 people, including members of the intelligentsia, were seized and shot.[3] A detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 apparently carried out these killings.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in Shpola on the orders of the German military administration. A few streets were cordoned off and surrounded by barbed wire. The ghetto was guarded by the Ukrainian police, and Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto or buying products from the Ukrainians. Some non-Jews secretly gave food to people in the ghetto, but famine developed; after a time, some 10 or 12 people were dying of starvation or disease each day.[4] In the ghetto a Jew named Gofman, under the direction of Ukrainians, assigned Jews to specific work tasks each day. There were also police raids in the ghetto in the fall of 1941: the Germans selected men in good physical condition, and they were taken away, never to return.[5]

The Jews were confined within the ghetto for more than half a year. Just prior to the ghetto's liquidation, a few Jews were able to escape following tip-offs from well-disposed Germans. On May 13, 1942, the German forces and their collaborators started to liquidate the ghetto. The 117th Battalion of the Ukrainian police force (Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 117) combed the ghetto and rounded up more than 800 Jews. They kept the Jews in custody until May 17. From May 14—17, members of the battalion conducted "clearing operations," searching Jewish homes for any people who were hiding.[6] On May 17, 1942, the German-led forces shot 760 of the captured Jews. The able-bodied were selected out and forcibly resettled into a labor prison camp in the village of Brodetskoe, where they were used to build highways. A small group of 13 craftsmen was allowed to remain behind in the town, but they were shot in 1943.[7]

The 255 Jewish workers in the labor prison camp in the village of Brodetskoe were killed on December 15, 1942. On the same day, 105 Jews in the prison camp in the village of Shestakovo were also shot.[8]

Only a handful of Jews survived from the Shpola ghetto. The Berezenko family was among the Ukrainian families in Shpola who helped to hide fugitive Jews for a while.[9]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Shpola can be found in the memorial book in Hebrew edited by David Cohen, *Shpolah: Masekhet haye Yehudim be-'ayarah* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Shpolah [Ukrainah] be-Yirsrael, 1965); this book, however, contains very little information on the period of the German occupation and the destruction of the community.

Documents regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Shpola can be found in the following archives: BA-L (Dok.-Sammlung UdSSR, Band 245e, pp. 419–422; Band 245Ag, pp. 180–205); DAChO (R2479-1-1); GARF (8114-1-965); USHMM (RG-50.226, # 0037 and # 0041); and VHF (# 7367, 23060, 29751, and 46014).

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NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznyi perepis liudnosti 1926 roku* (1929 All-Union population census) (Moscow, 1929), 2:210.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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3. GARF, 8114-1-965, p. 51. A published version of this can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 185–186. There is also a report on the Jewish men who were arrested and executed on August 21–22, 1941; see *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev, 1992), no. 9, p. 5.

4. GARF, 8114-1-965, p. 51; 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), p. 1172, date the establishment of the ghetto to late September 1941.

5. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0041, Oral History with Fira Zamenskaya.

6. Account of June 15, 1942, from the supervising officer (Aufsichtsoffizier) of Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 117 to the commander of the Gendarmerie (KdG) in Kiev, DAChO, R2479-1-1, p. 27.

7. GARF, 8114-1-965, pp. 51–52.

8. Ibid., p. 52.

9. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0037, Oral History with Klara Semyonovna Vinokur.

SKVIRA

Pre-1941: Skvira, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1944: Skwira, Gebiet Belaja-Zerkow, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Skvyra, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Skvira is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. The 1939 census recorded that only 2,243 Jews lived in the town (comprising 20.3 percent of the total population).[1] The Jewish population in Skvira had declined by more than half since 1926, when the population had been 4,861 (33.6 percent).

German forces occupied Skvira on July 14, 1941, almost a month after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that interval, a large part of the Jewish population had managed to evacuate to the east. Men eligible for military service were either called up or volunteered for the Red Army. About 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Skvira under German occupation. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town during the summer and fall of 1941. The Germans created a town administration and an auxiliary force of Ukrainian policemen, both composed of local inhabitants. In November 1941, governance passed to a German civil administration. Skvira became part of Gebiet Belaja-Zerkow in Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Stelzer.[2]

Among the German punitive units active in the Skvira region from the end of August until the end of September 1941 was Einsatzkommando 5, at that time under the command of SS-Standartenführer Erwin Schulz. The staff unit and other detachments of Police Regiment South were also in Skvira

Jewish women assembled by the German authorities in preparation for a mass murder near the Skvira ghetto, September 1941. The German caption on the back of the original reads: "They will be massacred."
USHMM WS #17060, COURTESY MJH/CHS

for several days from September 18, 1941. By order of the military commandant, soon after the German occupation of the town, the newly created "Jewish Soviet" (Jewish Council) organized the registration of the Jews, the collection of "contributions," and the wearing of identifying armbands. Jews were made to perform various kinds of heavy labor, including bringing in the harvest, for which they initially received some payment in the form of grain from the military administration.[3]

In August 1941, the German authorities created a "Jewish residential area," or ghetto, in the town on Taras Shevchenko Street, which was only partially fenced in with barbed wire. Ukrainians continued to live on the same street. The Jews lived in overcrowded conditions in small houses or cottages. The Jews ate whatever they could find, but they received little assistance from the local population. The Ukrainian police entered Jewish houses and robbed them of their valuable possessions. From mid-September 1941, the Jews were no longer permitted to go to work.[4]

The ghetto existed for just over a month and was liquidated on September 20, 1941. On that date, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators broke into the ghetto at dawn and ordered the Jews onto the street. They rounded up some 850 Jews and confined them in schoolhouse no. 2. From there they took them on foot or in vehicles to the Jewish cemetery. At the cemetery they shot them in four pits.[5] Men from Einsatzkommando 5, assisted by a detachment of Police Regiment South, carried out the mass killing. Several days after this Aktion, the occupiers shot around 140 more Jews in what had been a stable.[6]

SOURCES Documents on the fate of the Jews of Skvira during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-41); DASBU (79-1-937); and VHF (# 44779).

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NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. DASBU, 79-1-937, p. 22, "Report concerning the Totally Criminal Acts of the German-Fascist Occupiers in Skvira raion, Kiev oblast'."
4. VHF, # 44779, testimony of Mikhail Bykov.
5. Ibid.; and act dated January 1, 1944, Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders, published in *Voenizdat*, no. 13 (1945), pp. 5–6.
6. *Voenizdat*, no. 13 (1945), pp. 5–6.

SMELA

Pre-1941: Smela, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Smila, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Smela is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1926 population census, there were 5,978 Jews in what was then the Smela raion, which included the town. The 1939 census indicated that only 3,428 Jews lived in the town of Smela (10.1 percent of the total population). There were another 106 Jews in the villages of the Smela raion.[1] The decrease in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 by more than 40 percent can be explained mainly by the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German forces occupied Smela on August 4, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this period, some of the Jewish population was able to flee to the east, and Jewish men were conscripted into or volunteered for the Red Army. Approximately one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Smela at the start of the German occupation.

More than 400 people, including some Jews, were killed in the first two days of the occupation.[2] The murders were probably carried out by SS soldiers of the Wiking Division, which was active in the region at that time.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administrated the town. The commandant set up a local administration and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the German military commandant and the local administration registered the Jews and made them wear armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy physical labor (such as the repair of roads and buildings). The head of the Rayon, Rayonchef Streidenberger, was especially vigilant regarding the Jews, chastising his subordinates for violations in their registration and employment—most likely resulting from bribes.[3]

In October 1941, a detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei or GFP) attached to the 213th Security Division (Sicherungsdivision 213) shot 55 partisans, 37 collaborators of the partisans, and 17 Communist Party functionaries in Smela.[4] Jews also were among the 109 people who were killed.

In November 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Smela became the administrative center of Gebiet Smela, which included the Rayons of Tscherkassy and Woronzowo-Gorodischtsche. Regierungsrat Schwehr became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Smela was in turn part of Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[5]

At the end of 1941, the German administration ordered the formation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in Smela. A few streets were cordoned off. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and from buying products from local Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly developed in the ghetto. In January 1942, eight Jewish families from the settlement of Rotmistrovka were resettled into the ghetto.[6] A Jewish boy, Dmitro Mironeneko, who arrived in January 1942 from Cherkassy, noted that the Jews of Smela had not yet been killed by the Germans. He registered himself in Smela and lived for several weeks in the home for invalids. He was fortunate that he left the town in February, sensing the danger of an upcoming German Aktion.[7] It is probable that the Smela ghetto was liquidated at the end of February 1942, when the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police arrested 512 Jews and subsequently shot them.[8]

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Smela can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-40 and 42); GARF (7021-65-241); NARA (T-501, reel 6, fr. 371); TsDAHOU (166-3-358); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); and USHMM (RG-50.226*0024).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 57.
2. P.T. Tron'ko et al., eds., *Smila: Istoriia mist i sil URSR—Cherkas'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972), 26:495.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-358, p. 41.
4. NARA, T-501, reel 6, fr. 371, Report of the 213th Security Division to the head of the home militia detachment "Iug," October 30, 1941.
5. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
6. DAKiO, 4758-2-40, pp. 4 and reverse.
7. USHMM, RG-50.226*0024, interview with Dmitri Mironenko.
8. See the report of the Higher SS and Police Leader and the head of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for the period from March 6 to April 1, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317.

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SOKOLOVKA

Pre-1941: Sokolovka (Yiddish: Justingrad/Sokolievka), village, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Sokolowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Sokolievka, Zhashkiv raion, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Sokolovka is located 192 kilometers (119 miles) south of Kiev and 32 kilometers (20 miles) north of Uman. Available documentation indicates that on the eve of the German occupation there were more than 150 Jews residing in the village of Sokolovka.[1]

The village of Sokolovka was occupied by the units of the German armed forces on July 24, 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. By late July, when the German forces entered the village, an unknown number of Jews had fled eastward. The young Jewish males who left the village either volunteered for the Soviet army or were drafted into its units.

Between July and October 1941 the village was under the command of a German military administration, which recruited some local residents to serve on a newly established village council, with a mayor, or in an auxiliary police force. In November 1941, local administrative authority was taken over by a German civil government. Sokolovka became part of Gebiet Taraschtscha in Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Jews were registered and obligated to wear armbands bearing the Star of David on the sleeves of their outer clothing. Furthermore, Jews were now organized into labor details and forced to carry out the most physically demanding work, often without payment. On September 19, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first Aktion against the Jews of Sokolovka, in which they shot 35 Jews.[2] The remaining Jews of Sokolovka were then forced to resettle into a ghetto. The Jews were confined to the ghetto until the Germans conducted a further Aktion in May 1942. According to local residents, the Germans escorted the Jews into the forest and forced them to dig their own graves. The Germans shot the adult Jews and buried the children alive.[3]

This Aktion did not, however, affect skilled laborers, who were allowed to stay in the ghetto and continue their work. In September 1942, another smaller shooting Aktion was carried out, and in the summer of 1943 all the remaining skilled workers were shot. In the period from 1941 to 1943, a total of 146 Jews were killed in Sokolovka.[4]

A female doctor of the family of Yehoshua Abramov traveled to Sokolovka soon after the Germans were driven out by the Red Army. She did not find any Jews living there. The Jewish houses were empty and in ruins.[5]

SOURCES On the history of the Jewish community of Sokolovka before the Holocaust, there is a yizkor book edited by Leo Miller and Diana F. Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad: A Century of Struggle and Suffering in a Ukrainian Shtetl* (New York: Loewenthal Press, 1983).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Association of the Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Sokolovka.
2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941.
3. Miller and Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad*, p. 57.
4. Association of the Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat'" Holokosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Sokolovka.
5. Miller and Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad*, p. 57.

TAL'NOE

Pre-1941: Tal'noe, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Talnoje, initially a Rayon center, Gebiet Uman-Land, then center of Gebiet Talnoje, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Tal'noe, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Tal'noe is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,866 Jews living in Tal'noe (15.6 percent of the total population).[1]

On July 29, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied Tal'noe. A number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east before the Germans arrived. On August 10, 1941, a short time after the start of the occupation, on orders issued by the military commandant in the town, Degen, around 1,000 Jews were gathered outside the commandant's office for registration. There they were told that they were being led to Uman'. These Jews were escorted out of Tal'noe in two columns, then killed near the village of Belashki, a few kilometers to the southwest, by German soldiers and auxiliary police forces under the leadership of local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). According to a German military report, the ethnic German who had assumed authority in Tal'noe and organized the anti-Jewish Aktion had to be dismissed soon afterwards, when the Germans discovered that before the invasion he had been a Communist Party member who had defamed the Führer.[2]

Immediately after the Aktion in August, around 100 remaining Jews, including Jews from mixed marriages, were rounded up in the town. The authorities relocated them, together with the half-Jewish children and their non-Jewish spouses, to a small ghetto. The ghetto consisted of three single-story houses with adjoining courtyards and was surrounded by a fence. Jews were also brought there from the villages surrounding Tal'noe. Those confined within the ghetto had to live in crowded and unhygienic conditions. Periodically the Germans ordered them to perform various kinds of forced labor. Some of them had to work within the ghetto itself.[3]

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According to somewhat contradictory information published in the *Black Book*, either at the time of the first Aktion or subsequently on September 20, 1941, in Tal'noe itself the Germans also killed 30 elderly and infirm Jews who were unable to perform labor.[4] During the following months, the Germans and local police continued to shoot Jews for any violation of German regulations. One Jewish woman named Ratushnaya was hanged because a German was dissatisfied with the milk she delivered to him, and her body was left swinging outside the commandant's office for a long period of time. Those living in the ghetto suffered from disease and starvation. Sometimes members of the local Ukrainian population brought them something to eat and passed food to them through the fence.[5]

On April 6, 1942, the Germans and local police murdered 115 of the ghetto inmates near the town's slaughterhouse as they liquidated the ghetto. Among the 115 victims, there were 80 children. They took the children of mixed marriages by force and shot them in front of their non-Jewish mothers, who remained alive. A few of the Jews of Tal'noe, including several children, were able to escape and hide among the local population.[6]

A brave young Jewish resistance fighter, Zigmunt Grossbart, who spoke good German, obtained a job under a false identity at the office of the German Gebietskommissar in Tal'noe, Kameradschaftsführer Meede. He exploited this position to assist other resistance fighters in obtaining weapons; he also stole two telegrams in March 1943 that prevented the German Gendarmerie from receiving outside assistance from Kiev for an antipartisan operation.[7]

The Red Army liberated Tal'noe on March 16, 1944.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Tal'noe during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Vladimir Lidin, "Talnoe," in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 20–21; and A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 86–92.

Relevant documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Tal'noe can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-44); RGVA (1275-3-664); USHMM (RG-11.001M.13); VHF (# 42320, oral testimony of Maria Gatiatulina); and YVA (M-33/178; and O-3/6158).

Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. 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), p. 1286.

2. RGVA, 1275-3-664, p. 8, Lagebericht Ortskommandantur I (V) 839, Uman, August 30, 1941. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 20, dates the first Aktion on September 19, 1941. This date conflicts with the above-cited German report from the end of August.

3. Lidin, "Talnoe," pp. 20–21; VHF, # 42320, also mentions the existence of a ghetto in Tal'noe.

4. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 20. This source, however, describes the first Aktion and the selection of those unfit for work as having taken place at the same time.

5. Ibid., p. 21; and VHF, # 42320.

6. DAKiO, 4758-2-44, p. 6. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 21, gives the date of April 17, 1942, for the liquidation Aktion.

7. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 388.

TARASHCHA

Pre-1941: Tarashcha, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Taraschtscha, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Tarashcha, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Tarashcha is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) north of Uman. According to the 1939 population census, 1,140 Jews lived in the town (13 percent of the total population). Additionally, 250 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Tarashcha raion.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on July 23, 1941, just over one month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate eastward during this intervening period. Men of an eligible age were called up to serve in the Red Army. About three quarters of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Tarashcha at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of German commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) ran Tarashcha and established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from among local residents. In August and September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 (Einsatzgruppe C) was based temporarily in Tarashcha in the school building and took over the responsibilities of the Ortskommandantur from the departing military forces.

In November 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Tarashcha became the administrative center of Gebiet Taraschtscha. Kameradschaftsführer Wurach was appointed as Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Taraschtscha included the Rayons of Zhashkov, Tetiev, Buki, and Stavishche and was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew within Reichkommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant issued an order for the Jews to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. The Jews were also obliged to perform forced labor that included road repair work. The Jews were also forbidden to buy food and other products at the market, and the Ukrainians were not allowed to sell them anything.

About one week after the Germans' arrival, all the Jews were ordered to resettle from their own residences into a few designated buildings on one street in Tarashcha (Proletarskaia Street) within two days, establishing a ghetto. However,

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some Jews, including the local blacksmith, were initially exempted and only moved into the ghetto about a month later. The Ukrainian police were in charge of the ghetto and robbed the Jews of their belongings. Even children in the ghetto were put to work, sewing Jewish stars; there was no school in the ghetto.[3]

German security forces started killing the Jews in Tarashcha in a series of sporadic Aktions from the first day they arrived. The precise dates and numbers killed in each Aktion are, however, difficult to reconstruct precisely from the fragmentary and sometimes contradictory recollections of the witnesses. In August 1941, two Aktions directed against the Jewish population were carried out. At the very beginning of the month, the SS military-engineering platoon of the "Wiking Division" shot around 400 Jews.[4] At the end of August, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C (either from Einsatzkommando 5 or from Sonderkommando 4a based in Belaia Tserkov') shot 109 Jews.[5]

The detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, which was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Jung for at least part of the time it was based in Tarashcha, also conducted a series of Aktions to round up and kill the Jews living in the smaller villages surrounding the town. On each occasion, about 20 or 30 Jews were shot with the assistance of the local village heads (*starostas*) and the Ukrainian police.[6] On or around September 10, 1941, Einsatzkommando 5 carried out a third Aktion in Tarashcha and shot a few hundred Jews. Among those shot at this time were Jewish women who had been working as cleaners at the base occupied by the Einsatzkommando.[7]

On November 9, 1941, the "open ghetto" (Jewish residential district) in Tarashcha was more or less liquidated, and most of the remaining Jews were shot.[8] This mass shooting was again probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5. Altogether up to 1,000 Jews were exterminated in Tarashcha between August and November 1941. On each occasion, the Jews were searched for any valuables before being escorted out of town. The Germans then shot and buried them in a large mass grave dug in a gravel pit located between the Jewish and Orthodox cemeteries, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of Tarashcha.[9]

After the last Aktion, a handful of specialist workers and their families remained in a small remnant ghetto or labor camp in Tarashcha for another year or so. Three boys who escaped from the ghetto were captured and then beaten to death. One Jewish child, Miriam Gopman, managed to survive, as she was smuggled out of the ghetto by a Ukrainian policeman who took her to live with his brother, who initially did not know that she was Jewish. When her Jewish identity was discovered, she had to leave; she survived the remainder of the occupation by passing as a Ukrainian. Shortly after her departure from the ghetto, the Germans killed the remaining Jews there, including her mother and father, apparently for refusing to reveal where she had been hidden.[10]

SOURCES Documents on the destruction of the Jews of Tarashcha can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5224-30, 4630, and 14211); DAKiO (4758-2-45); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reels 2, 4, and 5); and VHF (# 8746).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. 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), p. 1288; and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 56.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. DAKiO, 4758-2-45, p. 8; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam: University Press, 1998), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 525 (Landgericht Düsseldorf 8 Ks 1/66, verdict of August 5, 1966); and VHF, # 8746, testimony of Miriam Gopman (née Shir).
4. Testimony of the former SS-Rottenführer Hans Wilhelm Isenmann is in the transcripts of judicial proceedings in Kiev from January 1946. Isenmann himself shot 60 Jews. Information can be found in L. Abramenka, ed., *Kyivs'kyi protsess: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev: Lybil', 1995), p. 51. On this first Aktion, see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 536, which notes that the perpetrators reportedly wore black uniforms, as opposed to the field gray worn by most Einsatzgruppen personnel.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86, September 17, 1941.
6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 526–527.
7. Ibid., pp. 527–528, 550. SS-Untersturmführer Huhn directed the operation. According to the testimony of the witness and collaborator Rössler, the former translator for the squad, around 300 people were shot in this Aktion.
8. DAKiO, 4758-2-45, p. 8; see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 538, which notes that according to one Jewish survivor, the main killing Aktions stretched over a period of about four months.
9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 524–525, 535. A monument to the Jewish victims erected after the war is located on the site.
10. VHF, # 8746.

UMAN'

Pre-1941: Uman', *city*, *Kiev oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Uman*, *Rayon and Gebiet center*, *Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Uman'*, *Cherkasy oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Uman' is located 190 kilometers (118 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. According to the census of January 1939, there were 13,233 Jews in Uman', or 29.81 percent of the city's population.

German troops occupied the city on July 31, 1941. Sonderkommando 4b (commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günter Herrmann) arrived shortly afterwards and carried out

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the first anti-Jewish Aktion—executing the Jewish intelligentsia. On the pretext that "certain questions" had to be clarified, the Jewish intelligentsia was ordered to appear at the municipal administration. The 80 men who appeared on August 13, 1941, were arrested and then killed.[1] Sometime later, 6 Jewish doctors (including Burshtein and Gitis) were publicly hanged in a prominent place.[2]

Ortskommandantur I/839, which administered the city at the time, appointed a new Jewish Council in the second half of August 1941 and ordered that Jews register and wear white armbands bearing six-pointed stars. Registration was accompanied by the beating of Jews with sticks, rifle butts, and lashes. German soldiers and Ukrainian policemen often robbed Jewish homes, and individual Jews were killed.

A large Jewish pogrom occurred in the city on September 21, 1941. German soldiers and Ukrainian policemen rounded up more than 1,000 women and children, forced them into the cellar of the Pioneer Palace on Lenin Street, and tightly sealed all the doors and windows. As a result of the overcrowding in the cellar, many women and children suffocated.[3] The next day the surviving women and children were released, but the men who had been rounded up and placed in the prison were shot by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, dated October 20, 1941, described these events as follows:

> According to observations made by Einsatzkommando 5, over the last few weeks a large number of Jews from near and far have gathered in Uman'. The population of Uman' before the outbreak of the war was about 55,000, of which about 10,000 were Jews. In spite of the large-scale flight of Jews originally living in Uman' after the outbreak of the war, due to many [new] arrivals, the number has been reported at about 8,000. A good intelligence network was discovered among the Jews of Uman'. Information about many events at the front and in the rear areas was passed on by the Jews not only to their coreligionists but also to the Ukrainian population. They very quickly received information about the Aktions against Jews conducted in the vicinity. A two-day Aktion was planned in order to combat this source of danger in Uman'.
>
> Already on September 21, 1941, contrary to the plan, excesses were perpetrated against the Jews by members of the militia with the participation of numerous German soldiers. During these events, Jewish apartments were completely demolished and robbed of all utensils and valuables. In this operation, almost exclusively German soldiers were involved. Spot checks of the apartments of militia members, which a squad from Einsatzkommando 5 conducted immediately after its arrival in Uman', were without any result.
>
> Due to the unplanned excesses against the Jews in Uman', the organization of the Aktion by Einsatzkommando 5 suffered extraordinarily. Above all very many Jews now received advanced warning and fled the city. . . .
>
> In the remainder [of the Aktion], 1,412 Jews were executed by Einsatzkommando 5 in Uman' on September 22 and 23, 1941.[4]

Also worth noting is the report by Ortskommandantur II/575, September 25, 1941: "On September 21–22, 1941, the SD carried out a round-up of Jews. To prevent excesses and robbery, the department sent patrols out throughout the city on September 21, and on September 22 assigned guards to certain places to prevent disturbances and other incidents. Individual servicemen from the Luftwaffe and Organisation Todt attempted to take part in the anti-Jewish Aktion, but the Feldgendarmerie of the Ortskommandantur prevented this in order to guard against Wehrmacht involvement in political actions which should be conducted only by the SD."[5]

Soon after the Aktion on September 21–23, the Jews of the city were ordered to move to a residential district (ghetto) that had been set aside for them near the marketplace on Rakovka, Vostochnaia, Nekrasov, and other streets, in agreement with the city administration. The local commandant's office—Ortskommandantur II/575 (V)—ordered that the move to this district be completed by the end of September 1941.[6] The Jewish district was not isolated and only lightly guarded, but Jews were forbidden to leave it, and Ukrainians were forbidden to enter. Those who violated this order were severely punished by being beaten and heavily fined. A Jewish elder and his assistant administered the district. Samburskii was appointed as the elder; his assistant was Tabachnik. They had at their disposal three Jewish police officers, one of them a woman. With their assistance the elder collected the "contributions" that were periodically imposed on the Jews. If Jews refused to hand over gold or valuables, Jewish police officers placed them face down on a trestle bed and beat them on their backs and buttocks until they agreed to hand over what was demanded of them.[7]

A week after the move into the ghetto, German Police Battalion 304 carried out a further Aktion in the city, with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The battalion arrived in Uman' from Kirovograd on October 7, and at 4:00 A.M. the next morning, German and Ukrainian police began herding Jews to the market square. From the market square they were taken to the prison, where they were forced to undress; their money, valuables, and papers were confiscated. From the prison the Jews were taken to three large trenches in Sukhoi Iar outside the city and shot. Sick people, cripples, and small children were driven to the trenches in trucks and murdered. In all, that day Police Battalion 304 shot 5,400 Jewish civilians from the city and 400 Jewish prisoners of war.[8] A memorial has been erected on the site.

After the Aktion on October 8, 1941, about 1,500 Jews remained in the "open ghetto," compressed together now onto one street. Starting on January 8, 1942, they were forced to wear round yellow patches 8 centimeters (3.2 inches) in diameter on their backs and chests. The Jews were sent out every

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day under Ukrainian police escort to perform various jobs (shoveling snow, moving rocks, and repairing roads). From time to time public executions of Jews were carried out. On January 5, 1942, 2 men and a woman were publicly hanged.[9] According to a report on March 7, 1942 (for the period from February 2 to March 5) by the Higher SS and Police Leader—issued by the Senior Commander of the Order Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine—the Gendarmerie in Uman' executed 3 Jews, 2 former Ukrainian police commanders, and 6 partisans. According to his report for March 6 to April 1, 1942, first 5 Jews were publicly hanged, and subsequently another 8 people were hanged, including 1 Jew and the commanding officer of a Ukrainian police detachment.[10]

Security Police and SD forces under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Xaver Schnöller, assisted by German Gendarmes, and Lithuanian and Ukrainian police auxiliaries, liquidated the ghetto in Uman' on April 22, 1942. During the Aktion, those Jews fit for work were selected and to a labor camp in the Gaisin raion. Those not fit for work were escorted to a nearby forest, where Lithuanian and Ukrainian police took part in shooting them under German direction.

Also involved in clearing the ghetto were members of the 1st platoon, 2nd Company of the Polizeisicherungsabteilung an der Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) (German police assigned to supervise forced laborers on road construction work). According to testimony by members of this unit, SS-Brigadeführer Jürgen Stroop, in charge of security for the entire length of the DG IV project, ordered the ghetto to be liquidated to prevent Jews fleeing to the partisans and to confine those fit for work in secure labor camps. The ghetto was surrounded at dawn, and most Jews were assembled on the market square for the selection. A few hid within the ghetto, however, and a number were shot as the Germans and their collaborators searched the ghetto, including the attic of the synagogue, looking for those in hiding.[11] After the liquidation of the ghetto, 50 to 60 Jewish craftsmen remained in the town; they were shot in 1943.

A group of former policemen from Police Battalion 304 were convicted at several trials in the former East Germany. They were accused of killing Jews in several cities in Ukraine, including participation in the Aktion in Uman' on October 8, 1941. Three former members of the battalion were convicted and sentenced to death in Halle on October 26, 1978.

SS-Sturmbannführer Günter Herrmann, commanding officer of Sonderkommando 4b, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in Düsseldorf on October 12, 1973. His unit organized the shooting of Jews in Uman' in August 1941.

In 1970, the Staatsanwaltschatt in Lübeck closed the investigation of Xaver Schnöller and Robert Deneke, who took part in the liquidation of the Uman' ghetto, because there was insufficient evidence.

SOURCES There are no books or articles devoted exclusively to the history of the ghetto in Uman'. Accounts by Jewish survivors from Uman' can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 2000). The documentary collection *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), edited by A. Kruglov, contains several documents relating to the destruction of the Jews of Uman' in 1941.

Relevant documentation on the extermination of the Jews of Uman' can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAVO; USHMM (RG-11.001M.13); VHF (e.g., # 30123 and 51179); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ochividtsev o katastrofe sovetskikh evreev (1941–1944)* (Jerusalem, Moscow: Yad Vashem and GARF, 1993), p. 185 (testimony of M. Faingold).
2. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 130 (testimony of M. Demb).
3. *Nezvestnaia Chernaia kniga*, pp. 185, 194 (testimony of R. Dudmik); and ibid., p. 131 (testimony of M. Demb).
4. NARA, T-175, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 119, October 20, 1941, pp. 4–6.
5. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13 (RGVA), 1275-3-662, p. 40, Ortskommandantur II/575 (V) [in Uman'] an Feldkommandantur 676, September 25, 1941.
6. Ibid.
7. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 133 (testimony of M. Demb).
8. Former Stasi Archive in Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (now Bundesarchiv), original file ref.: MIS-HA IX/11, ZUV 78, Bd. 6 (diary of Otto Müller, a former member of the 304th Police Battalion); see also *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), vol. 1, Lfd. Nr. 1029, pp. 731–746, Verdict of BG Halle 1 Bs 23/75, August 28, 1975 (case against members of Pol. Batl. 304).
9. See the testimony of M. Faingold in *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga*.
10. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317.
11. See BA-L, II 213 AR-Z 20/63 (Friese and others, DG IV), vol. 18, pp. 3259–3279.

ZEN'KOV

Pre-1941: Zen'kov, town and raion center, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Senkow, Rear Area Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); after September 1, 1942, Rayon center, Gebiet Gadjatsch, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Zin'kiv, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Zen'kov is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west of Khar'kov. According to the 1926 census, there were 608 Jews living in Zen'kov. The 1939 census, however, recorded only 142 Jews

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residing in the town.[1] This sharp decline in the Jewish population between 1926 and 1939 was due to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and to the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on October 9, 1941. In the more than three months since the start of the German invasion, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern USSR, and men liable for military service entered the Red Army as conscripts or volunteers. About 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zen'kov at the start of the occupation.

From October 1941 to September 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur 258 in Gadiach) was in charge of the town. The German military administration established a town council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force (Hilfspolizei) composed of local residents. Authority was transferred to the German civil administration in September 1942. Zen'kov (renamed Senkow) became a Rayon center in Gebiet Gadjatsch in Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

In late 1941, all the remaining Jews of the town were herded into a single house, which served as a temporary ghetto. In late January 1942, the Germans shot all the Jews, 19 in total, in the quarry of a brickyard on the southeastern edge of town.[2] In addition to the local Jews, four Jewish families from the village of Grun' (in Sumy oblast') were also shot; the German police had brought them to Zen'kov on January 18, 1942.[3] It is possible that the 7 Jews who were recorded as having been shot in the town cemetery in January 1942 were these same Jews.[4] The shootings of the Jews were apparently the work of the 303rd Police Battalion (commanded by Police Major Robert Franz), part of which was based in Zen'kov from December 25, 1941.[5] On February 1, 1942, in the course of a "cleansing Aktion" (Säuberungsaktion) in Zen'kov, this battalion was engaged in "executions by shooting in accordance with the laws of war."[6] This is possibly a reference to the shooting of Jews in Zen'kov.

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/22); GARF (7021-70-950); NA (HW 16/54); NARA (RG-242, T-501, reels 6 and 33); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); and VHAP (Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 6/12).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Zen'kov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:483.

2. Poltava Oblast' Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments: List of burial sites of victims of shootings of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality during the occupation of the Ukraine in 1941–1944, Poltava oblast' (archive of the author); GARF, 7021-70-950, p. 1, reports only that all remaining Jews were killed.

3. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 1284 and 1293.

4. Poltava Oblast' Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, PAAKru.

5. See Fernschreiben no. 2083, December 25, 1941, 14.30, from HSSPF Russland Süd to RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, Chef Orpo (VHAP, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 6/12; and NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 6).

6. See Fernschreiben, February 2, 1942, from Einsatzstab HSSPF Russland Süd to RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, Chef Orpo, Chef Sipo (NA, HW 16/54, GPD 605; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 10; and BA-MA, RH 22/22).

ZHASHKOV

Pre-1941: Zhashkov, village and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Shaschkow, Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Zhashkiv, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Zhashkov is located about 56 kilometers (35 miles) north of Uman'. The 1939 population census counted 877 Jews in Zhashkov (14.58 percent of the population) and 299 Jews in the villages of the Zhashkov raion, bringing the total number to 1,176 Jews.

German forces occupied Zhashkov on July 19, 1941, nearly one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this month, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zhashkov at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Zhashkov. The German military administration created a local council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civilian administration. Zhashkov became a Rayon center in Gebiet Taraschtscha, where Kameradschaftsführer Wurach was named as Gebietskommissar.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement in July, the German military commandant ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with yellow stars. At the end of July or beginning of August 1941, the German military administration ordered the formation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in the center of the settlement. One street was cordoned off. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto to buy products from the Ukrainian locals; as a result, famine quickly ensued. The Jews in the ghetto were required to perform forced labor every day. Among the tasks performed was the cleaning of toilets.[2]

In 1941, a number of Jews were murdered in the settlement and in the villages of the Zhashkov Rayon.[3] On March 15, 1942, able-bodied Jews were selected and sent to various forced

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labor camps, including those in the villages of Buki and Antonovka.[4] The remaining Jews in the Zhashkov ghetto—more than 100—were shot in September 1942 (exact date unknown) in a quarry located 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) to the east of the settlement.[5] In Zhashkov during 1941 and 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered around 500 Jews in total.[6]

SOURCES Documents regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews in Zhashkov can be found in the following archives: DAChO; and DAKiO.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communes in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "The Memory of the Holocaust" (*Pamiat' Kholokosta*), Cherkassy Province, Town of Zhashkov; and Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:107, testimony of Ol'ga Zuslina.
3. In the summer of 1941, German soldiers and policemen murdered around 300 Jews in the Zhashkov raion. See F.D. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel' skii tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), p. 39.
4. Koval, *Kniga spaseniia*, 2:107, testimony of Ol'ga Zuslina.
5. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiut*, p. 39. Another account indicates that 150 Jews were shot in 1942 at the boundary of Berestova, between the villages of Petrovka and Okhmatov. Administrative report by the administration of the Cherkassy Provincial Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, no. 72, October 15, 1990, addressed to the Council Head of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in Kiev.
6. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communes in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "The Memory of the Holocaust" (*Pamiat' Kholokosta*), Cherkassy Province, Town of Zhashkov.

ZOLOTONOSHA

Pre-1941: Zolotonosha, town, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Solotonoscha, from September 1942, Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Zolotonosha, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Zolotonosha is located 139 kilometers (86 miles) east-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,087 Jews residing in Zolotonosha.

The Germans entered Zolotonosha on September 19, 1941. In the weeks prior to the Germans' arrival, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate or flee to the interior of the Soviet Union. According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, on the third day after the occupation of the town, the German commandant ordered the execution of 300 local citizens. Among those killed were many refugees from western parts of the Soviet Union, and it is most likely that a high proportion were Jews.[1] The German unit responsible for the shooting was probably a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a. The remaining Jews were herded into a ghetto, from which they were taken to perform menial jobs such as cleaning streets and repairing roads.

On November 21, the German commandant announced that all Jews would be "resettled" to Kremenchug the following day. They were ordered to gather all their valuables, money, and best clothes and to assemble near Gestapo headquarters at 9:00 A.M. on November 22, 1941. On that day guards were posted all over the town, and they thoroughly searched the Jewish apartments and the neighboring houses for any Jews who went into hiding. The Gestapo men robbed the assembled Jews of all their valuables. The Jews were then escorted under close guard to a ravine about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside of Zolotonosha to the northwest, where they were shot. Involved in the Aktion were forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, namely, Police Battalion 303, men of Sonderkommando 4a, and members of the Ukrainian police, commanded by the Ukrainian police chief in the town, Vladimir Ivanovich Kalanchuk. The precise number of victims, Jewish men, women, and children from Zolotonosha and its environs, is unknown, but estimates range from 600 up to 3,500 or more.[2]

In the ensuing period until the spring of 1942, several hundred more Jews were successively brought in to Zolotonosha from the countryside and confined in the ghetto. In January 1942, during a German antipartisan sweep through the Poltava oblast', a number of Jews were shot in Zolotonosha. The rest were murdered by men of Sonderkommando "Plath" in June 1942.[3]

SOURCES Regarding the murder of the Jews in Zolotonosha, see *Nimets'ki okupanty na Poltavshcnyni (1941–1943): Zbirnyk dokumentiv* (Poltava: Vydavnytstvo "Zoria Poltavshcnyny," 1947), pp. 24–29. An English translation can be found in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987), pp. 151–155.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAPO; GARF; NARA (T-501, reel 6, fr. 1013); and TsDAHOU.

Alexander Prusin

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-70-952, p. 1. This Soviet report named German officers Hauptmann Greisching and Oberleutnant Ilger as being responsible.
2. *Nimets'ki okupanty na Poltavshchyni (1941–1943)*, pp. 24–29. The figure of 3,500 victims can be found in DAPO, R-4085-3-2276, p. 2. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 797, gives the

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figure of at least 1,000 killed. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 142, 144, however, gives a figure of probably only around 600 in light of the pre-war Jewish population of only 2,087.

3. TsDAHOU, 166-2- 34, p. 1; DAPO, R-1876-8-98, p. 1; and R-3388-1-1086, p. 1.

ZVENIGORODKA

Pre-1941: Zvenigorodka, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Swenigorodka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Zvenigorodka, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Zvenigorodka is located 156 kilometers (97 miles) south of Kiev and about 65 kilometers (40 miles) northeast of Uman'. In 1926, there were 6,584 Jews in the town (36.5 percent of the total population); in 1939, there were 1,957 (14 percent of the total population).

On July 29, 1941, German forces occupied Zvenigorodka. In the intervening five weeks after the start of the German invasion, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and a number of Jewish men were called up to the Red Army. Others stayed behind, believing they had nothing to fear from the Germans as they were not members of the Communist Party. Approximately 1,300 Jews remained in Zvenigorodka at the start of the German occupation, including some refugees from western Ukraine who became trapped in the town as they tried to flee eastward.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military commandant established a local administration in the town and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents.

In December 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Zvenigorodka became the administrative center of Gebiet Swenigorodka, which also included the Rayons of Shpola, Ekaterinopol', Mokraia Kaligorka, and Ol'shana. Oberbannführer Hannjo Becker became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Swenigorodka was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1] A squad of German Gendarmerie based in the town supervised the local Ukrainian police.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the German military commandant ordered the local administration to register the Jews, who were required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Jews were forced to perform heavy manual labor (such as repairing roads, cleaning, and construction work), during which they were frequently beaten. A few weeks later, in September 1941,[2] an open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") was established on the orders of the German military commandant, on Comintern Street, Gul'kina Street, and several other small streets in the northern part of town. Jews were also brought to the ghetto from the surrounding villages of the Swenigorodka Rayon. Several families had to share each house. The ghetto was not surrounded by barbed wire, but Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto area or communicating with the local population. Jews were permitted to visit the market for only a short period in the afternoon. Ukrainian police guards manned checkpoints around the ghetto to enforce these regulations. The Ukrainian policemen and German officials often entered the ghetto and took clothing, dishes, shoes, and any valuables. At night drunken policemen assaulted and robbed the Jews in their houses.[3]

In September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Lehmann, arrived in Zvenigorodka, where it was based for several weeks.[4] At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, Lehmann's mobile squad of Security Police conducted the first Aktion in Zvenigorodka, seizing about 100 Jewish men and shooting them.[5]

German regulations prohibited the Jews from buying products from the local Ukrainians. However, although entering and leaving the ghetto was forbidden without a special permit, some Ukrainian civilians still came to the ghetto to exchange food for Jewish clothing and furniture. Conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with several families sharing each house. Due to lack of food and heating materials, some ghetto residents died of starvation and disease, including at least one death from typhus. There also were arbitrary arrests and individual killings of Jews conducted by the local police and the Germans.[6]

In the ghetto, there was a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was established on the orders of the German authorities. The head of the Jewish Council was a man named Lazurik. Among the tasks of the Jewish Council was the organization of daily Jewish labor details, including the repair of roads and cleaning latrines. There was a clinic headed by Dr. Starosel'skaia, who still managed to perform complicated surgery without adequate medications or equipment. There were two dentists, one of whom, Lisa Prober, also treated the locally based German officials. The Germans closed down the clinic in the ghetto after a short time, but the residents continued to improvise medical services despite the lack of medicine and bandages.

At the beginning of May 1942, the German authorities transferred about 100 Jews from the ghetto in the town of Ol'shana.[7] They brought them to Zvenigorodka at the end of the day, and at night they put them in a prison. The next morning, they selected the able-bodied Jews among them for assignment to a labor camp. Those who were not considered fit to work were sent to the Zvenigorodka ghetto.[8] On May 5, 1942, by order of the Gebietskommissar, the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie rounded up the able-bodied Jews to perform road repair work on the Transit Highway IV (Durchgangsstrasse IV) project. These Jews were resettled into a labor camp that was created in the stables in the village of Nemorozh.[9] On May 17, 1942, around 150 Jews were resettled in Zvenigorodka from the village of Ekaterinopol',[10]

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bringing the total number of people in the ghetto to around 1,500. On June 18, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. Before the liquidation, a group of Jewish craftsmen, their families, and other able-bodied individuals were selected out. The remaining 1,375 people were shot in the nearby meadow.[11] The shooting was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD subordinated to the Commander of the Security Police (KdS) in Kiev, assisted by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. The Jewish craftsmen survived in the town until August 1943, when they were also shot.[12]

Fanya Shubinskaya managed to flee when the labor camp at Nemorozh was liquidated and survived with the help of Zinaida Shchaslyva in Novaia Greblia.[13]

SOURCES Published testimonies about the ghetto in Zvenigorodka can be found in collections edited by Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ogne Katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izd. "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998), pp. 15–33, 148–167; and in that edited by Boris Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 2000), also available in English as *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005); there is also a testimony by L. Kraslovskaia published in *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev), nos. 1–2 (1994), p. 4.

Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Zvenigorodka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 26/68); DAKiO (4758-2-18 and 20); GARF (7021-148-11 and 7021-65-241); USHMM (RG-50.226*0016); and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov and Alexander Prusin
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Agmon and Maliar, *V ogne Katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine*, p. 151, testimony of Lubov Krasilovskaya; see also USHMM, RG-50.226*0016, Oral History with Lubov Krasilovskaya.
3. Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 363–364.
4. Verdict of LG-Düss on August 5, 1966, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 523.
5. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaia, p. 4; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in der Ukraine: Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 278.
6. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaia; Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), pp. 363–364.
7. Testimony of T.E. Shnaider (Pit'kina), in Iu. M. Liakhovitskii, *Perezhivshie katastrofu: Spasshiesia, spasiteli, kollaboranty, martirolog, svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov-Jerusalem, 1996), p. 139. According to the deposition of I.T. Nesterenko, the former chief of police in the Ol'shana Rayon, there were 103 Jews; see GARF, 7021-148-11.
8. Testimony of Grigorii Basovskii, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 46–47.
9. DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30.
10. Ibid., 4758-2-18, p. 4.
11. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaia; DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30. Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova) dates the mass shooting at the beginning of May 1942, see her Testimony, pp. 363–364.
12. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaia.
13. Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), pp. 363–364.

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NIKOLAEV AND DNEPROPETROVSK REGIONS

The bodies of two Jewish men hang from a gallows outside a market building in Novomoskovsk, 1942.
USHMM WS #25240, COURTESY OF YIVO

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NIKOLAEV AND DNEPROPETROVSK REGIONS (GENERALKOMMISSARIATE NIKOLAJEW UND DNJEPROPETROWSK)

Pre-1941: Nikolaev, Kherson, Kirovograd, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozh'e oblasts, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Generalkommissariate Nikolajew und Dnjepropetrowsk, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Mykolaiv, Kirovohrad, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizh'e, and parts of the Kherson and Cherkasy oblasts, Ukraine

In these two southeastern regions of Reichskommissariat Ukraine, the German occupying authorities established around 18 ghettos, which probably contained up to 24,000 Jews. Research has uncovered 11 ghettos or probable ghetto sites in Generalkommissariat (Gk) Nikolajew that contained up to 19,000 Jews and another 7 such sites in Gk Dnjepropetrowsk, which held around 5,000 Jews. The period of ghettoization extended from August 1941 until the spring or early summer of 1942. It was accompanied by the mass murder of the Jewish population by units of the Security Police (Einsatzgruppen and Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD, or KdS), Wehrmacht, Order Police, SS, the German civil administration, and various non-German auxiliaries.

As the German forces of Army Group South advanced eastward in the late summer of 1941, much of the area concerned came temporarily under the administration of the 444th Security Division, which was responsible for securing areas in the immediate rear of the frontline troops. Most of the Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk regions were occupied by German forces between early August and early October. Malaia Viska, about 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Kirovograd, was captured at the beginning of August. Krivoi Rog was taken on August 14, and the city of Nikolaev on the Black Sea coast fell on August 17. Further to the east and south, Dnepropetrovsk was captured on August 25, and Zaporozh'e on October 4, 1941.

Precise figures for the number of Jews who managed to evacuate are not available. According to the calculations of historian Alexander Kruglov, of the 26,419 Jews residing in the Kirovograd oblast' in 1939, approximately 12,000 (about 45 percent) were murdered during the German occupation. That means that probably around 50 percent of the Jews were able to evacuate or flee. The figures for the Dnepropetrovsk oblast' are that of 129,439 Jews registered in 1939, probably around 35,000 were murdered (about 27 percent). The higher rate of evacuation here is probably explained by the concentration of Jews in industrial centers and the location further east, giving people more time to leave.

For Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler the murder of the Jews was the first step in a large-scale plan for the demographic restructuring and resettlement of the occupied territories. By the end of August 1941, the Einsatzgruppen and other German security forces had widened the group of Jews targeted for extermination to include women, children, and the elderly, and they had begun wiping out entire Jewish communities. In Ukraine, this shift was demonstrated most clearly by the large-scale massacre of Jews at Kamenets-Podolskii in late August 1941, in which more than 20,000 people were murdered.[1]

This transition to mass murder by Einsatzgruppen C and D, assisted by Order Police forces subordinated to the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) South Russia (Friedrich Jeckeln), in mid-August, meant that the establishment of ghettos in the region was conducted only in a few places and on an ad hoc basis. On August 28, 1941, the commander of Rear Area, Army Group South, General Franz von Roques, ordered that ghettos were to be established in places, especially towns, with a larger Jewish population only if this was necessary or useful. It was to be deferred if the administrative tools were insufficient or if it might result in more urgent tasks being neglected.[2]

In late August and early September 1941, the German military administration established the first ghettos in the region in the towns of Pervomaisk and Novaia Odessa. These short-lived ghettos served mainly as collection points to facilitate the destruction of the Jews later in September.[3]

Available records for Krivoi Rog reveal the series of anti-Jewish measures implemented in this town, where no ghetto was established. In August 1941, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C shot 39 Communist officials, 11 saboteurs and plunderers, and 105 Jews there.[4] By mid-September, Jews were required to perform forced labor, to wear distinguishing armbands, and to use separate shops. They were also forbidden to slaughter livestock and had to surrender any foreign currency, precious metals, jewels, or other valuables. Feldkommandantur (FK) (V) 538 was then examining the question of whether it would serve its goals to establish a ghetto there—but by mid-October, all the Jews had been shot with the assistance of the Ukrainian auxiliary police.[5]

The establishment of the ghetto in Kherson, which existed for only two weeks, is well documented in contemporary German reports, survivor testimony, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, postwar German investigations, and published accounts. Sonderkommando 11a issued an order that the Jews could only reside on certain streets, thereby establishing a ghetto on September 7. The ghetto was located in a remote section of the city, near the crossroads of Frunze and Rabochnaia Streets, and a Jewish police force was created. Overseeing the ghetto was SS-Scharführer Baron Leo von der Recke of Sonderkommando 11a. On a daily basis the Jews were summoned to perform various forms of humiliating and heavy physical labor.[6]

On September 24–25, 1941, Sonderkommando 11a organized the liquidation of the Kherson ghetto.[7] Prior to the Ak-

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tion, the Jews were informed that they would be resettled to Palestine. A few Jews managed to escape, but most of these people were subsequently captured and killed. When the Aktion started, the Jews were marched on foot to a factory site on the edge of the city. From there they were conveyed on trucks to an antitank ditch 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) northeast of the city, near Zelenivka. The Jews were shot in groups by two rifle squads. Those waiting could hear the shots.[8] Soviet forensic experts estimated that more than 8,000 people were buried in the mass graves.[9]

A similar ghetto was established in Nikolaev to facilitate the mass murder of around 7,000 Jews there under the supervision of Sonderkommando 11a, also in September 1941. However, Feldkommandantur 193 reported somewhat misleadingly on October 5, 1941, that "in Nikolaev and Kherson the Jews had been 'evacuated' by the SD. The intended establishment of ghettos therefore was not completed. Also in the countryside, as far as can be determined here, the Jews had in the meantime disappeared."[10] In fact, ghettos had been briefly created in Nikolaev and Kherson by Sonderkommando 11a as part of the destruction process, but FK 193 misrepresented this, as by October these ghettos had been completely liquidated.

In many places in Gks Nikolajew and Dnjepropetrowsk, no ghettos were established, especially in the Zaporozh'e oblast', where the only ghetto discovered was in Novozlatopol'. Instead, the remaining Jews were killed in mass-shooting Aktions or by other means, without formal ghettoization. In Dnepropetrovsk it was reported that about 70,000 of the 100,000 Jews originally living there had fled before the arrival of the Germans. Of the remainder, more than 10,000 were shot by units subordinated to HSSPF Russia South (especially Police Battalion 314) on October 14–15, 1941.[11] It appears that the Wehrmacht (FK 240) made preparations for the establishment of a ghetto in Dnepropetrovsk, but the rapid massacre of some 15,000 Jews by the SD soon rendered this unnecessary.[12]

In Zaporozh'e, where about 4,000 Jews were living at the start of the German occupation, the German military authorities also did not deem it "appropriate" to move the Jews into a ghetto. Jewish medical personnel were still working here, but it was planned to exclude them as quickly as possible, allowing for the health-care needs of the population.[13]

The area of GK Nikolajew was officially transferred from military to civilian control in mid-November 1941, when Generalkommissar Oppermann took over the region.[14] In December 1941, part of Gk Dnjepropetrowsk was officially transferred to a civil administration, although the military commandants continued to play an important role in these areas for several months more. Both Generalkommissariate were divided up into a number of Kreisgebiete, each administered by a Gebietskommissar. In Gk Nikolajew, there were three Stadtkommissare (for the cities of Kherson, Nikolaev, and Kirovograd) and 13 Gebietskommissare. In Gk Dnjepropetrowsk, there were four Stadtkommissare (for Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozh'e, Krivoi Rog, and Kamenskoye) and 16 Gebietskommissare.[15] However, the eastern section of Gk Dnjepropetrowsk was not handed over from military to civilian administration until October 1942.

With the handover to the civil administration, the Ukrainian militia was formally dissolved, and a Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft was created under the control of the Order Police, which was composed of the Schutzpolizei in the cities and the Gendarmerie in the towns and country areas. The Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (KdG) in Nikolajew was Major Gansinger. By November 1942, there were approximately 410 Gendarmes subordinated to the KdG Nikolajew, in charge of nearly 5,000 local policemen (Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst). In Gk Dnjepropetrowsk about 600 officials of the Schutzpolizei and 400 Gendarmes were responsible for some 6,000 Ukrainian auxiliaries. The Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (KdO) Dnjepropetrowsk was Colonel Gotthilf Hoffmann. Small outposts of the Security Police were established in major cities such as Nikolaev, Kirovograd, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozh'e.

In some areas of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, ghettos were not established until after the arrival of the civil administration at the end of 1941. This was the case in Aleksandrovka, in Kamenka, and also in Bobrinets, where Gebietskommissar Holzmann ordered the establishment of an enclosed Jewish residential area in late December. In the absence of much survivor testimony or German documentation, historians are forced to rely on other sources to identify ghettos in these regions. For example, information on the ghetto in Bobrinets comes from the ChGK and a postwar NKVD report from 1946. The ghetto in Bobrinets was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded day and night by the local police.[16] It existed only until early February 1942, when more than 300 people were shot just outside the town.

A variety of different structures were used as ghettos in these regions. The small ghetto in Novaia Praga (Gk Nikolajew) was established at the end of 1941 in a building in a schoolyard. Jews from nearby villages were also resettled into the ghetto, which was not liquidated until the following summer.[17] In Pavlograd (Gk Dnjepropetrowsk), the German authorities established a Jewish "prison camp" or "ghetto" in the spring of 1942, on the grounds of a large factory.

As already noted, following the large-scale massacres in major cities in September and October 1941, conducted mainly by mobile units of the SS and police, the remaining smaller ghettos were liquidated successively from February through the summer of 1942, mostly by the Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft, with close coordination by the civil administration. The Zlatopol' ghetto (Gk Nikolajew) was subjected to at least three separate Aktions by German police and their Ukrainian helpers. In some of these Aktions, conducted on instructions from the Gebietskommissar, the Jews were murdered using poison gas.[18] The Aleksandrovka ghetto was liquidated in March 1942, when several hundred Jews were shot by German and local police, again coordinated by the Gebietskommissar, as was the case at another mass shooting of Jews, near the village of Izrailevka, although these Jews had not previously been ghettoized.

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In July 1942, Generalkommissar Oppermann in Nikolajew reported curtly that "only individual Jews had appeared in one Gebiet and that a corresponding report had been passed on to the SD."[19]

In Gk Nikolajew and Gk Dnjepropetrowsk there were a number of rural Jewish settlements, most notably in the Stalindorf Jewish national raion. On October 20, 1941, FK (V) 246 reported that in "Rayon Stalindorf" only just over 2,500 Jews remained, compared with a figure of more than 7,000 registered there in 1939. "Most of those [that remained] had been excluded from the economy and they stayed completely calm. Through the repeated Aktions of the police, the Jewish question was becoming ever less important."[20] This reflected the pattern in the Jewish agricultural settlements that a number of Jews remained on their respective kolkhozy and were liquidated in successive Aktions from the fall of 1941 through the summer of 1942. In a few kolkhozy/villages, however, survivors recall some form of open ghetto being established, where Jews were concentrated together with only limited access to food and restricted movement, as well as forced labor.[21]

Despite the above-cited report of the Generalkommissar Nikolajew indicating that almost all Jews had been removed by July 1942, the exploitation of Jewish labor remained an issue into 1943. In Aleksandrovka, for example, some Jewish craftsmen were spared from the main Aktion in the spring of 1942 and continued to live and work in the ghetto for some time afterwards.

In several other ghettos in these regions, Jews were selected for work and sent to labor camps during the liquidation Aktions in the spring and summer of 1942, where they survived for several months more. In March 1942, when most of the remaining Jews in Rayon Mala Wiska were shot, those Jews able to work were selected and sent to a labor camp in the Rayon center. These Jewish prisoners had to live in the stables of a sugar refinery, and they worked on building and repairing roads.[22]

In Novovitebskoe, where the Jews had been isolated in an open ghetto, located on a single street, those deemed fit for work were selected in April 1942 and taken to a nearby labor camp run by the SS and the Organisation Todt (OT), where they were used to build the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV or DG IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. On May 20, 1942, around 300 young Jews were transported from the ghetto in Ingulets to another labor camp in the village of Novoselovka, which was also part of the DG IV project.

In only a few cases is information about the existence of a Jewish Council, or Jewish elder (starosta), available. The main functions of such officials included the assignment of Jews to forced labor and the raising of contributions. Jewish responses included, on rare occasions, physical resistance in the face of death and also suicide. A number of Jews tried to hide and escape, but many of these were captured shortly after the ghetto liquidation Aktions.

In view of the small number of survivors from these regions, little information is available about the reactions of the local population. A number of accounts mention the brutality of local Ukrainian and ethnic German policemen and administrators. The local police robbed the Jews, beat them, and in a number of locations, played an active part in their murder. A few instances of non-Jews helping Jews are recorded. They provided food to Jewish acquaintances and, in rare cases, warned Jews or helped them to escape (including older local policemen). For example, Nikifor Cheredenko, a farmer from the village of Prishib, traveled several hours by cart to rescue the Tsviling family of Jews shortly before their scheduled arrest. In Prishib, the other local inhabitants also did not give away the family, even though they were known to be Jews, having lived there before the war.[23] Generally, however, those that did escape from the ghetto had the best chances of surviving if they could pass as non-Jews and were able to get away from their home village, where they might be recognized. A few were even sent to Germany as Ostarbeiter (eastern workers).

The last occupying German forces were driven from the region by the Red Army during 1944. Precise figures are not available, but it seems likely that of the Jews trapped by the German occupation in the ghettos of this region, only a few hundred managed to survive. The postwar populations in these towns and cities were composed overwhelmingly of Jews who had returned (or arrived) from the Soviet interior or had served in the Red Army.

SOURCES Only limited research has been conducted into the Holocaust in these regions, partly due to a lack of detailed sources. Among those publications dealing with all or part of these regions, the following are worthy of mention: Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003); Michael Gesin, "Holocaust: The Reality of Genocide in Southern Ukraine" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2003); I.M. Liakhovitskii, ed., *Zheltaia Kniga: Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov: Biblioteka gazety "Bensiakh," 1994); 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); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 4–6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000–2007); S.F. Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e* (Zaporozh'e, 2003); and Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DADO; DAKherO; DAKO; DAMO; DASBU; DAZPO; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, NS 33/22, HSSPF Jeckeln to RFSS, August 27–30, 1941.

2. Order of General von Roques, August 28, 1941, BA-L, Versch, vol. 4, p. 891, as cited in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 81.

3. GARF, 7021-68-182, pp. 157, 190–193.

4. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 86, September 17, 1941.

5. Situation report of Feldkommandantur (V) 538, September 14, 1941, BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR III, pp. 768–769, 774; and RGVA, 1275-3-665, OK I/253 Krivoi Rog, October 15, 1941.

6. Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Cherson vom 22.8. bis 10.9.1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-636); Oleksandr Ivanovych Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines: War, Genocide and Identity in the Kherson Region of Ukraine, 1941–1944" (Master's thesis, Edmonton University, 2004), pp. 49–53; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 33 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), pp. 452, 458–459.

7. GARF, 7021-77-421, pp. 11, 13, and reverse.

8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, pp. 448–449.

9. See *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vypusk 13 (Voennoe izdatel'stvo NKO, 1945), pp. 59–62. According to the testimony of SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Barth on September 12, 1947, Sonderkommando 11a executed around 5,000 Jews in Kherson with the support of Sonderkommando 10b; see NARA, N-Doc. No-4992.

10. RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 41–53, FK 193 an Bfh. rückw. H. Geb. Süd, October 5, 1941.

11. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM no. 135, November 11, 1941.

12. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13 (RGVA), reel 92, 1275-3-666, report of Feldkommandantur 240, Dnjepropetrowsk, October 19, 1941, p. 3.

13. Ibid., 1275-3-661, pp. 41–42, report of Abt. VII, FK 676, November 2, 1941, with attached report of Abt. VII, FK 676, October 21, 1941.

14. BA-BL, R 94/9, Order of the Führer, November 4, 1941.

15. USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-19.

16. Correspondence of the NKVD-chief for the Bobrinets raion, March 30, 1946, in *Evreiskie vesti* (Jewish News), Kiev 1994, # 23–24, p. 15; and GARF, 7021-66-124.

17. Testimony of S. Peskova, personal archive of Fiodor Plotnir, a regional ethnographer from Novaia Praga; F.F. Oksanych, "Nova Praha—selyshche khliborobiv: Korotkyi istoryko-kraeznavchyi narys," in the Aleksandria (Ingulets) State Ethnographic Museum.

18. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, Report of the HSSPF and chief of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for March 6 to April 1, 1942.

19. BA-BL, R 6/94, Gk Nikolajew, situation report for July 1942.

20. Situation report of Feldkommandantur (V) 246, October 20, 1941, BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR III, pp. 793–804, as cited in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges*, p. 155.

21. VHF, # 40734, testimony of Sofia Goldshtein regarding the Fraidorf ghetto.

22. DAKO, 6656-2-1, p. 41.

23. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 205–207.

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Borders as of 1942

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ALEKSANDROVKA

Pre-1941 and post-1943: Aleksandrovka, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Aleksandrowka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Oleksandrivka, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Aleksandrovka is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) north of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 population census, there were 565 Jews residing in Aleksandrovka, or 10 percent of the town's total population. At that time, another 117 Jews were counted in the villages of the then Aleksandrovka raion.[1]

On August 5, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, German armed forces occupied the town. In this interim period, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Aleksandrovka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. The chief of the raion police in Aleksandrovka was a man named Filonenko, and his deputy was Zakrevkii.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Aleksandrovka was incorporated into Gebiet Snamenka, in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. All Jews had to wear Stars of David, and they were forced to perform various kinds of physical labor, such as road construction.

In December 1941, on the orders of the German authorities, a ghetto was established in Aleksandrovka, consisting of four streets that were fenced off. At this time, in the winter of 1941–1942, Jews were also brought to the ghetto from neighboring villages, such as Stavidlo. Initially Jews were able to go to a market nearby, and they exchanged remaining items of property for food. Some food was also delivered to the ghetto fairly regularly. The Jews in the ghetto were repeatedly robbed; the Germans took away items such as samovars and furniture. Living conditions were very primitive, with people sleeping on straw covered only by their clothes. Jewish adults went out every day to perform forced labor, leaving the children behind.[3]

There was a Jewish elder in the ghetto; he was a former beer trader. According to one of the survivors, he acted in a very cruel manner. German soldiers were stationed nearby, but they did not act aggressively towards the Jews.[4]

In the spring of 1942, probably at the end of March, the Germans assembled the Jews in a cowshed and conducted a selection. A few Jewish craftsmen with their families were spared and sent back to the ghetto, while the other Jews were taken away to be shot. Testimony from the trial of two local policemen indicates that the Jews from Aleksandrovka were probably taken away on trucks with other Jews from the Rayon, about 300 people altogether composed mostly of women, children, and the elderly, to a ravine near the village of Ivangorod. The Aktion was supervised by Gebietskommissar Lange and carried out by about 25 local policemen and around 100 members of the German SS and police. The victims were forced to undress before they were shot. The local policemen were rewarded with bottles of vodka for their participation.[5]

Following the Aktion, the Jewish craftsmen and their families were not permitted to leave the area of the ghetto, but occasionally older local policemen would let them out. Thanks to a warning from one of the policemen, some Jews escaped shortly before the remaining Jews were shot in the spring of 1943. The family of Anatolii Zvanskii then survived in hiding with the help of local inhabitants until the Red Army liberated the region in the winter of 1943–1944.[6]

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Aleksandrovka during the Holocaust include Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 211–212.

Documents on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Aleksandrovka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-66-123); VHF (# 43727 and 43350); and YVA (O-4/72-1).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. VHF, # 43727, testimony of Mark Babenko, and # 43350, testimony of Anatolii Zvanskii.
4. Ibid., # 43350.
5. Ibid.; and testimony of former policeman Zhilenko in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 211–212. Jews from Elizavetgradka, Krasnosel'e, and Ivangorod were also shot in Aleksandrovka. The findings of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 1), however, note that more than 600 Jews were shot in Aleksandrovka in the fall of 1941, along with 49 Jews from the village of Krymki and 72 Jews from the village of Sosnovka. These two villages lay within the Aleksandrovka raion.
6. VHF, # 43350.

BOBRINETS

Pre-1941 and post-1943: Bobrinets, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1991: Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine.

Bobrinets is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) south of Kirovograd. According to the census of 1926, the town had 2,265 Jewish residents (20.4 percent of the total population); in 1939, there were only 654 Jews remaining (14 percent of the total).

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This population decline was mainly due to the resettlement of Jews to other regions. In what under German occupation was to become the area of Gebiet Bobrinets, in 1939 there were also 353 Jews in the Ustinovka raion, 189 in the Bobrinets raion, 123 in the Rovnoe raion, and 21 in Vytiazevka. According to a German report dated October 10, 1941, there were 33 Jews registered in Rayon Rownoje at that time.[1]

Forces of the German XIV Motorized Corps occupied Bobrinets on August 6, 1941. By the time German troops arrived in the town, several hundred local Jews had escaped to the east. All men of military age were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. About 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population was still in town when the German forces arrived. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military administration was in charge of the town. For part of that time, it was under the control of the 444th Security Division. The military authorities established a local administration in Bobrinets and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants.

In mid-November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The town became the administrative center of Rayon and Gebiet Bobrinets. Three other towns also became Rayon centers within the Gebiet: Vytiazevka, Ustinovka, and Rovnoe.

A short time after the start of the occupation, the German military authorities gave instructions to register all the Jews of the town. They also ordered the Jewish population to wear special armbands on their sleeves. The German authorities forced the Jews to perform physically demanding work of various kinds (such as repairing the streets and damaged buildings). While conducting forced labor, the Jews were also subjected to humiliations and beatings at the hands of the local Ukrainian police. At the end of December 1941, the Gebietskommissar, Gemeinschaftsführer Holzmann, ordered the establishment of an enclosed Jewish residential area. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded day and night by the local police.[2] At the beginning of January 1942, one inmate managed to escape from the ghetto. As a punishment, the German police killed 10 Jews, burning them alive in a house. At the end of January or at the beginning of February 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. They shot all remaining ghetto residents—344 persons in all—in an area to the southwest of the town. Among the victims were 20 men, 180 women, 120 children, and 24 older persons. In May 1942, the German forces shot another group of 20 Jews close to the regional hospital (12 women, 6 children, and 2 older persons).[3] Including the killing of another 5 Jews on August 10, 1942,[4] the total number of Jewish victims in Bobrinets was 379.

In the late spring of 1942,[5] the Gebietskommissar in Bobrinets issued orders for some 25 Jews scattered in the surrounding villages of Rayon Ustinowka to be arrested and brought to the local police station in Ustinovka. Another 35 to 40 Jews were brought to Ustinovka from Bobrinets, where they had been collected from the other outlying Rayons of the Gebiet.[6] In the village of Izrailevka, there were about 60 Jews still living in their own homes who had not been confined to a ghetto.[7]

The Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft) escorted the Jewish women, children, and men from Izrailevka to a freshly dug pit near Izrailevka, to which those held in Ustinovka were also brought. Members of the Security Police, Gendarmerie, and Schutzmannschaft then shot the Jews in the pit. The Bobrinets Gebietskommissar and the Rayonchef in Ustinovka, a local ethnic German by the name of Friedrich Strohmeier, stood by and observed the massacre.[8] Having taken away the "racially pure" Jews that morning, some policemen were sent back to Izrailevka to collect about 20 half-Jewish children, who were then killed as well. In total, more than 100 people were murdered at this site.[9]

SOURCES The correspondence of the NKVD chief of the district of Bobrinets from March 30, 1946, can be found in *Evreiskie vesti* (Jewish News) (Kiev, 1994), nos. 23–24.

Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Bobrinets and the surrounding raions can be found in the following archives: ANA; GARF (7021-66-124); DAKO; and Sta. Dortmund.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13, reel 92, 1275-3-664, p. 39.
2. GARF, 7021-66-124, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the Bobrinets raion, p. 2.
3. See the correspondence of the NKVD chief for the Bobrinets raion dated March 30, 1946, in *Evreiskie vesti*, nos. 23–24, p. 15.
4. Testimony by the witness M.D. Globodzinskii of Bobrinets, GARF, 7021-66-124, p. 2.
5. The precise date of the Aktion is not clear from the Soviet witness statements. The main surviving eyewitness dated the shooting in May or June 1942; see Australian Special Investigations Unit (SIU), statement of Ivan Konstantinovich Zhilun, December 23, 1989. However, the German Generalkommissar for the Nikolajew Generalkommissariat reported in the spring of 1942 that there were no longer any Jews or half-Jews in his region as of April 1, 1942.
6. SIU (SBU Kirovograd), statement of Alexander A. Gibner (Hübner), March 20, 1947, at his own trial. See also the additional evidence collected by the SIU in the case of Heinrich Wagner and by Sta. Dortmund in the case of Ernst Hering (45 Js 30/93).
7. SIU, statement of Ivan K. Zhilun, December 23, 1989.
8. See SIU (SBU Kirovograd), statements of Alexander A. Gibner, March 20, 1947, and April 1, 1947, at his own trial; F.F.S., March 1, 1958, and I.K.K., February 13, 1958, in Criminal Case File No. 4419 (Mefodii Marchik).
9. LG-Kö (4. grosse Strafkammer, 1. Jugendkammer), Verdict (Urteil) B. 104-28/97 in der Strafsache gegen Ernst Hering, December 19, 1997 (Hering Verdict), pp. 43–49; in June 1991, a team of forensic experts employed by the Australian SIU exhumed the mass grave near Izrailovka. The skeletal remains of 19 children aged less than 11 years were uncovered, lying at the top of the grave. Under these bodies, a layer of soil was found and beneath that the remains of more than 100 adult humans.

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DOBROVELICHKOVKA (AKA DOBROVELICHNEVKA)

Pre-1941: Dobrovelichkovka, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dobrowelitschkowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Perwomaisk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Dobrovelichkovka, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Dobrovelichkovka is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) west of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 census, 366 Jews (10.3 percent of the total population) were living in Dobrovelichkovka.[1]

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Dobrovelichkovka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the implementation of most of the anti-Jewish measures imposed by the German occupiers.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. Dobrovelichkovka was incorporated into Gebiet Perwomaisk, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Lafrentz.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military authorities ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews. They had to wear distinguishing armbands, and they were forced into various kinds of heavy physical labor such as road building and repair work.

According to one uncorroborated source, in the fall of 1941, on the orders of the German military administration, a ghetto was created in the town. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and were not allowed to buy goods from Ukrainians. As a result, starvation quickly ensued. The Germans shot the Jews of Dobrovelichkovka on December 23, 1941. On that day, 207 Jews (40 men, 57 women, 45 elderly people, and 65 children) were shot in a ditch to the northeast of the town near the village of Mar'evka.[3] A number of Jews living in Rayon Dobrowelitschkowka, for example, 18 from the village of Lipniazhka, were also murdered in the fall of 1941.

SOURCES The main published source used for this entry is *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev, 1994), nos. 23–24, p. 15.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. See the memorandum of the head of the Dobrovelichkovka RO NKVD, in *Evreiskie vesti*, nos. 23–24, p. 15.

FRAIDORF

Pre-1941: Fraidorf, village, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Friesen (Stalindorf), Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Fraidorf is located approximately 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. The Fraidorf village/kolkhoz was located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) from Stalindorf.[1]

In August 1941, German armed forces occupied Fraidorf. The number of Jews that remained in Fraidorf at the start of the occupation is unknown. During the first months of occupation, a German military commandant's office governed the village. The Germans requisitioned livestock and food supplies in the area. They appointed a young ethnic German kolkhoz worker named Filip as the village head (starosta), and a man named Mazur served in the local Ukrainian police.

According to Sofia Goldshtein, a Jewish survivor from Fraidorf, soon after the start of the occupation the local police "kicked us out of our house, and took everything we had, our chickens, cows, and other possessions. There was an order that all the Jews had to move to a single street, several families to a single house. We couldn't take anything with us, not even a cow."[2]

The ghetto in Fraidorf existed from the summer of 1941 until the spring of 1942. The Jews in Fraidorf also suffered from harassment by the local police, and some Jews were murdered as alleged Communists. Living conditions in the open ghetto were overcrowded, with six people sharing a single room. Those capable of work were taken out to perform unpaid agricultural labor, looking after horses and cattle. The Jews had to trade their last remaining possessions, such as bedding, to obtain food. Since the family of Anna Surzhenko had good relations with the family of the starosta, having helped them during the famine, she was able to leave the ghetto to barter items and was not troubled by the local police, who had been warned not to harm her. Most other Jews were not so fortunate. Local inhabitants warned the Jews to flee, but most remained in the ghetto, as they could not abandon sick and dependent relatives.[3]

At the end of 1941, authority in the region was transferred to a German civil administration. The village of Fraidorf was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, headed by Gebietskommissar Dr. Frick, which lay within Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk.

In March 1942, a number of young Jews capable of work, together with other Jews from Rayon Stalindorf, were marched together following horse-drawn wagons about 25 kilometers

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(15.5 miles) to a labor camp established in a stable near the village of Langovka. These Jews were used to construct the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. Soon after the young Jews' departure, the Germans shot all the remaining Jews in a ravine near the village. The total number of Jewish victims in Fraidorf is unknown. In 1939, there were 7,312 Jews living in the Stalindorf Jewish national raion. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, 3,911 Jews were shot in the Stalindorf raion during the German occupation, most of them between May 1942 and August 1943.[4]

After the war, the local Ukrainian policeman Mazur was tried and punished, but the ethnic German Filip fled with the German army and thereby evaded punishment.

SOURCES The article by Yakov Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," available at http://xeroxsuperoffer.ru/index.php?_f=stalindorf_en.htm, gives a concise history of the Stalindorf national raion.

Relevant information can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-57-70); and VHF (# 40734 and 41136).

Martin Dean and Crispin Brooks

NOTES

1. Pasik's article "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," includes a detailed map of the Stalindorf national raion, which, however, shows two villages named "Fraydorf," one about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) west of Stalindorf and one about the same distance to the southeast. From the available oral testimonies, it has not been possible to determine which Fraidorf the witnesses lived in, only that they both lived in the same place.
2. VHF, # 40734, testimony of Sofia Goldshtein.
3. Ibid., and # 41136, testimony of Anna Surzhenko.
4. Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon."

INGULETS (AKA GAR SHEFER OR SHIROKAIA)

Pre-1941: Ingulets, village, Novolatovka sel'sovet, Shirokoe raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ingulez, Rayon Schirokoje, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Inhulets', Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Ingulets is located 150 kilometers (93 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. On August 6, 1941, German armed forces occupied the village, about seven weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this time, some Jews were able to evacuate, while able-bodied men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Ingulets at the start of the occupation.

During the first months of occupation, a German military commandant's office governed the village. Shortly after the Germans' arrival, Jews living on nearby kolkhozy were ordered to move to Ingulets, and the Germans requisitioned the livestock and food supplies there.

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites began to persecute the Jews. Several dozen Jews, accused of being Communists and Soviet activists, were shot. Most Jews continued to live together in their own houses, but they were subjected to a number of restrictions. According to the survivor Mariia Evtukhova, who uses the term "ghetto" to describe conditions in Ingulets at this time, the police never fed them. However, "since she had a Ukrainian passport, she was able to go to the market and the Ukrainians would sell her bread, potatoes, and other foodstuffs, so her family didn't go hungry. She shared this food with everyone in the ghetto."[1]

At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, headed by Gebietskommissar Regierungsrat Dr. Frick. In turn, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog became part of Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk. However, Germans were rarely visible to the Jews in Ingulets, who were very much at the mercy of the local Ukrainian police.

While she was in the ghetto, Mariia knew of many people who tried to commit suicide, but few were successful. The Ukrainian police occasionally drowned Jews; it appears that they did this merely because they were Jewish. One time, Mariia witnessed the police beat eight children and two elderly people to death and then throw them into a pit. Almost every night, the police would take girls and young women away from the ghetto and rape them; but they did not kill these women. In December 1941, the Germans organized a mass execution of elderly Jews. They were all assembled and then escorted with their hands behind their heads into the forest to be shot.[2]

On May 20, 1942, around 300 young Jews were transported to a labor camp in the village of Novoselovka. These Jews were used to build a highway between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. In late May or early June 1942, the remaining Jews in Ingulets were taken over a bridge and concentrated in a small group of houses, creating a more clearly defined (but still open) ghetto. By this time the Jews had scarcely any possessions left. The Jews remained in this ghetto for up to two weeks. On about June 10–11, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators liquidated the ghetto. First, they instructed the Jews to gather in the club building, and on the morning of June 11, 1942, they shot them all in a ravine near the village.[3] Mariia Evtukhova managed to escape from the ghetto with two members of her family just before the mass shooting. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission documents, around 1,200 persons were shot. However, this number includes at least 50 Ukrainian Communists from the Shirokoe settlement who had dug the pits for the mass shooting in the ravine near the village.[4]

SOURCES Relevant published sources include the following: *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: "Epos," 2000), 4:508; *Sholom-Aleikhem* (Krivoi Rog), no. 7 (2004), and nos. 1–4 (2005); and "Nikoly bil'she," *Tkuma: Vestnik Tsentral'nogo Ukrainskogo fonda istorii Kholokosta "Tkuma,"* no. 10 (60) (2005).

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Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-57-71); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 11); and VHF (# 30084).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 30084, testimony of Mariia Evtukhova.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Also see testimony of Raisa Leibushevna Bogomol, in *Vozrozhdenie pamiati: Vospominaniia svidetelei i zhertv Kholokosta*, no. 1 (Dnepropetrovsk: Tsentr "Tkuma," 2008), pp. 68–69.
4. GARF, 7021-57-71, p. 8.

KAMENKA

Pre-1941: Kamenka, village, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Sofijewka, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kamianka, Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Kamenka is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. In the 1930s, the village became the center of its own Jewish sel'sovet with 1,458 residents, as part of the Stalindorf Jewish national raion.[1] By June 1941, the Jewish population had decreased significantly, owing to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

On August 16, 1941, the village was occupied by German armed forces. In the weeks prior to this, some Jews were able to evacuate from the village, and able-bodied men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily.

In the first months of the occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. The village became part of Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, which was headed by a Nazi official named Dr. Frick, who served as Gebietskommissar. Together with Krivoy Rog, the village of Kamenka lay within Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk.

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites persecuted the Jewish population. Dozens of Jews were shot, accused of being Communists and Soviet activists. In September 1941, all Jews were moved into an unfenced ghetto, consisting of one street in the village. Jews were not allowed to go beyond the boundaries of the street and were required to wear white armbands. There were about three or four families living in each house. Living conditions were very unsanitary, with no place to bathe, and Jews ate mostly soup, kasha, and corn. Jews were robbed or forced to surrender clothing such as fur items and other valuable possessions. The Jews were taken out to perform forced labor every day, mostly in agriculture or clearing snow from the roads. Children were also put to work removing the husks from corn.[2]

At the end of April or in early May 1942, the Germans and local police rounded up the Jews and selected those fit for labor. These people were transported to a labor camp surrounded with barbed wire in the village of Avdot'evka, where they were exploited for work in a quarry and the construction of a highway between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. On days off, they were allowed to return to see their relatives in the village. The Kamenka ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942, when all the Jews remaining there, mostly the elderly and children, were shot. The total number of Jewish victims from Kamenka was more than 200.[3]

SOURCES The testimony of Ol'ga Teitelman has been published in *Shabat Sholom* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 10 (1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: TsDAVO (4620-2-358, p. 27, Inquiry of the Kamenka sel'sovet); and VHF (# 24086 and 35008).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Yakov Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," available at www.evkol.nm.ru/stalindorf_en.htm. His article includes a detailed map of the Stalindorf national raion.
2. VHF, # 35008, testimony of Ilya Boltianskii (born 1924); # 24086, testimony of Ol'ga Teitelman (born 1928).
3. TsDAVO, 4620-2-358, p. 27; and VHF, # 35008 and 24086.

KAMENKA-SHEVCHENKOVSKAIA

Pre-1941: Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Aleksandrowka, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1991: raion center, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia is located about 66 kilometers (41 miles) north of Kirovograd. The 1939 census reported 618 Jews in Kamenka (7.92 percent of the total population) and 737 Jews in the entire Kamenka raion. By the summer of 1941, however, the Jewish population also included a few refugees from Poland, who were forewarned about the brutality of the Germans.

German forces occupied Kamenka on August 5, 1941. During the six weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Kamenka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from among the local population. The latter took an active part in all the anti-Jewish measures. In chronological order, the chiefs of police were: at the start, the

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former tsarist army officer Gladkikh; from the end of 1941, I. Nuzhdenko; and from the end of March 1942, a man called Briukhovetskii. Gladkikh was placed in charge of the prison at the end of 1941. The Ukrainian police received their orders from the German Gendarmerie. In November 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Kamenka became a Rayon center in Gebiet Aleksandrowka, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar in Aleksandrovka was a man named Lange.

On their arrival in Kamenka on August 5–6, 1941, German soldiers conducted an Aktion in which several Jews were killed, including some children. More than 200 Jews managed to survive by hiding or fleeing to the surrounding villages, and they returned to the town over the following days. As Philip Portianskii recalls, on his return to Kamenka, he and his family received registration numbers from the local administration, and they were forced to wear distinguishing marks so that everybody knew they were Jews. At that time there were 268 Jews registered in Kamenka.[1] Jews were also required to perform heavy labor in groups segregated according to sex. At some date after October 19, 1941, two ghettos were established in Kamenka. A ghetto for craftsmen (including blacksmiths, cobblers, tailors, and cabinetmakers) with their families was set up at the Pokrov sovkhoz (state-owned farm); all the remaining Jews were herded into another ghetto located in what was then the raion hospital building.[2] According to the testimony of Portianskii, who was probably in the noncraftsmen's ghetto, as his father was a laborer, it was an ugly camp on the edge of the village. There were neither bedclothes nor soap. However, with the help of the police chief (probably still Gladkikh), he was able to escape.[3] Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, starvation soon ensued. According to the regulation of January 10, 1942, issued by the Ukrainian police chief Nuzhdenko, Jews were only permitted on the street between 7:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. Ukrainians were also forbidden to shelter Jews in their homes or to speak with them. For violating this regulation, Jews would be shot, and Ukrainians faced 30 days in prison and a fine.[4]

In February 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto for noncraftsmen on the hospital grounds. They rounded up the 280 Jews living there and shot them.[5] At the beginning of March 1942, a second Aktion was conducted in which the ghetto for craftsmen was liquidated. At night, by decree of the Gebietskommissar, the more than 100 Jews who remained in that ghetto were arrested and taken to the horse stable in the yard of the police station. Then they were taken out in groups of 8 to 10 into the cellar of the police station building and shot by Ukrainian policemen.[6]

Altogether more than 400 Jews were murdered in Kamenka in February and March of 1942.[7]

The Ukrainian policemen from Kamenka also participated in the shooting of Jews in other nearby settlements. At the end of March 1942, under the chief of police, Briukhovetskii, they set out and shot Jews in the town of Aleksandrovka. Together with German forces and Ukrainian policemen from Aleksandrovka, they shot more than 300 Jews from Aleksandrovka in a ravine near the village of Ivangorod.[8]

A number of the local policemen in Kamenka were tried by the Soviet authorities at the end of the occupation. Among them were the policemen F.I. Tsvirkun, F.T. Zhilenko, and also Seregi Piven', named by one survivor as a policeman with the worst reputation for atrocities.[9]

SOURCES Information on the activities of the local police in Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia can be found in the collection of published documents edited by Yitzhak Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii* (*1941–1944*). *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 209–212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAKO (1004-1-35); GARF (7021-66-123); TsDAVO (166-2-5); USHMM (RG-50.226 # 0026); and VHF (# 43727).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0026.
2. O.H. Shamrai, "Ekonomichni zbytky, naneseni nimets'ko-fashysts'kymy okupantamy na terytorii Kam'ians'koho raiony," in *Cherkashchyna v konteksti istorii Ukrainy. Materialy Druhoi naukovo-kraeznavchoi konferentsii Cherkashchyny (do 60-richchia Peremohy u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini 1941–1945 rr.)* (Cherkasy: Vash Dim, 2005), p. 265. See also the affidavits of the former policemen F.I. Tsvirkun and F.T. Zhilenko in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 209–212. DAKO, 1004-1-35, p. 53, indicates the establishment of the "ghetto" at the end of December 1941. USHMM, RG-50.226.0026, Philip Portianskii, dates the formation of the camp in early November.
3. USHMM, RG-50.226.0026.
4. TsDAVO, 166-2-5, p. 10.
5. Certified Statement, October 15, 1990, No. 72, Cherkassy Oblast', *Ukrainskoe obshchestvo okhrany pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury*, addressed to the Head of the Advisory Board of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Memorials of History and Culture in Kiev. An official memorial now stands at the place of the shooting (the Kamenka district hospital).
6. Testimony of F.I. Tsvirkun; see Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 210–211.
7. DAKO, 1004-1-35, pp. 53–54.
8. Testimony of the former Kamenka policeman F.T. Zhilenko; see Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 211–212.
9. Ibid., pp. 209–212; and VHF, # 43727, testimony of Mark Babenko.

KHERSON

Pre-1941: Kherson, city, Nikolaev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Cherson, Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Kherson, center, Kherson oblast', Ukraine

Kherson is located about 58 kilometer (36 miles) southeast of Nikolaev. According to the 1939 census, 16,145 Jews were living in Kherson (16.65 percent of the total population).[1] On August 19, 1941, eight weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet

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Union on June 22, the SS Motorized Brigade "Leibstandarte-Adolf-Hitler" occupied the city. By that time, more than half of the Jewish population had been able to evacuate to the east. More than 7,000 Jews remained under German occupation (40–45 percent of the pre-war Jewish population).

From August until October 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the city. Oberstleutnant von Rochow was in charge until September 5, 1941. Oberstleutnant von Lepel succeeded him until September 16, 1941, and after that date, Hauptmann Barth.[2] The military administration established a local council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from among the city residents. The police force initially consisted of 157 men.[3]

In November 1941, the Germans established a civil administration. Kherson was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Bürgermeister Mattern was named the city mayor (Stadtkommissar). Major Heinrich Hannibal of the Order Police (Schutzpolizei) became the senior commander of the SS and Police Leader (SS- und Polizeistandortführer) in the city. Hauptmann Lang of the Schutzpolizei administration in Wiesbaden became the new head of the Schutzpolizei. He was later succeeded in this position by Hauptmann Fischer.[4]

Portrait of rescuer Yevgenia Zamoroko-Lysenko (standing), 1937–1939. Zamoroko helped to falsify papers for her former student, Masha Gurevich-Spivak. Spivak's family was murdered in an anti-Jewish Aktion in Kherson. Zamoroko was honored posthumously as Righteous by Yad Vashem in 2007.
USHMM WS #37367, COURTESY OF NIKOLAY ZAMOROKO

Starting on August 20, 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 11a, consisting of 13 men commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Eberhard Heinze, was stationed in Kherson.[5] From the end of September to the start of November 1941, the entire force of Sonderkommando 11a, under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was located in the city; after that, only a part remained.

In the spring of 1942, a regional Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was set up in Kherson. It served under the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The first person in charge of the Kherson Sipo-Aussendienststelle was SS-Sturmscharführer Kurt Steffen. In June 1942, he was succeeded by SS-Obersturmführer Waldemar Kolter.

On August 23, 1941, the Sonderkommando formed a Judenrat and ordered the Jews of the city to wear a Star of David 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter as a distinguishing mark on their left breast pockets and backs as of August 25. From August 24 to August 27, 1941, the Jews were ordered to register and hand over to the Judenrat all money and objects of value. Anyone failing to comply would be shot.[6] After marking and registering the Jews, Sonderkommando 11a issued orders that they could only reside on certain designated streets, establishing a ghetto on September 7. The ghetto was located in a remote section of the city near the intersection of Frunze and Rabochnaia streets. A Jewish police force functioned within the ghetto. Overseeing the ghetto from its establishment to its liquidation was SS-Scharführer Baron Leo von der Recke of Sonderkommando 11a. On a daily basis, the Jews were summoned to perform various forms of humiliating and heavy physical labor. According to one source, Jews were forced to clean toilets and were harnessed to carts instead of horses or obliged to pull heavy trucks with the engines switched off.[7]

Almost immediately after starting to impose these restrictions, Sonderkommando 11a began shooting Jews. On August 29, 1941, the city's commandant announced the "execution" (by shooting) of 100 Jews and 10 "leading Bolsheviks" as a reprisal measure, and on September 6, 1941, the shooting of 100 Jewish men and 10 Jewish women.[8] As of September 10, 1941, 400 Jewish men and 10 Jewish women had been killed.[9] Just a short time later, 17 more Jews were shot for not wearing the Star of David.[10]

On September 24–25, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and the remaining Jews were shot.[11] Prior to the Aktion, Jews in the ghetto were informed that they would be resettled to Palestine. Sarah Yudkovich realized the likely purpose of the operation and escaped from the ghetto on September 23, fleeing to the hospital in search of help. However, the staff there were too afraid to assist her.[12] At this time the Germans searched the hospital, assisted by local policemen, who were better able to identify the Jews. The two most notorious native policemen, Val'ka the German and Grishka the Gypsy, shouted: "Who is hiding Yids here, big and small?" One of the Jewish doctors was stabbed in the buttocks by a local policeman before they left.[13]

When the Aktion started, the Jews were first marched on foot to a factory site on the edge of the city. From there they

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were conveyed in groups on trucks to an antitank ditch 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) northeast of the city, near the settlement of Zelenivka. The Jews were shot in groups of 10 to 12 by two rifle squads of the same size into two graves simultaneously. Those waiting their turn could hear the shots. Women and children screamed and clung to each other.[14] According to evidence from the postwar German legal investigation, one 12-year-old blond Jewish girl was spared by the personal intervention of a senior SS officer, Heinze.[15] Soviet forensic experts estimated in 1944 that more than 8,000 people were buried in the mass graves.[16] Among those shot at this site were possibly also some Jewish Soviet prisoners of war, as the Jews were already being separated out from among the other Red Army captives held in the city from September 1941.[17] Assisted by the local police and denunciations from the local population, German security forces continued to hunt down and kill Jews who had gone into hiding over the following weeks and months.

In January 1942, another mass Aktion was carried out. The victims were around 400 Jews living in mixed marriages, who had been quartered separately in September 1941.[18] Einsatzkommando 12 was probably responsible for this killing Aktion.

SOURCES Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kherson can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKherO; GARF (7021-77-420 and 421); LG-Mü I (IV 9/69 Paul Zapp); NARA (N-Docs., NOKW and NO series); RGVA; and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 25.
2. Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Cherson vom August 22 to September 10, 1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-636); Report of the Ortskommandantur II/915, September 18, 1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-1839).
3. NOKW-636.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memo (Schnellbrief) of October 25, 1941, from the chief of the Security Police, RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.
5. NOKW-636; Eberhard Heinze died in Poznań on January 22, 1945. Sonderkommando 11a was itself a subunit of Otto Ohlendorf's Einsatzgruppe D.
6. Order from Sonderkommando 11a to the Jews in the city of Kherson on August 23, 1941, LG-Mü I, verdict of February 26, 1970—IV 9/69—in the case against Zapp and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, p. 451.
7. NOKW-636; Oleksandr Ivanovych Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines: War, Genocide and Identity in the Kherson Region of Ukraine, 1941–1944" (Master's thesis, Edmonton University, 2004), pp. 49–53. Melnyk cites DAKherO, r-1479-1-11, p. 26, regarding the types of forced labor imposed. Also see *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, pp. 452, 458–459; and 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), p. 618.
8. GARF, 7021-77-420, pp. 153 and reverse.
9. NOKW-636.
10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 107, October 8, 1941.
11. GARF, 7021-77-421, pp. 11, 13, and reverse.
12. Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines," pp. 55–56. Yudkovich was shot with the other Jews of Kherson.
13. Ibid., p. 53, citing Zubris, "Ne zaroslo travoiu zabuttia," *Nadniprians'ka Pravda*, September 21, 1995.
14. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, pp. 448–449.
15. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 437.
16. See the report of the court medical experts on March 23, 1944, in *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vypusk 13 (Voennoe izdatel'stvo NKO, 1945), pp. 59–62. According to the testimony under oath of former SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Barth on September 12, 1947, Sonderkommando 11a executed around 5,000 Jews in Kherson with the support of Sonderkommando 10b; see NARA, N-Doc. NO-4992.
17. Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines," p. 54, citing DAKherO, r-3562-2-32, p. 106.
18. GARF, 7021-77-420, p. 117; Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines," p. 48, notes that 150 female Jews living in mixed marriages with Ukrainians remained alive after the mass killings in September 1941, citing DAKherO, r-1824-1-95, p. 2.

MALAIA VISKA

Pre-1941: Malaia Viska, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mala Wiska, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Mala Vyska, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Malaia Viska is located about 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Kirovograd. In 1939, there were 207 Jews living in the town (2.56 percent of the total population). Another 101 Jews resided in the villages of the Malaia Viska raion.

The town of Malaia Viska was occupied by German troops at the beginning of August 1941, five and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, some of the local Jews fled the town and managed to escape to the east. All men, Jewish or non-Jewish, of military age were drafted into the Red Army. A number of others joined the Soviet forces voluntarily. When German troops occupied Malaia Viska, only about one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population was still in the town. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the administration of the

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town. The Ortskommandantur organized a local administration and established a unit of Ukrainian auxiliary police recruited from local inhabitants. The Ukrainian police took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, a German civil administration took over responsibility for the town. Malaia Viska initially became the center of Gebiet Mala Wiska under the command of Gebietskommissar Hinz. Several other towns and their raions, such as Khmelevoe, Novo-Arkhangel'sk, and Podvysokoe, belonged to the Gebiet. Gebiet Mala Wiska was part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1] By 1943 the administrative structure had been reorganized, and Malaia Viska became a Rayon center within Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod.

Shortly after the occupation of the town by German troops, the Ortskommandantur ordered several anti-Jewish measures. First, members of the Jewish population were forced to register and to wear distinguishing armbands identifying them as Jews. In addition, the Jews were ordered to carry out physically exhausting work, for which they received little or no payment. All these individuals were settled or relocated into a specific area of the town (an open ghetto). The first Aktions against the Jews of Malaia Viska and its environs came in September 1941. On September 19, a detachment of the 8th SS-Regiment shot 17 Jews.[2]

According to the report of Ortskommandantur I/829 (based in Novaia Ukrainka), on October 10, 1941, there were 53 Jews still residing in Malaia Viska. At that time the head of Rayon Mala Wiska was an ethnic German named Johann Sartisson, and the head of the Ukrainian police (Hilfspolizei) was Jakob Chomitsch.[3] Most of the remaining Jews were murdered between February and March 1942, when a general Aktion against the Jews in Rayon Mala Wiska took place. During the Aktion, those Jews able to work were selected and sent to a labor camp in Malaia Viska. These Jewish prisoners had to live in the stables of a sugar refinery, and they worked on building and repairing roads.[4] This labor camp was closed in 1943. It is assumed that all the prisoners were then killed.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and killing of the Jews in Malaia Viska can be found in the following archives: DAKO (6656-2-1); RGVA (1275-3-3); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHAP, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 1. SS-Infanteriebrigade (mot), Abt. Ic, report of September 26, 1941.
3. RGVA, 1275-3-3, p. 40, Ortskommandantur I/829 (Nowo-Ukrainka), report of October 14, 1941, appendixes I and II.
4. DAKO, 6656-2-1, p. 41.

NIKOLAEV

Pre-1941: Nikolaev, city and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nikolajew, capital, Gebiet and Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Mykolaiv, oblast' center, Ukraine

Nikolaev is located about 400 kilometers (249 miles) south-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 population census, 25,280 Jews were living in Nikolaev (15.2 percent of the total). German armed forces occupied the city on August 17, 1941, about eight weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. In these weeks, the majority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. One of those who escaped by rail recalled: "Every time there were bombings, the train stopped. We got out and took cover underneath it. Once the planes flew away, we got back in the train and it started moving again."[1] Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than 6,000 Jews remained in the city at the start of the occupation.[2]

From August 18 until October 1941, German Field Commandant's Office no. 193 (Feldkommandantur 193) ran the affairs of the city. The commandant established a local administration in the city, and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force consisting of 195 men was recruited from among local residents.[3]

Starting in November 1941, a German civilian administration assumed authority in the region. Nikolaev became the administrative center of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. National Socialist Motorist Corps (NSKK)-Obergruppenführer Oppermann was appointed as Generalkommissar. Oberbürgermeister Nickau was named the city mayor (Stadtkommissar). SS-Brigadeführer Tittmann became the SS- und Polizeistandortführer in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Nickau and Tittmann held these positions until September 1942. Major Witzleb, who was transferred from Aussig, was in charge of the Schutzpolizei in the city. He served under Unter-Leutnant

Residents of an AJDC-supported Jewish home for the aged pose in the dining hall in Nikolaev, ca. 1928–1929.
USHMM WS #29877, COURTESY OF AJDC

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Weiberg, who was Commander of the Order Police (KdO) for Generalkommissariat Nikolajew.[4]

From August 18 until the end of September 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 11a was based in Nikolaev. Sonderkommando 11a, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D under the command of SS-Oberführer Otto Ohlendorf. From mid-September to the end of October 1941, Einsatzkommando 12 was also active in Nikolaev. From September 8 until early November 1941, Ohlendorf's headquarters staff (Gruppenstab) was deployed in the city.

Einsatzkommando 5, headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans Sandner, was stationed in Nikolaev from early November 1941. In February 1942, an office of the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) was created for the entire Generalkommissariat in Nikolaev; SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Leopold Spann was the commander until September 1943.

When Sonderkommando 11a arrived in the city, it began conducting searches for civilians, who were then taken by the Wehrmacht to collection points for prisoners of war. Around 4,000 people were seized. Among those arrested and then shot were 227 "suspicious Jews, political functionaries, and released prisoners."[5] Sonderkommando 11a also appointed a Judenrat, which had to register the entire Jewish population of Nikolaev. Forced labor groups were assembled from among the able-bodied Jews aged 16 to 60. They were assigned tasks according to the needs of various German units in the city.[6]

At the end of August or the beginning of September 1941, the Jews of the city were concentrated in a ghetto located on Pushkin Street. Order was kept inside the ghetto by an internal Jewish police force.[7] The ghetto only existed for a little over two weeks. On September 14, 1941, the Jews received an order to assemble with their luggage at 10:00 A.M. on September 16 at the Jewish cemetery, for resettlement to another place in Ukraine. The Jews continued to report at the cemetery until September 18. On September 21, Sonderkommando 11a began the mass shooting of the Jewish population. The first people sent out to be shot were Jewish males older than 14. Women and children were subsequently subjected to the same fate. Over the course of three days, around 7,000 Jews were taken out and shot in ravines located between Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Nikolaev. Attempts to escape were prevented by a ring of perimeter guards. When the shooting was over, the Germans detonated explosives in the ravine area, and the corpses were covered with earth. Local residents from the Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka villages were also assigned to fill in the graves. The best clothing worn by the Jews was taken in six cars to Nikolaev, and the less valuable clothing was distributed to the local inhabitants of the Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka villages. Local inhabitants also complained that blood from the Jewish corpses had contaminated the water supply. They said that "they didn't want to drink Jewish blood."[8]

At the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944, 50 prisoners were ordered to dig up the corpses and burn them. Members of the German civil administration recall that this resulted in a terrible stench throughout the city for days. After they had finished, the prisoners themselves were shot and killed and their bodies burned.[9]

There were very few survivors from among the several thousand Jews who were briefly interned within the Nikolaev ghetto.

In January 1946, a Soviet Military Tribunal in Nikolaev sentenced to death and promptly hanged Hans Sandner, Franz Witzleb, and Heinrich Schmale for crimes committed in occupied Soviet territory. A court in Munich sentenced Paul Zapp to life in prison on February 26, 1970.

Defendant Otto Ohlendorf, commander of Einsatzgruppe D, pleads "not guilty" during his arraignment at the Einsatzgruppen Trial, September 15, 1947. Seated behind him wearing a bowtie is Gustav Nosske, whose Einsatzkommando 12, along with Sonderkommando 11a, participated in murder operations around Nikolaev.
USHMM WS #43043 COURTESY OF NARA

SOURCES Published sources on the mass killing of the Jews of Nikolaev include: Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 241–251; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724.

Relevant documentation on the murder of the Jewish population of Nikolaev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAMO; GARF (7021-68-180 and 181); NARA (e.g., N-Doc. NO-2066); RGVA (e.g., 1275-3-662); Sta. Mü I; USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Haaretz*, March 20, 2009, quoting Ella Lifshitz.
2. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 50, Feldkommandantur 193 (Abt. VII), Nikolajew, October 5, 1941, Bericht für August/September 1941.
3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 101, October 2, 1941.

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4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memo (*Schnellbrief*) of the chief of the Security Police from October 25, 1941, RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.

5. BA-MA, RH 20-11/488 (N-Doc. NO-2066), Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Nikolajew vom August 18 biz sum August 31, 1941; LG-Mü I, Verdict of February 26, 1970—IV 9/69—in the case against Zapp and others in *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724. See also the report of Ortskommandantur I/853 from August 31, 1941: "Last week the SD executed 230 Jews who refused to be registered and who had encouraged the remaining Jewish population not to serve the German military-administrative authorities." NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 56, fr. 257.

6. N-Doc. NO-2066.

7. GARF, 7021-68-180, pp. 32–34, testimony of L.P. Kozuk, July 14, 1944; Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 204/61, vol. 15, p. 199, testimony of the former SS-Obersturmführer Albrecht Zöllner, April 24, 1967.

8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, p. 447.

9. GARF, 7021-68-181, pp. 3 (and reverse) and 16 (and reverse); LG-Mü I, Verdict of February 26, 1970—in *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724. The burning of the corpses was carried out from the end of November 1943 until the middle of January 1944 by Sonderkommando 1005b. The unit commander was SS-Hauptsturmführer Fritz Zietlow. See LG-Darm, Verdict of March 13, 1969—Ks 22/67—in the case against Helfsgott and others, in *JuNS-V* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 701; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 685.

NOVAIA ODESSA

Pre-1941: Novaia Odessa, town and raion center, Nikolaev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowa Odessa, Rayon center, Gebiet Wosnessensk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Nova Odesa, Mykolaiv oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Odessa is located 126 kilometers (78 miles) north-northeast of Odessa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 228 Jews living in Novaia Odessa.[1]

German armed forces occupied Novaia Odessa in mid-August 1941, about six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Novaia Odessa at the start of the German occupation.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the registration of the entire Jewish population. The Jews were also moved into several buildings in a separate district near the local school, and the area was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews were forced to wear the yellow Star of David and were prohibited from leaving this area on pain of death. They were also required to perform forced labor.[2]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, German forces liquidated the ghetto in September 1941, removing 125 Jews and shooting them.[3] According to one survivor testimony, the Germans shot the elderly and infirm first and then shot all the remaining Jews about two weeks later.[4] German investigative sources indicate that the mass shooting was carried out by a detachment of Sonderkommando 10b. Some Jewish refugees from Bessarabia may have been among the victims.[5]

In mid-November 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. The town became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wosnessensk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Around this time, a Jewish family of five was also shot.[6]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhizn' i smert' v epokhu Kholokosta: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 2006); Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 234; and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 117.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-68-182); Sta. Mü I (22 Js 203/61); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 1).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 55.

2. Zabarko, *Zhizn' i smert'*, pp. 192–194.

3. GARF, 7021-68-182, pp. 157, 190–193.

4. See Zabarko, *Zhizn' i smert'*, pp. 192–194. This witness, Arkadii Bykovskii, dates the destruction of the Jews to mid- and late November 1941.

5. Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 8, p. 1752, testimony of Siegfried Suchart, who indicates that about 100 men, women, and children were shot. This source supports the contention that the mass shooting took place in September 1941.

6. GARF, 7021-68-182, p. 162.

NOVAIA PRAGA

Pre-1941: Novaia Praga, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowaja Praga, Rayon center, Gebiet Adshamka, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Nova Praha, Oleksandriia raion, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Praga is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-northeast of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 census, 113 Jews (1.2 percent of the total population) lived in Novaia Praga, and another 57 lived in the villages of what was then the Novaia Praga raion.[1]

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied

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the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Novaia Praga at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Novaia Praga was a Rayon center within Gebiet Adshamka, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar in Adshamka was Kameradschaftsführer Lange.[2]

At the end of 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Novaia Praga. A building in a schoolyard was used as the ghetto.[3] Jews from nearby villages were also resettled into the ghetto. The German police liquidated the ghetto on June 9, 1942, when they took out the elderly and children (29 people) and shot them 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside Novaia Praga.[4] Jews, whom the Germans deemed able-bodied, were forced to work in a labor camp that was guarded by Latvian policemen. The prisoners of the camp were sent to work in a quarry. Sometime in 1943, the camp was liquidated and all the prisoners were shot.

SOURCES Published sources include *Tkuma: Vestnik Tsentral'nogo Ukrainskogo fonda istorii Kholokosta "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 10 (60) (2005), p. 3. Relevant documentation can be found in DAKO (1004-1-35).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Testimony of S. Peskova, from the personal archive of Fiodor Plotnir, a regional ethnographer from Novaia Praga; F.F. Oksanych, "Nova Praha—selyshche khliborobiv: Korotkyi istoryko-kraeznavchyi narys," in the files of the Aleksandriia (Ingulets) State Ethnographic Museum.
4. Testimony of Leonid El'bert, published in *Tkuma*, p. 3; and DAKO, 1004-1-35, p. 67.

NOVOMOSKOVSK

Pre-1941: Novomoskovsk, city and raion center, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowomoskowsk, Rayon center, Gebiet Dnjepropetrowsk, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Novomoskovs'k, Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Novomoskovsk is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) north-northeast of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the 1939 census, 757 Jews resided in the city (2.6 percent of the population). By the time the city was occupied, the number of Jews had decreased by several hundred due to the evacuations in August and September 1941 of some Jews to the east.

A column of Jews is marched along a muddy road by Ukrainian guards during an Aktion in Novomoskovsk, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #76412, COURTESY OF APMO

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city on September 27, 1941. Until August 1942, the city was governed by Ortskommandantur I/837, which consisted of four officers, one civilian official, 16 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 16 soldiers, as well as 30 people recruited from among the local residents to perform guard duty (Hilfswachmannschaften).[1] The commandant's office established a city council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force; in April 1942 the latter consisted of 162 people, headed by V.F. Tkachenko and his deputy Ivan F. Shchenderei.[2]

From mid-November 1941 until mid-January 1942, Secret Field Police Group no. 725 (GFP-Gruppe 725) was located in the city; and from mid-January until May 1942, GFP-Gruppe 711 was based there.

On the third day of the city's occupation, the commandant issued an order that all Jews must register and wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David on their left arm. Jews were also required to appear every morning at the municipal government building for work assignments. In November 1941, the Germans established an unfenced Jewish residential district (an "open ghetto") in Novomoskovsk, which was located in two large houses on Lesnaia and Kuznechnaia Streets.[3] These streets were flooded in the spring by the Samara River and formed, as a result, a kind of island. By the end of December 1941, all the Jews of the town had been moved into the ghetto—those who were reluctant to move being forcibly resettled. There was considerable overcrowding in the ghetto.[4]

In mid-March 1942, on the orders of the German Security Police in Dnepropetrovsk, the local police collected all the Jews from the ghetto, telling them they would be relocated. They were then escorted to a five-story flour mill, together

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with some other Jews from the surrounding area, where they were held without food or water for a day or so. Their property items were also collected and confiscated by the police. On March 16, 1942, 2 Jews were publicly hanged on the marketplace. Then the remaining Jews (approximately 350 people) were escorted by the local police and German soldiers in a column to a sandpit on the outskirts of the city, behind the bridge on the road to Pavlograd. The Jews were forced to undress and then shot in the back of the neck by German Gestapo who had arrived from Dnepropetrovsk.[5] Some 30 suspected partisans were shot together with the Jews.[6]

The shootings were probably carried out by SD Sonderkommando Platt (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Platt) with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and the German Feldgendarmerie. The German Gestapo packed the valuable items in two large suitcases and took them back to Dnepropetrovsk. The remaining property of the victims was distributed among the local police.[7]

SOURCES Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Novomoskovsk can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7177); DADO; GARF (7021-57-68); NARA (T-501, reel 18); TsDAVO (3538-1-53); and VHF (# 20288).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 18, fr. 586.
2. Ibid., T-501, reel 18, fr. 815. I.F. Shchenderei was tried and convicted by a Soviet Military Tribunal in 1947.
3. BA-L, B 162/7177, p. 343, interrogation of Vasilii V. Han, April 12, 1947, in Ufa, which specifically mentions the existence of a ghetto in Novomoskovsk, established between October and December 1941 by the local police. The other witnesses in this file do not mention the ghetto but were only asked about the mass shooting of the Jews.
4. VHF, # 20288, testimony of Leonid Gol'verk (born 1930).
5. A. Farimets, "Ekho Proshlogo," in *Tkuma: Vestnik Nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 6 (37) (2003), pp. 6–7. BA-L, B 162/7177, pp. 330–365, there are contradictions concerning the number of Jews shot and also the dating of the Aktion in the German investigative files (some stating April 16, 1942), but otherwise the witness descriptions of the events largely concur.
6. TsDAVO, 3538-1-53, p. 48.
7. BA-L, B 162/7177, pp. 334–336, interrogation of I.F. Shchenderei, April 21, 1947. Shchenderei claims that 364 Jews were registered in Novomoskovsk just prior to the shooting.

NOVOVITEBSKOE

Pre-1941: Novovitebskoe, Novovasil'evka sel'sovet, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowo Witebsk, Rayon Sofijewka, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Novovitebs'ke, Dnipropetovsk oblast', Ukraine

Novovitebskoe is located 96.5 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. There were only 277 Jews living in Novovitebskoe in 1941. On August 18, 1941, about eight weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the village. During that time, some of the Jews was able to evacuate.

In the first months after the village was occupied, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, within Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk.

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites persecuted the Jewish population. All the Jews were isolated in an open ghetto, located on a single street, and Jews were not allowed to go beyond its designated borders. Jews deemed fit to work were selected in April 1942 and taken to a nearby labor camp run by the SS and the Organisation Todt (OT), where they were used to build the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV, DG IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. In May 1942, the ghetto was liquidated, and all the Jews there were shot. Most of the remaining Jewish forced laborers working on the DG IV in camps around Sofievka were shot during the winter of 1942–1943.[1]

SOURCES Sources on the ghetto and/or the labor camp in Novovitebskoe are listed in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 69.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Novovitebskoe can be found in: BA-L (B 162/6169, pp. 3280–3282); and TsDAVO (4620-2-358, p. 7).

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NOTE

1. BA-L, B 162/6169 (II 213 AR-Z 20/63, vol. 18), pp. 3280–3282.

NOVOZLATOPOL'

Pre-1941: Novozlatopol', village, Guliaipole raion, Zaporozh'e oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowo-Slatopol, Rayon center, Gebiet Kujbyschewo (Kuibyshevo), Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Novozlatopil', Zaporozh'e oblast', Ukraine

Novozlatopol' is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) east-southeast of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the 1939 population census, there were 4,701 Jews living in the raion (30 percent of the total population), including 1,109 Jews in the village of Novozlatopol' itself (50 percent of the total population).

The village was occupied by units of the German 17th Field Army in early October 1941, nearly three and a half months after the initial Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. A number of Jewish men of eligible age escaped the occupation by conscription into the Red Army or by voluntary enlistment.

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During the first months of the occupation, when the mass murder of the Jewish population was carried out, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Novozlatopol' and the surrounding Rayon. The German administration appointed a village elder and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the entire Jewish population. Jews were also forced into various kinds of heavy labor.

Information on the fate of the Jews of Novozlatopol' and the surrounding settlements is sparse and somewhat contradictory. According to one witness, I.P. Pliasovitsa:

> From the very first days of the Germans' administration of the raion territory, headed by the bloodthirsty officer Miller and the police chief Petkovskii, they began gathering together the Jewish population, ostensibly for shipment to Palestine. The order was given to take along their best clothing and food for the journey. After taking them to the Gendarmerie building, they made them dig four pits to serve as their own graves, and then the shooting started. Before being led to the pit, they were made to undress, and the perpetrators took the clothing for themselves. Those who offered any resistance were tossed into the pit alive. To drown out the cries and groans of the people thrown into the pit alive, the German accomplices beat on metal pails and buckets. For the same purpose, they also started up a tractor engine, but nothing could muffle these people's groans. When each pit was full of corpses, the police forced the kolkhozniks to fill them in with earth. The victims who were still alive moved about in the pits, and the earth rose up in these places.[1]

According to the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, hundreds of Jews from the area were "ghettoized" in Novozlatopol' in November and December 1941, prior to being murdered in a large-scale Aktion, which commenced on December 20, 1941. This source estimates that a few thousand Jews from Novozlatopol' and the surrounding area were executed, and some were expelled to Staryi-Kermenchik and perished there.[2]

According to other sources, the mass shooting of the Jews was probably not carried out until sometime in early February 1942. The approximately 800 victims were from Novozlatopol' and other villages in the raion. The bodies were buried in four pits on the outskirts of the village.[3] The killings were organized, in all likelihood, by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 12, which was deployed in Guliaipole at that time, assisted by the Ukrainian police and local ethnic Germans.

Some local non-Jews, however, risked their lives in efforts to save Jews. For example, in early February 1942, Nikifor Cheredenko of the village of Prishib traveled several hours by cart to rescue the Tsviling family (former neighbors, then living in Friling, Novozlatopol' raion) shortly before their scheduled arrest and transfer to Novozlatopol'. He had to smuggle them through German patrols and quickly supplied them with false identity papers. However, the other villagers of Prishib also had to keep the secret in the face of repeated German investigations into the "new arrivals." The Tsviling family was one of the very few that survived in the Novozlatopol' Jewish national raion. Another Jew who survived was Ruvim Gershovich Platok, who fell into the pit alive and was buried but at night somehow managed to climb out and find refuge in the area.

At the end of the occupation, the police chief Petkovskii and the local German "colonists" Simon, Bauer, Krebs, and Risselman were tried by the Soviet authorities and found guilty of having committed mass murder in the Novozlatopol' raion.[4]

SOURCES Information about the destruction of the Jews of the Novozlatopol' raion can be found in the following publications: S.F. Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e* (Zaporozh'e, 2003); and Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 205–207. 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), p. 907, but reports the "ghettoization" of the Jews of Novozlatopol', unfortunately does not cite any sources for this.

Documentation pertaining to the elimination of the Jews of Novozlatopol' can be found in the following archives: DAZPO (1335-6-6; 1662-1-1; 1844-1-1 and 3); GARF (7021-61-29 and 8114-1-952, pp. 132–133); and TsDAHOU (57-4-14).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. DAZPO, 1662-1-1, p. 5, as cited in Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e*, pp. 38–40.
2. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 907.
3. DAZPO, 1335-6-6, p. 182, inquiry of the executive committee of the Guliaipole Council of Peoples' Deputies, No. 08-27/86, February 17, 1986. In DAZPO, 1844-1-3, the number of 800 victims is given, together with a list of Jewish residents of the Novozlatopol' raion who were killed during the occupation. This list—which is not complete—includes the names of 661 persons.
4. DAZPO, 1844-1-3, p. 93, as cited in Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e*, pp. 39–40.

PAVLOGRAD

Pre-1941: Pavlograd, city and raion center, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pavlograd, city and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Pavlohrad, Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Pavlograd is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-northeast of Dnepropetrovsk. In 1939 the Jewish population stood at 2,510 (7.4 percent of the total population).

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In the three and a half months following the initial German invasion of the USSR, a considerable number of Jews from Pavlograd were able to evacuate to the east. Jewish men of military age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily.

On October 11, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied the city. From the middle of October 1941 until August 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/829) controlled the city. The Ortskommandantur established a local administration and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which in April 1942 consisted of 158 men.[1] Shortly after the occupation of the city, the commandant issued an order calling for all the Jews to be registered and requiring them to wear armbands bearing the Star of David on their left arms. All Jews were also ordered to appear in front of the city headquarters each morning for compulsory labor.

The first shooting of Jews in the city was apparently carried out at the end of 1941.[2] During the spring of 1942, the German authorities established a Jewish prison camp or "ghetto" on the grounds of factory no. 359. Local Jews from Pavlograd, as well as Jews from the surrounding area and possibly some refugees, were resettled there. The camp was liquidated in June 1942, and all the prisoners were shot. In total, around 2,000 persons were murdered. German forces assisted by Latvian collaborators conducted the shootings.[3]

SOURCES The "ghetto" in Pavlograd is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 65.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Pavlograd can be found in the following archives: DADO; GARF (7021-57-68, pp. 100–101); NARA; TsDAHOU (57-4-212, p. 60); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 11; and RG-22.005M, reel 2); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 18, fr. 814.
2. From November 1941 to January 1942, according to one source, 3,672 persons were killed in Pavlograd. See GARF, 7021-57-68, p. 103. In our view, this figure is much too high. These shootings were probably carried out by GFP-Group 711, commanded by an officer named Färber. In December 1941 and the first half of January 1942, this unit was stationed in Pavlograd.
3. Ibid., pp. 100–101; TsDAHOU, 57-4-212, p. 60. According to the inquiry (no. 23/1297) conducted by the committee of Pavlograd's City Council, on July 15, 1999, 2,100 Jews were annihilated on the grounds of the factory (now called "Palmash") where the prison camp was located. These victims were mostly Soviet citizens; the others (670 persons) were "Polish Jews." In our view, this figure is also too high. A Soviet intelligence report for 1942 mentioned that the Germans killed 1,000 Jews in Pavlograd; see USHMM, RG-22.005M (Russian State Archive for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History), reel 2, 69-1-1090.

PERVOMAISK

Pre-1941: Pervomaisk, city and raion center, Odessa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Perwomaisk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Pervomais'k, raion center, Mykolaiv oblast', Ukraine

Pervomaisk is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) southeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 6,087 Jews (18.5 percent of the total population) living in Pervomaisk.[1]

The city was occupied on August 2, 1941. From August to November 1941, a German military commandant's office controlled the city. Initially, it was Feldkommandantur (V) 676; then, after October 1941, it became an Ortskommandantur headed by Major Georg Truckenbrod. In December 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The city of Pervomaisk, including its left-bank regions Ol'viopol' and Bogopol', became the administrative center of Gebiet Perwomaisk, headed by Gebietskommissar Kameradschaftsführer Lafrentz. The Gebiet formed part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew within Reichskommissariat Ukraine. In October 1941, the right-bank part of the city, called Golta, came under Romanian administration as part of so-called Transnistria. It became the administrative center of the Golta uezd, headed by Lieutenant Colonel M. Isopescu.

In the first days of the occupation, hundreds of Jewish residents of the city were killed.[2] It is likely that the pogrom was carried out by Romanian soldiers who had occupied the city.

In August 1941, the German Feldkommandantur (V) 676 conducted the registration of the remaining Jews in the city, numbering around 2,000 people. They set up a Judenrat and resettled the Jewish population into a designated part of the city, which "had previously been a Jewish ghetto." The Germans also assigned different forms of compulsory labor to the Jews.[3]

A German report by Feldkommandantur (V) 676, dated September 21, 1941, seems to imply that most of the Jews from the ghetto were shot in mid-September: "the final resolution of the 'Jewish question' by the recent measures was received by the population as a just punishment for the immeasurable suffering inflicted upon them by Bolshevism. Since these measures were conducted without informing the Feldkommandantur in advance, it was not possible to preserve the currently very much-needed Jewish craftsmen."[4]

According to other sources, forces of the German Security Police rounded up the Jews from the ghetto and others found around Pervomaisk and shot them in several Aktions conducted between September 1941 and the spring of 1942. The Security Police was assisted by the local police, headed by an ethnic German named Geitel. One source indicates that about 30 to 40 Jewish artisans who survived the various Aktions in Pervomaisk were shot on an unspecified later date, in 1942 or 1943.[5]

From the Romanian part of the city, Golta, Jews declared unfit for labor were sent to the nearby Akmechetka camp. At the same time, a small group of Jewish artisans was sent to a newly created labor camp. In the middle of 1942, several hundred Jews were deported from Romania to Golta. In late 1942

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and early 1943, the population in the two ghettos and labor camp in Golta stood at around 500 persons. In the spring of 1943, some of them were transferred to other camps. By October 1943 the population of Golta Jews numbered 300. The majority of them survived, but some died of hunger and disease.[6]

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-69-82); RGVA (1275-3-661); USHMM; and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 21.
2. *Istoriia mist i sil URSR: Mykolaivs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1971), p. 664.
3. RGVA, 1275-3-661, p. 12, Report of Feldkommandantur 676 (V), September 8, 1941.
4. Ibid., 1275-3-661, pp. 20–23, Report of Feldkommandantur 676 (V), September 21, 1941. This interpretation is not confirmed by other sources cited below. It is possible that additional Jews were found in the surrounding areas and then shot in groups over the following weeks and months.
5. Testimony of eyewitnesses V.I. Iaremchenko and R.Ie. Berman at the court proceedings in Kiev, January 17–28, 1946. See *Kyivs'kyi protses: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev, 1995), pp. 83–85; GARF, 7021-69-82, pp. 242, 246. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission in Pervomaisk, 120 Jews were shot in November 1941, 3,600 Jews in December 1941, and 1,600 Jews in February–March 1942. These figures, however, appear to be too high.
6. D. Deletant, "Ghetto Experience in Golta, Transnistria, 1942–1944," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 18:1 (Spring 2004): 9–18.

ZLATOPOL'

Pre-1941: Zlatopol', town, Novomirgorod raion, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Slatopol, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: part of Novomyrhorod, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Zlatopol' is located about 65 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Kirovograd. In 1939 the Jewish population numbered 1,047 (26 percent of the total population).[1]

German forces occupied the settlement on August 1, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zlatopol' at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. It established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local residents.

In November 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Zlatopol' became the center of Rayon Slatopol in Gebiet Kirowograd, and later in Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Shortly after the occupation of Zlatopol', the Ortskommandantur organized the registration and marking of the Jews with armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy forced labor tasks, such as the repair of roads and buildings, solely because of their race.

In the fall of 1941, the German military administration established a "ghetto camp" for the Jews in Zlatopol'.[2] Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainian local inhabitants. As a result, starvation quickly ensued among the ghetto inmates.

In November 1941, the first Aktion was conducted against the Jews of Zlatopol'. German security forces assisted by Ukrainian police used chloropicrin gas to suffocate 174 Jews in a basement.[3] During the second Aktion in February 1942, on the instructions of the Gebietskommissar, the Ukrainian police suffocated 202 Jews, also using gas.[4] In May 1942, a third Aktion was carried out in the same manner, killing 183 Jews.[5] Altogether, 559 people were killed in the course of these three Aktions.

In June 1942, the German Gendarmerie captured 14 Jews who had been hiding and shot them in the forest nearby.[6] By June 1942, 240 Jews remained in the ghetto.[7] On September 30, 1942, around 100 Jews were shot in a deserted mine shaft near the village of Maslovo. When they were taken out of the building and led into the car for transportation to the killing site, a number of young Jews offered resistance. Armed only with metal bars, they threw themselves at the German and Ukrainian police, slightly wounding some of them.[8] After this, only the craftsmen and their families remained in the ghetto. They were exterminated at some time later in 1942 or in 1943.[9]

Between 1941 and 1943, the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 800 Jews in Zlatopol'.

SOURCES The ghetto in Zlatopol' is mentioned in the following publications: *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:486; and in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 93. There is also a survivor testimony published in Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 246–249.

Documents relating to the persecution and annihilation of Jews in Zlatopol' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKO; GARF (7021-66-123); TsDAHOU (57-4-170); TsDAVO (3676-4-317; R4328-1-1); USHMM; and YVA (O-33/154-1-4).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

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NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 27.

2. "Zlatopol'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:486, indicates the building of a children's home was used for this purpose. 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), p. 1514, dates the establishment of the "ghetto camp" to December 1941. TsDAVO, R4328-1-1, pp. 61–62, 67–68, calls it a "ghetto camp" established in the forest on the outskirts of town.

3. GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 55.

4. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, Report of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) and chief of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for the period from March 6 to April 1, 1942.

5. GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 55.

6. TsDAHOU, 57-4-170, p. 73, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten, No. 12, July 17, 1942.

7. Testimony of Iosif Iakovlevich Butovetskii, in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, p. 247.

8. Ibid., pp. 247–248; the Butovetskii testimony has also been published in *Yalkut Moreshet* 45 (June 1988): 179–184.

9. Available sources indicate that 83 Jews were murdered in 1943; see GARF, 7021-66-123, pp. 55 and reverse side.

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SECTION VII

REGIONS OF THE USSR UNDER GERMAN MILITARY OCCUPATION

Following Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, German forces penetrated deep into Soviet territory, reaching the outskirts of Moscow by November 1941. From August 1941, the western sections of occupied territory were handed over successively from German military administration to civil rule as Reichskommissariate Ostland and Ukraine were established and gradually expanded eastward through the end of 1941 and into 1942.

In this volume, those parts of the occupied Soviet Union that remained under German military administration during the occupation have been divided into three regions in accordance with the boundaries of the respective Soviet Socialist Republics at the time of the German invasion in June 1941: Eastern Belorussia, Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, and Russia. In 1941, before the German occupation, Crimea formed part of the Russian Federation, but here it is combined with Eastern Ukraine, as it also was occupied by forces of German Army Group South.

The Eastern Belorussia Region covers the Vitebsk and Mogilev oblasts and also parts of the Gomel', Minsk, and Poles'e oblasts of the Belorussian SSR. During the period when the ghettos in Eastern Belorussia were established and liquidated from the summer of 1941 until the summer of 1942, the region was occupied by the German army, and specifically it came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte).

The Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region covers the Chernigov, Khar'kov, Stalino, Sumy, and Voroshilovgrad oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as German-occupied Crimea, during the period of German military occupation. During the period when most of the ghettos in the Eastern Ukraine Region were established and liquidated from the fall of 1941 until the summer of 1942, the region was subordinated primarily to Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd). The four ghettos established in the Crimea lay within the Rear Area of the German 11th Army.

The Occupied Russian Territory covers primarily the area of the pre-1941 Kalinin, Leningrad, Orel, Smolensk, and Tula oblasts. The ghettos established in this region between the summer of 1941 and the spring of 1942 lay primarily within the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Groups Center and North, although some, such as that in Kaluga, remained under the control of German frontline troops. In addition, during the German offensive against Stalingrad, in the summer and fall of 1942, a few ghettos were established in the areas occupied by German Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A) in the Rostov oblast', the Ordzhonikidze krai, and the Kalmyk and Kabardino-Balkar ASSRs (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics).

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EASTERN BELORUSSIA REGION

Jewish men remove guns from a barrack in Mogilev, July to October 1941. The German caption reads: "collection of looted guns."
USHMM WS #74318, COURTESY OF ŻIH

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EASTERN BELORUSSIA REGION

Pre-1941: Vitebsk, Mogilev, and parts of the Gomel', Minsk, and Poles'e oblasts, Belorussian SSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-2001: Republic of Belarus

The entirety of the eastern Belorussia region lay within the Belorussian SSR in 1938. After June 1941 and until the spring of 1942, the German military authorities and the Einsatzgruppen established some 101 ghettos or points of concentration for Jews in eastern Belorussia, divided as follows: 41 in the Vitebsk oblast', containing about 30,000 Jews; 31 in the Mogilev oblast', holding some 38,000 Jews; 15 in what is now the Gomel' oblast', with approximately 13,000 Jewish residents; and 14 in the Minsk oblast', with about 16,000 Jews. For some locations a lack of information has made it very difficult to determine whether or not a ghetto existed there. Most ghettos were located in the Rayon centers, sometimes also holding Jews brought in from surrounding villages, although several Rayons contained 2 or more ghettos. The period of ghetto formation was accompanied by the mass murder of the Jewish population by units of the Security Police (Einsatzgruppen), Wehrmacht, Order Police, Waffen-SS, and various non-German auxiliaries.

According to the 1939 census, there were more than 250,000 Jews living in the region of eastern Belorussia. Thousands of Jewish refugees arrived from western Belorussia in the first days after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, but many other Jews were evacuated, fled in time, or were recruited into the Red Army. However, a systematic evacuation of key personnel, mainly Communist Party and state officials, as well as industrial workers, was possible only from a few larger cities with good railway connections. For example, in Orsha, located on a main railway line, only about 25 percent of the Jews remained at the start of the German occupation, whereas in Polotsk, probably around 75 percent of the 1939 population was trapped there, although this number included many refugees from further west.

In the first two months, the rapidly moving units of Einsatzgruppe B, supported by SS, Order Police, and Wehrmacht units, conducted a number of killing Aktions directed against suspected Communists and the Jewish leadership. In August 1941, Einsatzgruppe B and other units initiated large-scale killings of Jewish women and children. For example, in Surazh, Einsatzkommando 9 carried out the total annihilation of the Jews on August 15, 1941, without forming a ghetto.[1] The liquidation of most of the larger ghettos established in the main cities was conducted in October and November 1941; but many ghettos in smaller towns and villages were not liquidated until the first six months of 1942. The limited personnel of the Einsatzgruppen, poor roads and communications, and the cold winter of 1941–1942 all contributed to the prolongation of the killing Aktions into the spring and summer of 1942.

An elderly woman sits among the ruins of her home, destroyed by the German attack on Vitebsk. The original German caption reads: "This was Vitebsk!"
USHMM WS #09468, COURTESY OF PATRICIA MARK

The military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) appointed a local Belorussian administration and a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) in each Rayon. The first anti-Jewish measures introduced by the military included the wearing of identifying markings and the introduction of forced labor. Other regulations included restrictions on trading with non-Jews and confinement to the limits of the settlement.

The commander in charge of Rear Area, Army Group Center (Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Mitte, or Berück Mitte), General der Kavallerie Max von Schenckendorff, issued an order for the creation of separate Jewish quarters on July 13, 1941. It stated that Jews were to be concentrated in a closed community in houses only occupied by Jews.[2] Among the first ghettos established in eastern Belorussia were those in Slavnoe (according to survivors, on July 9), Zembin (mid-July 1941), Ostrovno (on July 19), Krupki (July), and Bogushevichi (late July or early August). Ghettoization, however, was not a high priority. Subsequent guidelines issued by the Army High Command (OKH) in mid-August, and circulated by the Berück Mitte on September 12, advised that fenced ghettos were only to be established when the location of the Jewish quarter in relation to the non-Jewish residential area made it necessary for the effective guarding of the Jewish quarter, which could not be achieved by other means. Such ghettos were only to be established in towns with larger Jewish populations and only if other more urgent tasks would not be neglected in consequence. Jews could leave the Jewish quarters only for work assignments or with special permission

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from the Ortskommandant.[3] These orders, which left much initiative to commanders at the local level, explain how the patchwork of open ghettos, enclosed ghettos, and also other places with no resettlement of the Jews came about.

As a result of the flexible guidelines, at least 17 unfenced or open ghettos (*Judenviertel*) were established in eastern Belorussia; but there were significant variations, even among these. In Beshenkovichi and Chashniki, Jews were not resettled, but they were forbidden to leave the town, and their houses were marked with wooden Stars of David. In Tolochin, the Jews were resettled into a separate area, which was not fenced but was guarded by the local Belorussian police. In Osipovichi, the Jews were confined to certain streets that they could not leave, but the area remained unfenced and non-Jews living there were not resettled. In Trudy, all the Jews were concentrated in three houses, from which the non-Jews were removed.

Among reasons given for establishing ghettos was the Germans' need for more housing space, especially in places that had witnessed considerable destruction. Another motivation was the aim of restricting Jews' access to the food supply. The ghettos also served the additional purpose of trapping much of the Jewish population in preparation for the killing Aktions.

A variety of different sites were used as ghettos. Many were established in the poorer parts of town, often where Jews had lived before in the small wooden houses typical of the region. In the village of Grodzianka, a long, wooden construction similar to a barracks served as the ghetto. The Jews of Tal'ka were concentrated in a former pioneer camp, and those of Pukhovichi in the former sanatorium of the postal service. In Gorodok, the ghetto was fenced on three sides, with a river forming its boundary on the fourth; a watchtower was built at the highest point along the ghetto fence. In the small village of Obol', a single house served as the ghetto. In Shumilino, the ghetto consisted of 10 houses "surrounded with barbed wire. Old cans and bottles were hung on the wire, and if somebody touched it, they rang. A guard with a machine gun sat on a watchtower, and he opened fire at everybody who came close to the wire."[4]

In most cases the ghettos were established and overseen by the Ortskommandanturen, but in some cases, especially in larger cities, the Einsatzgruppen also played a leading role. In Orsha, the ghetto was established following a decision taken in the office of the Ortskommandantur. It consisted of between 25 and 40 houses, where about 2,000 people were concentrated. The Jews were given three days to move in. On one side, the ghetto was bordered by the Orshitsa River, and on the other sides it was enclosed with barbed wire and guarded. The Jewish cemetery was included in the ghetto area.[5]

In September 1941, Egon Noack, commander of Vorauskommando Moskau subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, arrived in Mstislavl', and after consulting with the mayor and the head of the local police, he ordered the creation of a ghetto in the "Sloboda" section of town. All Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto, while local Belorussians were evacuated from this area. During this visit, the Security Police under Noack collected fur coats from the Jews, and after the ghetto was established, the Security Police shot 30 Jewish men.[6] Ghettoization was often accompanied by anti-Jewish violence and the confiscation or looting of property. In Mogilev, the Jews allegedly tried to sabotage resettlement into the ghetto, which resulted in the Security Police shooting 113 Jews.[7] In Ostrovno, on the day of the resettlement, a young Jew who refused to move into the ghetto was shot and killed. During the resettlement of the Jews into the Polotsk ghetto, the Nazis confiscated Jewish property, beating many Jews in the process.

Most ghettos in the region were severely overcrowded, and despite the short duration of many of them, epidemics of typhus and other diseases linked to malnutrition, exposure, and overcrowding were common. In the Lepel' ghetto, some of the houses had neither doors nor windows. Jews were crammed 30 to 40 people to each house. The ghetto inmates were forbidden to leave their houses or even to look out the windows. In winter they were forbidden to take water from wells; they could only melt snow instead.[8] In Vitebsk, the area of the ghetto was so severely damaged that the Jews had to scavenge in the ruins to find some makeshift shelter. In the Liuban' ghetto, each house contained at least three or four families.

A survivor of the Liozno ghetto, B. Chernyakov, has described conditions there: "The police burst into ghetto houses in the winter at any time of the day or night. They broke the windows, beat the Jews with sticks and whips, and chased them out into the freezing cold. Not a single window pane remained in one of the houses . . . even though 40 people lived there in –40° weather. Infested with lice, the people slept on rotten, wormy straw. A typhus epidemic broke out, claiming several lives every day."[9] Survivors report from a number of ghettos that the Germans supplied no food at all to the inmates, which meant that deaths from starvation occurred, in some cases on a large scale.

Most historians argue that the exploitation of the Jews for labor was only of marginal importance in the ghettos of this region, since much of the heavy industry had been evacuated or destroyed by the Soviets, and sufficient non-Jewish manpower remained. Nonetheless, Jews were used for forced labor in almost all eastern Belorussian ghettos. Forced labor tasks included cleaning the streets, repairing roads, digging military defenses, and cleaning or craft work for the German occupying forces. Sometimes, however, forced labor was intended merely to humiliate the Jews. In Parichi, Jews were taken out each day for forced labor, and when there was no work for them, the authorities still made them move sand from one place to another.

In September 1941, the Wehrmacht forbade the use of Jewish workers other than in closed columns.[10] According to historian Christian Gerlach, this order effectively excluded Jewish craftsmen from the economy and accelerated the process of destruction. As the measure was implemented, it was accompanied by the mass murder of most of the Jewish population in the larger cities. Since the Jews of eastern Belorussia were much less involved in crafts and light industry than those in the former Polish regions, they could be replaced more easily. The acute food shortages in the cities, exacerbated by the

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Germans' own "Hunger Plan," led German authorities to starve out and shoot Jews en masse. Fear of disease spreading became another reason to liquidate those that remained.[11]

Among the main units responsible for the murder of the Jews in eastern Belorussia in the fall of 1941 were Einsatzkommandos 8 and 9 of Einsatzgruppe B. Einsatzkommando 8, assisted by Police Battalions 316 and 322, murdered more than 6,000 Jews in Mogilev in two large Aktions in October. Another Einsatzkommando 8 detachment shot 7,000 Jews in Borisov, assisted by the local Belorussian police. Detachments of Einsatzkommando 9 carried out mass shootings of Jews, for example, in Vitebsk, Ianovichi, and Sirotino. Wehrmacht units participated in anti-Jewish Aktions, for example, in Krupki and Krucha, and provided support to the operations of the Einsatzgruppen. A report by Ortskommandantur I (V) 324 in Parichi reflects the suddenness of developments: "on October 18, 1941, a security command of the SD in Bobruisk appeared in Parichi and liquidated the Jews living here."[12]

Indigenous forces and other auxiliaries also played an important role. Apart from the Ordnungsdienst based in every town and village, men of the collaborationist Russian National People's Army (RNNA) and Ukrainian auxiliaries also participated in ghetto liquidation Aktions.

About 25 of the eastern Belorussian ghettos existed for less than two months, such that they can be considered destruction ghettos. Of these, 16 were liquidated in the fall of 1941 and the others in the first six months of 1942. In some places, such as Drissa or Osveia, the Jews were collected together in a "special camp" or ghetto for only a few days before they were shot; others existed for a few weeks, such as in Klimovichi or Gorodok, and in most respects resembled other ghettos.

From a few ghettos, selected skilled workers were spared initially from the killing Aktions, but this was usually for only a few weeks. In Mogilev a forced labor camp for Jews was established alongside the ghetto, which later also held non-Jews before its liquidation in 1943. Jews from western Belorussia were sent to a forced labor camp near Borisov in December 1942; they were shot there after a few months in 1943.

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in the eastern Belorussian ghettos other than the names and professions of some Jewish elders and council members. As elsewhere, their tasks included registering the Jews and meeting German demands for forced labor and "contributions." They also probably allocated housing and provided some social services, including rudimentary medical care. In Vitebsk and a few other ghettos, there is evidence of a Jewish police force. In Tal'ka, Jewish elder Meyer Rabinovich was shot when he protested about the treatment of the Jews in the ghetto.[13] Attempts were made to maintain religious observance and other social activities despite the difficulties. In Shchedrin, the Jews prayed at home, as there was no synagogue within the ghetto boundaries. Efforts were also made to bury the dead according to Jewish rites.

The attitudes of the local population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. Jewish survivors from Ianovichi recalled their non-Jewish neighbors with great bitterness, as with the coming of the Germans, the attitude of the local population towards the Jews changed drastically: "The locals could come to a Jew and take away whatever they wanted, even a cow . . . ; they might also beat you with a stick."[14] The German authorities also spread virulent propaganda against the Jews. The establishment of ghettos gave non-Jews the opportunity to loot property that was left behind. In most ghettos in the region, Jews were able to barter their last possessions for food with the non-Jewish population despite German prohibitions. In Borisov, the initial mood of support for the anti-Jewish measures gave way to fears that the remaining local population might also be killed once the full scale of the massacres became known.[15]

From the end of 1941, a number of Jews escaped from the ghettos to join the growing Soviet partisan movement. Many Jews served with distinction in the Soviet partisans and carried out attacks against German garrisons and the local police. Despite some antisemitism in the ranks of the partisans, official Soviet policy treated all nationalities equally, and Soviet units offered some refuge to Jews escaping from the ghettos. Other Jews survived in hiding, usually with the help of a number of non-Jews.

Many of the Jews in the small open ghetto in Kolyshki were fortunate to be liberated by the Red Army. The German authorities had collected the Jews in a few intact houses marked with distinctive symbols. The Jews suffered from frequent robberies in the "ghetto," and some Jews caught foraging outside the village were shot. On February 9, 1942, a Soviet reconnaissance unit recaptured Kolyshki, and a few days later some of the Jews moved deeper into Soviet-held territory, with the unit commander's approval. Unfortunately, more than 100 Jews who remained behind were murdered in March, after the Germans' return.

The ghettos liquidated in the first six months of 1942 were mainly smaller ones in more remote towns and villages, although a few were larger, such as that in Beshenkovichi, which contained more than 800 people. The Khotimsk ghetto was liquidated in early September 1942 and was probably not the last ghetto in the region, as Belorussian sources date the liquidation of the Sloboda ghetto to October 1942.

On liberation by the Red Army, very few Jewish survivors of the German occupation remained in eastern Belorussia. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documented the mass grave sites and obtained some descriptions of ghettos from local inhabitants. Just as German trials of Einsatzgruppen members have helped to piece together the daily brutality of the killing squads, now the trials of Soviet collaborators located in the Committee for State Security (KGB) archives are beginning to help historians gain a clearer picture of the attitudes among the local population during the persecution and murder of the Jews.

SOURCES Of the secondary works dealing with the fate of the Jews in the ghettos of eastern Belorussia, the following are recommended: Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche*

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Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944 (Hamburg: HIS, 2000); Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997); Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982); Daniel Romanovsky, "The Holocaust in the Eyes of *Homo Sovieticus*: A Survey Based on Northeastern Belorussia and Northwestern Russia," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 13:3 (Winter 1999): 355–382; and Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941–42" (presented at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies Symposium on "The Holocaust in the Soviet Union," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, November 2003), available at jewishgen.org.

Of use in helping to identify smaller ghettos were the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Comittee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm*, *1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 4–6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000–2007); and 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).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izdatel' E.S. Gal'perin, 1997); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000); Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998); and Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Slovo Pamiati* (Orsha: Orshanskaia Tipografiia, 1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBMO; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; CDJC; GAGO; GAMINO; GAMO; GARF; GAVO; IfZ; IPN; MA; NA; NARA; NARB; RGASPI; RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; YIVO; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. YVA, TR-10/388a (Berlin trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 [Filbert] held in 1961), p. 47; Soviet sources date the Aktion in Surazh on July 28 or August 2, 1941.
2. Berück Mitte, Abt. VII/Mil. Verw., Verwaltungsanordnungen Nr. 2, July 13, 1941, NARB, 409-1-1, p. 71, as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 524.
3. Berück Mitte, Abt. VII/Kr.-Verw., Verwaltungsanordnungen Nr. 6, September 12, 1941, as cited in ibid., p. 525.
4. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii, as cited by A. Shulman and M. Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voinoi* (Vitebsk, 1997), p. 33.
5. See Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 66–69.
6. See Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 4, p. 152, statement of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and vol. 1, pp. 48–49, statement of Klingelhöfer, July 1, 1947.
7. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230.
8. Testimony of Roza Fishkina, GARF, 7021-84-104. See also Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 46–48.
9. B. Chernyakov's letter, in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 187–188.
10. OKW/W.F.St./Abt. L (IV/Qu), Betr.: Juden in den neu besetzten Ostgebieten, September 12, 1941 (BA-MA), as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 578.
11. See ibid., p. 645.
12. BA-BL, R 2104/25, report of OK I(V)324, n.d.
13. BA-L, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Semen Panschey and Kondrat Molchan; Dok. Bd. II, statement of Anna Koreny.
14. YVA, O-3/4614.
15. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS.

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Borders as of 1942

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BARAN'

Pre-1941: Baran', town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Baran, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Baran', Orsha raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Baran' is located a few kilometers to the southwest of Orsha. The 1939 census registered 81 Jews living in Baran' (out of a total population of 1,589).

German armed forces captured the settlement on July 16, 1941, three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were conscripted for military service in the Red Army. Slightly more than half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the German occupation.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Baran' throughout the occupation, from July 1941 until February 1944. The German military administration established a local authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur ordered all Jews to be registered and marked with badges and required that the Jewish population perform various forms of hard labor. In September 1941, all the remaining Jews in the settlement were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, consisting of just two houses, 19 and 21 Ialtinskaia Street.[1] The German commandant forbade Jews to go out onto the street after 6:00 P.M. As the Jews suffered from hunger, they exchanged valuable items for food with the local population.[2]

After about seven months, on April 8, 1942, the Germans, assisted by the local police, liquidated the ghetto; all the Jews—about 42 to 45 people—were shot and buried in a mass grave located about 300 meters (328 yards) from Sorokin Street.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Baran' ghetto can be found in the publications of Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshanskaia Tipografiia, 1997), pp. 55–57, and *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 92–93. See also "Baran'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, 2000), 4:84.

Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission regarding the extermination of the Jews of Baran' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); and GAVO.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., "Baran," in *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1:86–87.
2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 55.

BATSEVICHI

Pre-1941: Batsevichi, town, Klichev raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bazewitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Batsevichy, Klichav raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Batsevichi is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) due north of Bobruisk.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the area around Klichev in early July 1941. According to the testimony of Issak Moiseyevich Gershovich, the German military authorities established a ghetto in the town of Batsevichi by early September 1941. The Jews in the ghetto were served by a Jewish doctor and his wife, who was a midwife. The ghetto consisted of a few small cottages, in each of which lived about 25 to 30 people crammed together. One night in December 1941, German forces arrived in Batsevichi and shot all the Jews. Since the 1939 Soviet census recorded only 192 Jews living in the Klichev raion outside Klichev, it is likely that fewer than 100 Jews were murdered in Batsevichi.

In late February 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (Einsatzgruppe B) conducted a reprisal Aktion in Batsevichi, following an attack on German police forces nearby. During the Aktion, 47 inhabitants of Batsevichi, including men, women, and children, were murdered.[1]

SOURCES The ghetto in Batsevichi is mentioned in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 428.

Martin Dean

NOTE

1. *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Bd. II, Lfd. Nr. 1044, p. 288.

BELYNICHI

Pre-1941: Belynichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Belynitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Bialynichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Belynichi is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-northwest of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 781 Jews living in Belynichi, comprising 24.8 percent of the total population.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on July 9, 1941, about three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In this interim period, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

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During the course of the occupation, which lasted from July 9, 1941, until June 29, 1944, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a town administration and a police force recruited from local residents. Shortly after the occupation began, the town administration, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also required to perform heavy physical labor.

In September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (headed by Dr. Otto Bradfisch) arrived in Belynichi from Mogilev and conducted the first Aktion. On the pretext of sending Jews out to work on a bridge construction project, the German punitive squad rounded up more than 150 Jewish men. They escorted them about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) out of town and then shot them, burying the bodies in two pits.[2]

After the Aktion in the fall of 1941, all the remaining Jews of Belynichi, together with Jewish families from some neighboring villages in the Rayon, were resettled into a camp or ghetto "*Kvartal-Lager*" established in a specific quarter of the town. The ghetto was strictly guarded; the Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto, and non-Jews were also forbidden to enter.[3] This resettlement was most probably conducted under the supervision of Ortskommandantur II/936, which was based in Belynichi in mid-October 1941.[4]

On December 12, 1941, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. At 9:00 A.M., a detachment of the German Security Police and SD based in Mogilev (Einsatzkommando 8), assisted by the local Belorussian police, gathered the remaining Jews of the ghetto, about 600 people, into a large column. The Jews were told that they were being resettled to Esmony, a village about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the northwest of Belynichi. The Germans and their collaborators escorted the Jews along the road into the Mkhi woods to a site about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, where two large pits measuring 40 meters by 30 meters (131 feet by 98 feet) and 3 meters (10 feet) deep had been prepared in advance. Here the Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were forced to undress down to their underwear and lie facedown in the ditches; after one row was complete, the Germans shot the Jews; and then the next row had to get ready. After this horrendous deed was finished, the Germans transported the clothing and shoes of the murdered Jews back to Belynichi, and from there the most valuable items were sent to Mogilev in automobiles; the remaining less valuable items were distributed by the Germans among their collaborators.[5]

Between April and June 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 shot several hundred more Jews in villages near Belynichi (presumably those who had not been brought into the Belynichi ghetto in the fall of 1941).

SOURCES Publications that mention the Belynichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Belynichi include the following: V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001), p. 135; 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), p. 104; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki Genotsida Evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 294–295.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Belynichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/II 202 AR 625/67, vol. 1); BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-88-34); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.
2. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1. According to another source, the shooting of Jewish men took place in October 1941, in two ditches on the edge of Charopol'. In 1965, an obelisk was placed at the site of the shooting; see Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 294.
3. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b, map of Heeresgebiet Mitte as of October 9, 1941.
5. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1. A list containing the names of 360 of the murdered Jews can be found in GARF, 7021-88-34, pp. 30–37; among those murdered were apparently 224 refugees from western Belorussia. See also NARB, 861-1-9, p. 123.

BEREZINO

Pre-1941: Berezino, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Berazino, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Berezino is located just over 100 kilometers (62 miles) east of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, 1,536 Jews (31.8 percent of the total) lived in Berezino. An additional 786 Jews lived in the villages of the raion, bringing the total Jewish population to 2,322.

German military forces had occupied the town by early July 1941, just over a week after the start of the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this period, several hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

During the entire occupation period, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The Germans created a local authority and recruited a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among the local residents.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the local authority organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. By the end of July, some Jews of the Rayon from outside the town were also concentrated in Berezino. Jews were forced to perform various forms of heavy labor, including

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carpentry work. In August or September 1941, German security forces arrested and shot 150 Jews from the town.

In the summer or fall of 1941, a ghetto was created on Internatsional'naia Street in Berezino, which after a few weeks was surrounded by barbed wire. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from other villages nearby. Jews were prohibited from bringing food products into the ghetto from the villages and were beaten by the local police when caught. Nevertheless, Jews continued to sneak out to beg for food, as some Jews were dying of hunger. Those who died were buried in the Jewish cemetery.[1]

The ghetto was liquidated on January 31 and February 1, 1942. Einsatzkommando 8, a 20-man detachment of the Security Police and SD subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, shot 962 Jews, including the elderly, women, and children.[2] According to the evidence of a former member, the 1st Company of the 12th Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion, commanded by Zenonas Kemzura, also participated in the Aktion.[3]

The killing site was cordoned off by members of German Landesschützenbataillon 452. According to the diary entry of one member of this unit, the ghetto was only 500 meters (547 yards) from his window; he could hear the screams and shouts as the houses were cleared systematically, and any Jews trying to flee were shot on the spot. The Jews were escorted in a column to two wooden huts near the ditches, where they put their valuables into the first and their outer clothing into the second hut. Then they were escorted on a path through the snow to the grave. They got down into the grave and were killed by two SS men, who took turns shooting. Some children later were found hiding in the ghetto and were also murdered.[4]

The local Belorussian police took part in the Aktion. One well-dressed local policeman from Berezino boasted shortly afterwards: "We finished off the kikes, all of them. In the end of December and beginning of January [*sic*] we liquidated the kike ghetto. We shot a thousand of them. Children were taken to the river and drowned in ice holes."[5] Sometime after the Aktion, the Ortskommandantur in Berezino sent to Berlin $273 in U.S. currency, which had been confiscated from the Jews who were shot.[6]

Liza Aizendorf was hidden inside the ghetto with her other siblings by her grandmother, who gave herself up, as an empty house was likely to be searched thoroughly. Liza managed to escape with her sister three days after the Aktion. She survived the German occupation despite being denounced by local people on more than one occasion and eventually joined a Soviet partisan unit. After the Germans fled, she also participated in reprisals taken against local collaborators.[7]

Jews were also murdered in the villages of Rayon Beresino. In December 1941, German forces shot 380 Jews in the village of Bogushevichi. Sometime in early 1942, 200 Jews were shot in the village of Pogost.[8]

SOURCES Published sources on the fate of the Jews of Berezino during the Holocaust include the following: 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), p. 114; and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 197–198.

Documents and testimonies on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Berezino can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104); GAMINO; GARF (7021-87-2); NARB (861-1-8); VHF (# 7691); YVA (Oral History of Zinaida Krasner); and ZSSta-D (45 Js 35/64).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 1; testimony of Liza Aizendorf (Zorina), in Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 197–198; and VHF, # 7691, testimony of Elizaveta Aizendorf (née Zorina).

2. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 684. According to the materials of the ChGK, the Germans shot around 1,000 Jews in Berezino at the end of December 1941; see GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 1; and NARB, 861-1-8, p. 113.

3. See the trial proceedings against Antanas Impulevicius, Zenonas Kemzura, and others, in Vilnius, October 10–20, 1962, statement of the accused Juozas Knyrimas. Kemzura was sentenced to death, as was the commander of the battalion, Major Impulevicius (in absentia, as he was living in the United States).

4. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 35/64, pp. 22–24, diary of P.H. (transcript), cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 684 n. 983.

5. Unfortunately for this local policeman, his interlocutors were Soviet partisans in disguise, and they shot him shortly after these incautious words, as he had boasted also of having personally murdered two children. See David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 431 (Isaak Moiseyevich Gershovich [New York], Commissar of the 277th Partisan Regiment, 2nd Klichev Partisan Brigade, recollections from his wartime diary).

6. BA-BL, R2104/Beutebuch Russland VI, no. 9584, pp. 30–31, report dated April 29, 1942.

7. Testimony of Liza Aizendorf (Zorina), in Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 197–198.

8. GARF, 7021-87-2, pp. 6 (Bogushevichi) and 16 (Pogost).

BESHENKOVICHI

Pre-1939: Beshenkovichi, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Beschenkowitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Beshankovichy, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Beshenkovichi is situated 51 kilometers (32 miles) west-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 1,119 Jews lived in the town, making up 26.3 percent of the population. The main part of the town is situated on the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River, where the majority of

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the Jews lived. On the right bank of the river is the suburb of Strelka. Only 21 Jewish families lived in this suburb in the late 1920s; just prior to the war there were even fewer. The other main location with a sizable Jewish population in the Beshenkovichi raion was Ulla, which had 516 Jews in 1939 (20.4 percent of the total population). The Jewish population of the raion (excluding Beshenkovichi and Ulla) was 385, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Ostrovno and Svecha.

There was no mass evacuation or flight of Jews from Beshenkovichi. Many Jews failed to flee from the town because of the rapid German advance and lack of good roads. Only four Jewish families fled successfully from Strelka.

On July 5, 1941, the German XXXIX Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group seized the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River from Beshenkovichi to Ulla; thus Ulla and the main part of Beshenkovichi, except for Strelka, were captured by the Germans. The right bank (Strelka) was taken no later than July 9. On July 12, forces of the V Army Corps of the 9th Army (Infantry) entered Lepel' and Chashniki; on July 13, they entered Ulla (5th Infantry Division) and, most probably, also Beshenkovichi. Both towns became part of the Rear Area, 9th Army (Strauss). From August 1941 onward, Beshenkovichi was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte), being situated on its western edge, close to the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; from October 13, 1941, Beshenkovichi was under the control of Ortskommandantur I/79.

A survivor, Yakov Genin, stated that a former math teacher, Ivan Ivitskiy, became the police chief. Witnesses attest that the men of the local police, including Ivitskiy, confiscated Jewish houses for themselves.[1]

Beshenkovichi suffered severely from the fighting. Many wooden houses were burned down. The Belorussian police began to confiscate Jewish houses and give them to non-Jews. There was no formal ghetto in Beshenkovichi; the Jews were resettled into a certain district of the town and ordered to mark their houses with plywood Stars of David. A survivor says that some craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, and the like) were lodged together in the same house; they worked for the Germans and were not subjected to forced labor. In Strelka, all the Jews were resettled into one house, which had belonged to someone whose first name was Shaye. The house was guarded at night. The Jews of Beshenkovichi also were ordered to wear a patch with a Star of David on their clothes. Forced labor was introduced: every morning all the Jews, men and women, had to gather in the town's park for distribution to the workplaces. Genin described the kinds of forced labor: "We loaded grain, repaired roads with picks. Most often we dismantled brick buildings, crushed bricks, and covered roads with it. In addition, we sawed trees in the forest and in the park for timber, and sometimes, when there was no work, the Germans made us dig pits or simply drag stones from one place to another."[2]

There were isolated killings before February 1942. Genin stated that the Germans killed some Jews "just for fun," but later "there were some more or less 'planned' shootings," victims of which were young strong men. The mass shooting of Jews took place on February 11, 1942. The perpetrators of the killing were members of Einsatzkommando 9 (Schäfer). On that day, all young and middle-aged men who were at work were taken from their workplaces and locked inside a stable; the rest of the Jews—women, children, and old people—were captured in a roundup carried out in the town by the local police. Some Jews offered resistance.

On the morning of the same day, the Germans gathered the town's Belorussians who had carts with horses. The Belorussian witness R.Sh., who participated in that operation, said: "The town commandant came out and spoke in Russian. . . . He said, 'You are liberated from the Jewish yoke, you are free people now,' something like that."[3]

The Jews—women, old people, and children—were formed into a column, which was escorted by the German and local police across the frozen Zapadnaia Dvina to Strelka and then to a nearby forest, where pits had been prepared. The Einsatzkommandos went separately. Some Jews tried to flee from the column; the police shot them, and the locals with the horse carts, who were following the column, had to pick up the bodies, put them onto the carts, and bring them to the pits.

The people brought to the forest near Strelka were all shot; then the men who had been locked in the stable were also taken there and killed. Later, the "specialists" (artisans) and the Jews who had fled from Beshenkovichi and were found in the vicinity were killed in another pit.

After the mass killing, the German authorities organized the sale of Jewish belongings to the local population.

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B, 855 Jews were killed on February 11, 1942, in Beshenkovichi.[4] Some 13 Jewish "specialists," who worked for the Ortskommandantur, and their families were spared on this day; they were killed in the fall of 1942.

The inscription on the monument erected at the site of the murder after the war states that 1,068 "innocent Soviet citizens" perished there on February 11, 1942. This figure includes either Jews who were killed before the last Aktion and the "specialists" or the non-Jews killed by the Nazis there—or both these groups.

Genin gives a rather negative description of the attitudes of non-Jews to the Jews in the town of Beshenkovichi during the war: "We heard from the Germans—Jude, Jude! The same attitude we got from part of the local population." Remarkably, he speaks positively about the attitude towards him shown by Soviet soldiers, whom he met after he crossed the front line in 1942.[5]

There are no recorded cases in Beshenkovichi where non-Jews attempted to rescue Jews, other than cases in which non-Jews attempted (unsuccessfully) to rescue their close Jewish relatives (in-laws).

The ghettos in Ulla and Ostrovno within Rayon Beschenkowitschi are dealt with in separate entries. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 93 Jews were killed in the villages of the Svecha sel'sovet (10 kilometers [6.2 miles] west of Beshenkovichi). Mass shootings of civilians

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took place also in Bocheikovo (19 kilometers [11.8 miles] west-southwest of Beshenkovichi; 84 people killed), Sokorovo, Makarovichi, and other sel'sovets. It is not clear from the documents the extent to which there were Jews among the victims in these places.

SOURCES The personal story of Yakov Genin, who survived the massacre in Beshenkovichi, was published in Yiddish as Meyer Brukazh, "Der lerer," *Birobidzhaner Shtern* 253 (December 23, 1973).

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1). Relevant German documentation is located in RGVA (500-1-770), BA-BL (R 58/217), and BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). YVA contains not only all the witness statements consulted (O-3/4676 to 4680) but also copies of some German documentation (see O-51-Ossobi/43 and M-29-FR/208).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4676 and O-3/4677.
2. YVA, O-3/4676.
3. As cited by Daniel Romanovsky, "The Holocaust in the Eyes of the *Homo Sovieticus*," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 13:3 (1999): 378 fn.24.
4. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B vom 16. bis zum 28. Februar 1942, in RGVA, 500-1-770.
5. YVA, O-3/4676.

BOBRUISK

Pre-1941: Bobruisk, city and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Babruisk, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bobruisk is located 110 kilometers (68 miles) southwest of Mogilev. According to the census of 1939, there were 26,703 Jews living there (31.6 percent of the total population). The initial advance of German forces into Soviet territory in late June and July 1941 induced some of Bobruisk's Jews to evacuate to the east, while a number of male Jews were called up into the Red Army. No precise figure exists for the number of Jews in the city on the day it was occupied.

On June 28, 1941, units of the 3rd Panzer Division, as well as elements of the 4th Panzer Division and the 1st Cavalry Division, entered Bobruisk. Initially, the city was part of the German 2nd Army's zone of operations, but from August 1941 the territory of Bobruisk was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. The various administrative tasks in the city were divided between the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/274) and the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 581), but the former unit was subordinated to the latter.

From the first days of the occupation, the Germans ordered the inhabitants to observe a strict curfew and forbade them to leave "the limits of their residential area." Jews were forced to wear yellow six-pointed stars. Additionally, the Germans demanded that the Jews hand over their money, gold, jewelry, and furs. One of the first measures taken by the Germans was to register the entire population and compile a list of the Jews of Bobruisk. At about the same time, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which also served to separate the Jews from other segments of the population.

The Bobruisk ghetto was established in the area defined by Novoshosseinaia, Zaturenskogo, and Bobrova Streets.[1] According to M.G. Kogan, by July 30, 1941, 10 days after its establishment, all the Jews of Bobruisk had been relocated into the ghetto. In the meantime, the local population plundered what was left of the Jews' property. The ghetto was enclosed by a fence and guarded. The prisoners were prohibited from leaving its confines.

These oppressive German policies forced people to live under absolutely intolerable conditions. Ghetto prisoners had to endure extreme overcrowding, with as many as 35 people sharing a room. In the ghetto it was forbidden to heat furnaces and cook food. It was possible for the Jews to obtain something to eat only by secretly escaping from the ghetto at night and bartering personal possessions for food.[2] Any Jews caught outside the ghetto were shot immediately. Inhabitants of the ghetto were perpetually exhausted. Many Jews died from starvation and disease. Prisoners of the ghetto were also not able to wash. Some inhabitants of the ghetto succumbed to despair and attempted to commit suicide by hanging themselves. The Germans and their collaborators came to the ghetto for entertainment, selecting beautiful girls and raping them. The chief of police would enter the ghetto and shoot anyone in sight. Similar visits by the murderers would end, as a rule, with the murder of between 15 and 20 Jews. On a regular basis, Germans would round up teenagers and bring them to the hospital, where their blood would be taken. Inhabitants of the ghetto were forced to do heavy physical labor (digging and railway construction work).[3] Jews were forced to assist the Germans in defusing mines by dragging large rakes across the minefield. Many peopled died as the mines exploded. The Germans set dogs on those who tried to hide.

It seems that those with particular skills had a special status. Administrative correspondence between the municipal government and local enterprises, dated between September 13 and 18, 1941, reveals that the Jews H.M. Krichevski, R.S. Stison, L.A. Liakhovskoi, R.O. Ginsburg, N.B. Rozovski, and U.A. Golodez were entrusted with restoring a pharmacy and received special passes and bandages.[4]

According to Kima Rutman, some Jews from western Belorussia were also brought to the Bobruisk ghetto.[5] He also saw how elderly Jews dug holes in the ground in which they secretly placed their Talmuds, prayer books, Torahs, and talles, as well as lists of prisoners of the ghetto.

In July 1941, the mass killings or Aktions began. Not everything about them is known, making it difficult to present a complete account of the destruction of Bobruisk Jewry.

From the available evidence, it has been determined that between September and October 1941, Einsatzkommando 8 (headed by Dr. Bradfisch) conducted three mass shootings in

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and around Bobruisk, during which 407, 1,380, and 418 Jews were killed, respectively.[6] The largest Aktion during this period was conducted by the SS-Cavalry Brigade in September 1941, in which some 7,000 Jews were killed in the area next to the airfield.[7]

Little is known about Jewish resistance in the city. The 1,380 Jews mentioned above were murdered supposedly because of their dissemination of propaganda directed against the German authorities. According to another Einsatzgruppen report, Jews in Bobruisk had shown open resistance against the orders issued by the German occupation authorities and had openly incited the population to acts of sabotage.[8]

The history of the Bobruisk ghetto came to an end on November 7–8, 1941. According to one source, the Aktion began on November 6, 1941.[9] In the early morning, Belorussian policemen and German soldiers rounded up the Jews, forcing them out of their homes. They shouted instructions about a journey to Palestine, while beating Jews with rifle butts. They forcibly loaded the Jews into trucks that took them to the village of Kamenka. The loading process continued until evening. The place of extermination was 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from Bobruisk, near the road to Slutsk. Earlier, prisoners had dug three large ditches in the area. As Jews arrived, they were ordered to remove their clothes and footwear, then shot.[10] According to German sources, on November 7–8, 1941, 5,281 people were killed. The mass killing was carried out by units of Einsatzkommando 8 and Police Battalion 316.

A letter addressed to the commandant of the city of Bobruisk from the Belorussian mayor, Stankevich, reported that "the warehouses of the city contain the newly arrived property from the 'ghetto.' As these items were transported quickly, they arrived in a chaotic condition and were sorted first before their sale. After the goods were unloaded and organized, a number of military officials and private citizens visited the warehouse, selecting whatever items they wanted."[11]

After the extermination of November 7–8, 1941, the Germans declared that the territory of Bobruisk was "free of Jews," although a few craftsmen from the ghetto were kept alive, as their work was still required. Part of the ghetto remained fenced in, and four houses on Novoshosseinaia Street held tailors, shoemakers, and blacksmiths.

In addition to keeping the Jews alive for their work, the Germans exploited their continued existence in another way. It was apparent that a considerable number of inhabitants from the ghetto had managed to survive. The occupiers posted announcements declaring that there would be no further punitive measures against the Jews and that they were invited back into the ghetto. The bait worked, as some of the surviving prisoners, having no other choice, returned. The Germans waited until December 30, 1941.[12] On that day, the police surrounded the rump of the ghetto, and all the Jews were placed into trucks and driven to a place of extermination. It is estimated that the Germans murdered up to 2,500 people during this Aktion.[13]

The exact number of survivors has not been determined. Evidence exists about only a handful of individuals.

For rescuing Maria Minz, Bronislav Altshuler, and Guini Maz, the award of "Righteous Among the Nations" was granted by Yad Vashem to the Belyavsky family (Efrosiniya and son Alexander), the Yalovik family (Julia and son Victor), and the Micholak family (Stephanida and daughter Galina), respectively.[14]

Starting in the fall of 1943 and continuing until January 1944, the German occupiers took the remains of the Jews killed at Kamenka, at Elovkin, and at the Jewish cemetery of Bobruisk and burned them, trying to hide all traces of the murder. This barbaric act was carried out by prisoners who were themselves later killed. In those places where the Germans did not have enough time to conduct similar operations, they tried to disguise the mass graves under freshly sown fields and new roads.

SOURCES In Christian Gerlach's book *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weisrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), there is, among many other things, a brief examination of the destruction of Bobruisk's Jews (see pp. 599–600). The subject of the Holocaust is also examined in the regional history work: *Pamiats' Babruisk* (Minsk, 1995). See also R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal'perin, 1997), pp. 181–182.

This entry is based primarily on documentation from the following archives: GAMO (858-1-62 and 858-1-74); GARF (7021-82-2); YVA (O-3/3754); and materials in the personal archive of the author (PAGV). Additional materials can be found in BA-L (B 162/1548-49); and NARA (T-175, reels 233–234).

Gennadii Vinnitsa
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
2. Testimony of Mikhail Kogan, published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 272.
3. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
4. GAMO, 858-1-62, p. 2.
5. Testimony of Kima Rutman, published in Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 268.
6. See NARA, T-175, reels 233–234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 92, September 23, 1941; EM no. 108, October 9, 1941; and EM no. 124, October 24, 1941.
7. See BA-L, B 162/1548-49 (II 202 AR-Z 64/60).
8. NARA, T-175, reels 233–234, EM no. 108, October 9, 1941; and EM no. 92, September 23, 1941.
9. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints; testimony of Mikhail Kogan, published in Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 273.
10. GARF, 7021-82-2, p. 18, testimony of P.F. Khomichenko.
11. GAMO, 858-1-74.
12. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
13. GARF, 7021-82-2, p. 32, report of the ChGK for the Bobruisk oblast', January 1945.
14. Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Shul'man, eds., *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), pp. 33, 71, 112.

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BOBYNICHI

Pre-1941: Bobynichi, village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bobynitschi, Vetrino Rayon, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Babynichy, Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bobynichi is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of Polotsk. In 1920, there were 170 Jews living in the village out of a total population of 219. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town in early July 1941.

A ghetto was established only one month before the final murder of the local Jews; it consisted of a single house, the former kolkhoz management building. The building was guarded. On January 15, 1942, a Belorussian squad headed by two Germans, most probably the same unit that conducted Aktions in the nearby villages of Voronichi and Gomel', appeared in Bobynichi; to judge from some of the names, they were probably Belorussian policemen from Polotsk. These men assembled 106 (108, according to one account) Jews (53 of them women), tied the hands of the young people, put the children, the old, and the sick onto horse carts, and led them to a nearby Belorussian cemetery. A pit had been dug beforehand. On the spot, the members of the squad shot the adult Jews and threw the children into the pit alive. A Jew named Isaak Ioffe was only wounded and went to a local hospital in search of assistance. At the hospital, Dr. Butko, however, betrayed him to the punitive squad, which shot Ioffe near the hospital and brought his body to the pit at the main killing site. The pit was filled in three days later on the orders of the mayor, Filipp A. Spasibeko. Of those killed in Bobynichi, 14 were not local Jews; they were probably refugees from the "western regions."[1]

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF and NARB.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-210; and NARB, 3797-1-9 and 861-1-13, p. 143.

BOGUSHEVICHI

Pre-1941: Bogushevichi (Yiddish: Bushavitz), village, Berezino raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Boguschewitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Bahushevichy, Berazino raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bogushevichi is situated 82 kilometers (51 miles) southeast of Minsk. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 3, 1941. Some of the Jews were evacuated or succeeded in fleeing eastward. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Bogushevichi. Jews were registered and forced to wear yellow patches; they had to perform forced labor; and they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village.

In late July or early August 1941, the military authorities established a ghetto in the village, located in a school building consisting of two floors. Both local Jews and others from surrounding villages, including the Jews of Seliba, were forced to move into the ghetto. In total, there were around 400 Jews in the Bogushevichi ghetto. There was no electricity in the ghetto, and the toilet facilities were located outside the building. A number of Jews were taken away and shot during the summer and fall of 1941.[1]

Survivors state that they rarely saw Germans while in the ghetto but recall vividly local police coming to the ghetto while drunk, demanding "Jewish gold." Forced labor tasks included harvesting potatoes, and Jews who worked outside the ghetto were also able to beg for extra food from their non-Jewish neighbors.[2]

According to survivor testimony, at least some of the Jews from the Bogushevichi ghetto were transferred to the Berezino ghetto in October or November 1941, around the time of the first snowfall.[3] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, however, indicates that German security forces assisted by the local police liquidated the ghetto in December 1941, shooting most of the remaining 380 inmates in a forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) north of the village.[4]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Bogushevichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-2); NARB; VHF (# 6551, 7052, and 20880); and YVA (M-33/420).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 6551, testimony of Roman Plaksa; # 7052, testimony of Evgeniia Guzik; and # 20880, testimony of Zinaida Elkind.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., # 7052 and # 20880.
4. GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 6; YVA, M-33/420, p. 14; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 60.

BORISOV

Pre-1941: Borisov, city and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Borissow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte), then (from

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1942) Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, Reichskommissariat Ostland; post-1991: Barysau, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Borisov is located 71 kilometers (44 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 10,011 Jews living in Borisov out of a total population of 49,108 (20.4 percent).

After capturing Minsk on June 28, 1941, the enemy advanced on Borisov. Some Jews were able to flee with the withdrawing Soviet Army, but the majority remained behind. German forces occupied Borisov on July 2, 1941, and soon began a pattern of theft, abuse, and murder.

The ghetto in Borisov was established on the edge of the city in the area bounded by Slobodka, Sovetskaia, and Krasnoarmeiskaia Streets. All the non-Jews living there were forcibly expelled by the local authorities and ordered to move into Jewish houses elsewhere. The transfer of Jews into the ghetto began on the morning of August 27, 1941; it was supposed to be completed within one day. The Jews were forbidden to use any form of transportation and had to carry everything in their arms. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire, with only one gate on Zagorodnaia Street (later Ruben Ibarruri Street). Belorussian police guarded the ghetto, in which there was terrible overcrowding, leading to unsanitary conditions and the spread of disease.[1] The chief of police, David Ehof (Egof), assisted by the local administration, rounded up about 1,000 Jews living in the city suburbs and surrounding villages, resettling them into the ghetto.[2]

Khatskel' Berkovich Baranskii (born 1895) was ordered by the Nazis to become head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). The population of the ghetto was in excess of 7,000 people, and food rations consisted of only about 100 to 150 grams (3.5 to 5.3 ounces) of bread per person per day. Finding additional food was very difficult, as communication with the local population was strictly forbidden, and this regulation was enforced by severe punishment. Hunger and sickness soon became widespread. The police escorted ghetto inmates daily to perform forced labor, which entailed construction work and cleaning the streets. The ghetto inmates were ordered to surrender their best clothing and also to pay large contributions in money and valuables. Mayor Stankevich prepared lists of the Jewish belongings collected and reported these to the economic section of the German army. The more valuable items were delivered to the State Bank (Reichskreditkasse).[3]

In late September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann "liquidated" 321 Jews in Borisov in reprisal for acts of sabotage, allegedly carried out by Jews in the town. Another 118 Jews were shot in Borisov as alleged plunderers. In early October 1941, responsibility for Security Police operations in the Borisov area was transferred to Einsatzkommando 3, based in Minsk.[4] The order to liquidate the Borisov ghetto was issued in mid-October 1941 by the head of Einsatzkommando 3, SS-Obersturmführer Schlegel. The mass-shooting Aktion was planned for October 20, 1941. In the northern suburbs, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city, a large ravine near the airfield was prepared as a mass grave (close to the Borisov-Zembin Road). Using Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) as manpower, three ditches, more than 100 meters (328 feet) long, 5 meters (16 feet) wide, and 3 meters (10 feet) deep, were dug in the ravine. Although the order for the liquidation of the ghetto was secret, the Jews soon got wind of it. They appealed to Mayor Stankevich for a stay of execution. Stankevich allegedly promised the Jews that he would intercede with the senior German general on their behalf, as they had successfully paid the recently imposed "contribution" of 300,000 rubles in gold and other valuables.[5] A number of Jewish specialists were selected and transferred to the Minsk ghetto.

For the Aktion, which began at 3:00 A.M. on the morning of October 20, more than 100 local policemen from throughout the Borisov region had been assembled, together with SS men and Latvian auxiliaries from Minsk. First the Jewish men were driven out of the ghetto. Then the women and children were also taken along Polotsk Street towards the airfield, following the men at a considerable distance. The authorities ordered everyone else to stay indoors so as not to be shot by local policemen. As there was insufficient transportation, some of the women and children had to walk. The guards beat them with metal clubs. Shooting could be heard throughout the day. Trucks returned from the forest with the victims' clothing. Anyone present in Borisov that day had no illusions about what was happening. The mood of the non-Jewish population was transformed: some of those who the previous evening had approved of the executions, saying that the Jews deserved their fate, now asked: "How is it possible to kill off 6,500 Jews all at once? When will it be our turn?"[6]

According to the testimony of Oberwachtmeister Soenneken, a translator with the German forces temporarily in Borisov during the mass shooting, the first 20 people were told to jump into the ditch and were shot from above. The next group had to rearrange the bodies of those killed ahead of them, to make room so that they in turn could be shot. "When the ditch was full, the Jews had to put a layer of sand over the bodies and had to trample upon both sand and bodies." The most horrible scenes took place in these mass graves.[7]

After the Aktion, local police thoroughly searched the territory of the ghetto and elsewhere in Borisov for any Jews in hiding, looting Jewish property at the same time. During this operation, some of the houses in the ghetto were set on fire. The shooting of about 750 Jews found in hiding continued throughout Tuesday, October 21.[8] Altogether, on October 20–21, 1941, 7,245 Jews were shot in and around Borisov.[9]

On November 11, 1941, Feldkommandantur (V) 244, which assumed responsibility for Borisov only after the massacre, ordered that the ghetto area could be entered only with the permission of the Feldkommandantur. The aim of this order was to prevent any looting and secure remaining Jewish property for the German authorities.[10]

The local policemen played an active role in the murder of the Jews. From August to November 1941, 14 men comprised the main leadership of the police, 10 were section leaders, and 73 were ordinary policemen. After the liberation of the city, 5

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were sentenced to death and at least 16 imprisoned. It is impossible to determine what happened to the majority of the police force. Not all were tried. A number of former policemen escaped with the Germans; some changed their last names and used false papers; others opportunistically joined the Soviet partisans; and after the liberation of Belorussia in the summer of 1944, some joined the ranks of the Red Army. A few policemen were captured several years after the war. Aleksander Varfalomeevich Mironchik returned from the front with many decorations. His recollections of managing a warehouse for the police and commanding the "Kommunar" partisan division were included in the book *Pamiat'* (Memory), devoted to Borisov and the Borisov raion. In fact, Mironchik was not the manager of a warehouse but the head of the police squad in Novo-Borisov and an accomplice in the murder of the Jews.[11] Former policemen Stepan Buryi and Konstantin Mozalevskii were tried and punished after returning from the front with Soviet decorations. Peter Logvin and Konstantin Pipin were both released after serving prison sentences, and 68-year-old Feodor Petrovskii, assistant chief of police in Novo-Borisov, was released early, owing to his advanced age. In 1947 a Soviet Military Tribunal sentenced David Ehof to 25 years' imprisonment.

In early 1943, an SD translator in Minsk, Heinrich Schneider, brought an order to Borisov for the bodies of the Jews to be dug up and burned at night. In October 1943, Soviet POWs completed this task over about five nights, after which they were shot.[12]

According to the calculations of Aleksander Rosenblium in *Pamiat' na Krovi*, only slightly more than 50 Jews from the Borisov ghetto survived until the end of the occupation. Most were saved with the help of local citizens. Nine people from Borisov have been awarded the title of "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem, and many more assisted with the survival of Jews in and around the city.

SOURCES Aleksander Rozenblium has published a monograph on the Jews of Borisov, *Pamiat' na krovi: Evrei v istorii Borisova* (Petah Tikva, 1998), which contains much information on the destruction of the community during World War II, including a list of people who saved Jews in Borisov and the names of those they saved. Other relevant publications include the following: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'nye khroniki gorodov i raionov Belorussii: Borisov i Borisovskii raion* (Borisov, 1997); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Leonid Smilovitsky, "Borisov: A Mirror of the Holocaust in Belorussia. Review of Aleksander Rozenblium, *Pamiat' na krovi: Evrei v istorii Borisova*," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 42:2 (2000): 106–110; Leonid Rein, "Local Collaboration in the Execution of the 'Final Solution' in Nazi-Occupied Belorussia," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20:3 (Winter 2006): 381–409; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); and *Aviv* (Minsk, 2001), nos. 11–12.

Documentation concerning the persecution and murder of the Jews in Borisov under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214-19 and R 2104/26); BA-L (B 162/6715-19); GAMINO (635-1-24, 31, 51, 74, 88, 184, and 6343-1-12); GARF (7021-87-3); NARA (N-Doc. 3047-PS); NARB (861-1-8, 845-1-206, and 4-29-111); USHMM (RG-53.002M, reel 6); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33/421; M-41/316 and 2396).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. NARB, 861-1-8, pp. 66–69; GAMINO, 635-1-24, pp. 220–222; GARF, 7021-87-3, pp. 3, 20.

2. USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6 (NARB, 845-1-206), p. 318, testimony of accused David Ehof, February 28, 1947.

3. See Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat'ko, and Natalia Redkozubova, eds., *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, 1998), pp. 34–37, 134–135. For his services in collecting gold, silver, and other precious valuables from the murdered Jews, Stankevich was awarded a decoration by the Germans, presented in Berlin.

4. BA-BL, R 58/217-18, Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941, p. 16, and EM UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941, p. 4; Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 6 der Einsatzgruppen, October 31, 1941, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230.

5. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS, Soennecken report on executions of Jews in Borisov, October 24, 1941. An English translation can be found in *International Military Trials: Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Red Series) (repr. Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 1996), 5:772–776.

6. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6, pp. 318–323, Ehof testimony, February 28, 1947.

7. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS.

8. Ibid.; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6, pp. 318–323, Ehof testimony, February 28, 1947. Ehof was accused by the Nazis of having obtained Jewish property illegally; see BA-BL, R 2104/26, p. 108.

9. Rozenblium, *Pamiat' na krovi*, pp. 61, 63.

10. YVA, M-41/316, p. 2, FK (V) 244, Standortbefehl no. 1, November 11, 1941. Subordinated to Infantry Division 339, FK (V) 244 was appointed the senior commandant in Borisov on November 7, 1941.

11. A.B. Mironchik died in 1986 and was buried in Borisov; information about his crimes became known publicly only after his death. On his service as police chief in Novo-Borisov, see GAMINO, 635-1-31, p. 22.

12. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 228, testimony of David Ehof, February 23, 1947; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6 (NARB, 845-1-206), p. 313.

BOROVUKHA 1-IA (PERVAIA, THE FIRST)

Pre-1939: Borovukha 1-ia (Pervaia, the First), military settlement, Polotsk raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Borowucha, Rayon Polozk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Baravukha 1-ia (Pervaia), Palotsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

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Borovukha 1-ia is located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northwest of Polotsk. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the settlement in mid-July 1941. During the occupation, a German garrison was billeted in the former "military settlement" of Borovukha 1-ia. The German military authorities appointed Andrei Markin as mayor (Bürgermeister) of the settlement, and soon after their arrival, they ordered the Jews who lived there to wear white Stars of David on their clothes. In October 1941, the Germans surrounded Borovukha, combed the settlement and its vicinity, and assembled all the Jews they had found, 115 in total, in a military barracks there, beating them during the roundup. Two days later, 50 of them—men, unmarried women, and old people—were taken in trucks to a field and shot there.[1] The rest of the Jews were placed in a house surrounded with barbed wire. The inmates of this makeshift "ghetto" did not receive any food. Some Jews occasionally left the house (it is unclear whether it was with or without the permission of the Germans) and exchanged various items for food.

On January 13, 1942, a punitive squad appeared in the town. It took all of the 65 Jews, among them 40 children aged less than 16, and also women and old men, from the house, under the pretext that they would be sent to perform forced labor, and killed them in the area of a former tank training ground. Witnesses say that some of them, when they were driven to the tank training ground, were barefoot and without warm clothes. Mayor Markin and the German commandant, Leutnant Kremer, allegedly took an active part in the annihilation of Borovukha's Jews.[2]

SOURCES Documentation on the murder of the Jews in Borovukha can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-92-221); TsGAMORF (239-2187-100, p. 57); USHMM (RG-06.025*04, Bobruisk Trial, doc. no. 808, p. 174); and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-92-221, p. 5, ChGK report for the Polotsk raion, April 15, 1945; see also USHMM, RG-06.025*04, Bobruisk Trial of Bruno Jushkus, doc. no. 808, p. 174, testimony of Pavel Danilovich, Shunevich.
2. Ibid. TsGAMORF, 239-2187-100, p. 57, ChGK report for Borovukha I, July 7, 1944, states that all the Jews from the Jewish kolkhoz Sovetskaia Belorussiia were gathered in one house and then shot with all family members at the firing range (*poligon*): 140 to 150 people. This probably refers to the same incident, although the number of victims may be too high.

BUDA-KOSHELEVO

1938–1941: Buda-Koshelevo, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Buda-Koschelewo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Buda-Kashaleva, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Buda-Koshelevo is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) northwest of Gomel'. A Jewish kolkhoz with 11 families was established there in 1924. From 1925 to 1928, three more kolkhozy were created on the outskirts of the township. Their population consisted of 49 Jewish families. The 1939 census showed that there were 496 Jews living in Buda-Koshelevo (14.7 percent of the total population).

Towards the end of June 1941, war refugees from western Belorussia began to arrive, and their numbers quickly swelled. The Red Army called up able-bodied men, forming a combat battalion of 310 soldiers under the command of Dovolev to defend the town and deal with deserters.[1] The population largely believed Soviet propaganda asserting that the Red Army's setbacks were temporary and that soon the enemy would be crushed.

Buda-Koshelevo had a railway station, but the authorities used all available rolling stock to evacuate state property rather than local inhabitants. German planes pounded the town from the air. Most of the population either lacked the means to flee or feared they would perish on the road. The memory of decent treatment of the Jews by the German army in 1918 still deceived some people. Only a few Jews were fortunate enough to escape to the east.[2]

Buda-Koshelevo was occupied by German forces on August 14, 1941. They rapidly imposed their authority, placing the town under military command, with a garrison of around 50 men. Sonderführer Albrecht was the commandant; Bühlheim was chief of the punitive detachment; Hoffmann and Neidicke served as deputies. The chief of the local police was Marchenko.[3] He was replaced in November 1941 by Vasilii Mikhalenko.[4]

Buda-Koshelevo was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. Geographically, the Zhlobin-Gomel' railway line split the entire area in two. There were eight subdistrict regions (volosti) in the northern part. The five volosti in the south lay along the left bank of the Dnieper River.

Police posts and garrisons were established in the villages of Rogin', Merkulovichi, Gubichi, Zabab'e, Chabotovichi, and Pirevichi, among others. District and subdistrict authorities opened police stations and selected between 7 and 10 policemen from among the local residents. In Buda-Koshelevo, initially there were 15 policemen, a chief of police, and a police investigator, Voititskii.[5] The German authorities set up a prison on Sovietskaia Street for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), who worked at the railway station and on other town infrastructure. Subsequently they were transferred to Gomel' and Rogachev.[6]

No anti-Jewish Aktions were carried out in the town during the first two months of the German occupation, but relations between Jews and Belorussians changed for the worse. More than 400 Jews still remained within the town. At first, Jews were allowed to live in their own homes, monitored by the local police, but they were obliged to carry out German orders without question. On October 26, 1941, the Germans established a ghetto. All Jews had to resettle into the two-story stone school building. Buda-Koshelevo Chief of Police Marchenko organized the roundup.

The overcrowding was excessive: 50 or 60 people were crammed into each of the building's six rooms in an area no larger than 40 square meters (431 square feet). The overflow

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lived in the corridors. The prisoners suffered terribly from hunger, and there was no heat. The windows lacked glass panes and were boarded up. Cold and exhaustion brought on disease and then the first deaths.[7]

The authorities did not feed the Jews, who were living on their own scanty reserves or on whatever was passed on to them by acquaintances among the Belorussian or Russian population. Some of the inmates bartered personal belongings for food. Such trafficking was forbidden, and it had to be done discreetly. Daily, Jews were led off to perform forced labor for up to 14 or 16 hours. Under the pretext of security searches, the Germans seized the Jews' most valuable personal belongings. They also raped girls and young women.

The guards periodically beat up the prisoners, insulting and abusing them "for fun." On November 23, 1941, police officer Kukharenko wounded Dania and Khaia Khankin, Lev Vilenskii, Gurar'e, Estin, and Epstein with a rifle. The situation of the Jews became worse when Mikhalenko replaced Marchenko as chief of police. Under Marchenko, Jews were sometimes able to barter items for bread and potatoes or to receive things from acquaintances and neighbors. When Mikhalenko took over, all these practices were stopped, and conditions became unbearable. Everything worsened for the ghetto inmates. Verbal abuse and beatings were routine. The wounding and murder of prisoners by the police became more frequent.[8]

The Buda-Koshelevo ghetto did not exist for long. On December 27, 1941, two vehicles arrived in Buda-Koshelevo with policemen from Gomel'. Chief of Police Mikhalenko ordered increased vigilance and doubled the number of guards assigned to the ghetto from 6 to 12 men to prevent any chance of escape. The police separated the men from the women. Then they began to lead the prisoners, 2 at a time, into a separate room where Mikhalenko and the German officers sat. The Jews were strip-searched, and money, documents, and usable clothing were all seized. The occupiers and their collaborators placed the Jewish men—some 170 of them—in a room where all the windows were tightly sealed, and no water was available. A stove burning continuously filled the room with stuffy heat; breathing became difficult. The inmates were so tightly packed that they could not even turn around or sit down. In this state they spent the night; then at 5:00 A.M., on December 28, 1941, police officers began to lead the Jews out to be shot. Mikhalenko stood on the stairwell between floors in the school and checked them off. First they took the men into the courtyard, then the women.[9] The police lined up the prisoners in a column and herded them to an antitank ditch in the village of Krasnyi Kurgan behind the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). Mayor Prusov and Chief of Police Mikhalenko supervised the Aktion.

They ordered the men to undress and began to lead them down into the ditch in groups. Three or four Germans made them lie facedown. Then the German marksman approached and killed each one with a single shot from his submachine gun. They laid the second group of men on top of the bodies of the first. About an hour after the start of the Aktion, police officers Kosmilo, Kabaev, Filip Oleinikov, and Dmitrii Kuzikov led the women to the antitank ditch. Mothers held infants in their arms. The police hauled older children and elderly men to the site in carts. All of the prisoners were made to undress. Then the police brought them to the ditch and shot them. Infants were killed with their mothers, older children along with the adults.[10]

The slaughter was accompanied by continuous cries of pain and grief. People begged for mercy, wept, and cried out. The killings went on from 8:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. On that day, 485 people were murdered. The murder squad only covered the bodies with snow; in the spring they were buried in the ground. Personal belongings of the Jews were given to a store in Buda-Koshelevo, which sold them.[11]

The police had arrested a Belorussian, Evgenii Venglinskii, who, together with his Jewish wife and their child, was confined in the ghetto, where they all lived until the ghetto liquidation Aktion. The Venglinskii family escaped the fate of the others under lucky circumstances. They were able to convince one of the policemen who understood Russian that they had ended up in the ghetto "by mistake" and were not in fact Jews. Evgenii gave the policeman his leather coat. In exchange, the policeman put the family into a separate room. From the window, the Venglinskiis saw the Jewish inmates marched off to the antitank ditch. They hastily fled Buda-Koshelevo and wandered the countryside of the Zhlobin raion until they met up with Soviet partisans in May 1942.[12]

On the eve of the mass shooting, the police summoned inmate Hirsh Shvets to see the chief of the punitive detachment, whom they had told that Shvets was an especially skilled shoemaker. Shvets was put to work by the police and subsequently transferred to Gomel'. For the next two years, he was obliged to work for the Sicherheitsdienst (SD). When the Germans retreated from Gomel', they took Shvets away to Germany, where he was eventually liberated by the Red Army.[13]

Red Army units of the 4th Infantry Division and the 231st Armored Regiment of the Belorussian 48th Army liberated Buda-Koshelevo on November 27, 1943. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in the town in November 1944, found that 1,287 civilians and 282 POWs had died at the hands of the Germans during the occupation of the town. Of the 485 Jews who were murdered on December 28, 1941, only 120 family names could be determined.[14]

During the German occupation, the population of the Buda-Koshelevo raion decreased from 41,459 in 1941 to 23,595 in May 1944, 57 percent of the pre-war figure. In the town, the population decreased from 3,371 in 1941 to 2,886 in 1944, or 86 percent of the pre-war figure.[15] However, the general information collected by the ChGK does not specify the ethnicity of the victims.

SOURCES Some information on the town of Buda-Koshelevo under German occupation can be found in the book: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; GAGOMO; GARF (7021-85-35); NARB; and TsAKGBRB.

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NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. Ibid., 4-33a-16.
3. Marchenko was killed by partisans in October 1941.
4. Mikhalenko remained chief of police in Buda-Koshelevo until July 1942, when he became chief of police in the Svetilovichi Rayon. In September 1943, he retreated with the German forces to the Glusk Rayon. There he joined punitive Police Battalion no. 10 "Panin," where, with the rank of staff-captain, he commanded a company. He was twice awarded a German medal for bravery and was recommended for a third. At the beginning of July 1944, the "Panin" battalion was sent across the Vistula to an area where it was disbanded. From the proceedings of the military tribunal trial of Vasilii Avrahamovich Mikhalenko (born 1884); AUKGBRBGO, file 8579, pp. 360–371.
5. GAGOMO, 1345-2-2, pp. 2–4.
6. NARB, 3934-1-9, p. 2.
7. TsAKGBRB.
8. GAGOMO, 1345-2-2, pp. 3–4.
9. From the decision regarding the arrest of V.A. Mikhalenko, November 1, 1945, see AUKGBRBGO, file 8579, p. 51.
10. Interrogation of Mikhail Leonovich Kuznikov (born 1908), February 8, 1944, ibid., p. 178.
11. Interrogation of accused Ivan Adamovich Fomin, February 19, 1944, ibid., p. 109.
12. Interrogation witness Venglinskii (born 1914), October 26, 1945, ibid., pp. 112–116.
13. Interrogation in Buda-Koshelevo of witness Hirsh Hedelevich Shvets (born 1886), October 27, 1945, ibid., pp. 120–122.
14. Document of the ChGK, November 27, 1944, concerning the crimes of the Fascist German invaders on the territory of the Buda-Koshelevo raion, GARF, 7021-85-35, pp. 8–11.
15. Report dated November 27, 1944, concerning the population of Gomel' oblast', GAGOMO, 144-5-6, p. 218.

BYKHOV (AKA STARYI BYKHOV)

Pre-1941: Bykhov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bychow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Bykhau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bykhov is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) south of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 2,295 Jews (20.8 percent of the population) lived in Bykhov. An additional 408 Jews lived in the villages of the raion, making a combined Jewish population of 2,703.

German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied the town in the first half of July 1941. In the period before the Germans' arrival, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age joined the Red Army. However, the rapid German advance trapped some Jewish refugees in Bykhov who were fleeing from locations farther west. Probably between 2,500 and 3,000 Jews were in Bykhov at the start of the German occupation. During the fighting, the town burned for three days, damaging or destroying many Jewish homes.

During the entire period of occupation from July 1941 until June 1944, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed Bykhov.[1] According to Soviet sources, the Ortskommandant in the fall of 1941 was Oberleutnant Martus.[2] Shortly after the occupation began, the German administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. The German authorities instructed the Jews to sew yellow stars onto their clothing; however, because the fire in the town had destroyed most of the available yellow fabric, Jews who had no yellow material made their stars out of white fabric instead.[3] The Germans also obliged the Jews to perform various forms of heavy labor.

On August 29, 1941, forces of Reserve Police Battalion 322, belonging to Police Regiment Center (Mitte) shot 84 Jews in Bykhov.[4] On September 5, 1941, the Germans conducted another Aktion in Bykhov. They rounded up about 250 Jews capable of work and took them out of the town, seemingly for road construction, but instead they shot them all.[5] They conducted the shooting in the Gan'kov ditch, located on the southern outskirts of the town. People in Bykhov could hear the victims' screams.[6]

Exterior and interior views of the Bykhov synagogue; the interior reveals extensive wartime damage; 1988.
USHMM WS #97249 AND WS #97260, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

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At some time in the fall of 1941, most likely in September, just after the murder of the 250 people, the Germans made a list of all the remaining Jews and collected them in the Sapega Castle. Some local inhabitants describe this incarceration as a "ghetto,"[7] although the Germans also imprisoned some non-Jews ("Soviet Party activists") there together with the Jews. Local Belorussian police (*politsais*) guarded the area around the castle.[8]

According to one witness, his future wife went to the ghetto several times to take food to a Jewish friend, Khava Markhasina, who had been imprisoned. "The Jews were living in ghastly conditions, and people were tortured, too. She remembered that when she went up to the second floor, the wall next to the railings . . . was drenched in blood. The last time she went, a policeman warned her not to come back any more, because it could end badly for her."[9] Even the dark-haired Belorussians were frightened, fearing the Germans might kill them simply because they looked like Jews. There was also a rumor that some local non-Jews had managed to "buy" a child from the ghetto and pass her off as their own.[10]

Soviet sources state that the Germans held the Jews in the castle without any food or water for about a week. Then German security forces escorted them on trucks to an antitank ditch located near Voronino, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) east of the town, where they carried out a mass shooting.[11] One Jew, Moishe (Mikhail) Kats, reportedly jumped from one of the trucks at full speed and escaped into the forest. He was 25 at the time. They fired a submachine gun round at him but did not pursue him. He managed to stay alive, walking to Sumy in the Ukraine, where he spent the rest of the occupation.[12] At the antitank ditch, the Germans forced the victims to undress and pile their shoes and clothes neatly at one side, before shooting them in groups. Descriptions of the Aktion, together with forensic evidence, indicate that some victims, especially children, were probably thrown into the pit and buried alive. At this time (in the fall of 1941), a number of allegedly Communist non-Jews were also killed.[13] A few Jews who evaded the mass shootings and subsequent searches hid with non-Jews, and some subsequently fought with Soviet partisan detachments.

Soviet estimates put the number of people murdered by the Germans in Bykhov in 1941 to be in excess of 4,000.[14] However, in view of the pre-war Jewish population of only 2,703 for the entire raion, it seems unlikely that the number of Jewish victims exceeded this (allowing for a number of Jewish evacuees who were probably more or less replaced by the refugees who became trapped in Bykhov).[15] Other evidence seems to indicate that many of the Jews of the surrounding villages were shot close to their homes (rather than being brought in to Bykhov). For example, in the village of Gomarnia, 14 people were shot "as Jews," 71 in the Mokria sel'sovet, and several Jewish families in the village of Seliba.[16]

In late 1943, the Germans attempted to cover up their crimes by exhuming the corpses from the mass graves around Bykhov and burning them. They used Soviet prisoners of war from the camp at Pribor to conduct this work, then shot them once the task was complete.[17]

SOURCES The testimonies of several witnesses from Bykhov have been published in Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 34–44.

Documents on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Bykhov can be found in the following archives: BA-MA; GAMO (306-1-9 and 10); GARF (7021-88-35; and 7021-148); NARB (861-1-8 and 9); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8; RG-48.004M, reels 1 and 2; and RG-53.002M, reel 7); VHAP; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur II 340 was based in Bykhov, as was Feldkommandantur 194, and III. Battalion of Police Regiment Mitte; see BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
2. GAMO, 306-1-10, pp. 66–67.
3. Reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925) in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 39–40.
4. VHAP, K1/1003386, 392, HSSPF Russland Mitte an RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS und Chef Orpo, August 29–30, 1941.
5. See the diary of O. Berger, a staff drill sergeant (Stabsfeldwebel) in the 2nd Battalion of the 3rd Security Regiment, in GARF, 7021-148.
6. GARF, 7021-88-35, p. 11; NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 234, 236; and reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925), in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 39–40.
7. See, for example, the reminiscences of David S. Lakhtyrev and Dora M. Gekht, in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 38, 42.
8. Reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925), in ibid., pp. 39–40.
9. Reminiscences of Georgii D. Menshagin (born in 1924), in ibid., pp. 40–41.
10. Ibid., pp. 34–44.
11. NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 234, 236.
12. Reminiscences of Mila A. Rudakova (born in 1924), in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 42–44.
13. Ibid., pp. 34–44.
14. NARB, 861-1-9, ChGK report for the Bykhov raion indicates that in fall 1941 Ortskommandant Martus imprisoned 4,679 persons (including some non-Jews) in the castle, who were shot shortly afterwards.
15. GARF, 7021-88-35, pp. 1, 11, 17.
16. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, p. 35.
17. Ibid., pp. 35–37.

CHASHNIKI

Pre-1941: Chashniki, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschaschniki, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chashniki, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

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Chashniki is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,109 Jews lived in the town, making up 31.6 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Chashniki raion (without the town of Chashniki) constituted 867 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Chereia and Lukoml'.

Owing to Chashniki's location far from major highways and with no easily accessible railway station, only a few Jews were able to leave the town in 1941 before the Germans captured it.

The German forces (XXXII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group) entered Chashniki on July 4, 1941. From August 1941 onward, Chashniki was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Chashniki was under the control of Feldkommandantur 181.

The Germans put together an indigenous local administration in Chashniki, including a local police force. The mayor of the town was Kalina, a former construction engineer who had worked for the town's health administration (*gorzdrav*); the head of the Belorussian police was Tislenok;[1] but it was his deputy Mikhail Pakhomov who was known for his hatred and atrocities towards the Jews. At the same time, a Jew named Chereiskii was appointed the elder of the community. According to witnesses, Chereiskii's only function was to appoint Jews to do forced labor, in accordance with German instructions issued to him. The witnesses do not refer to a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Chashniki, nor do they refer to a Jewish police force.

The Germans did not establish an enclosed ghetto in Chashniki, possibly because the whole Jewish population lived in the central part of the town. Some Jews were resettled from their houses, and their houses were turned over to non-Jews. The Germans gave instructions to mark all Jewish houses with plywood Stars of David; all Jews were ordered to wear a patch with a Star of David on their clothes. The Jews were forbidden to leave the town and to communicate with non-Jews. Witnesses do not mention any large-scale resettlement of Jews from other places to Chashniki in the period from July 1941 to January 1942.

The Germans did not supply the Jews with food. However, the survivors' accounts make no mention of starving. Most of the town's Jews had plots of land and could sustain themselves with what they grew on them. The day before the German entry into Chashniki, the town dwellers, including Jews, pilfered barley from the stores of the alcohol factory abandoned by the authorities, and this helped them to survive.

From the very beginning the Germans imposed compulsory labor on the Jews. Young people were sent to work at the railway station (quite far from the town center) and the fuel depot nearby, as well as at the officers' mess.

At the end of September 1941, a group of Jewish young people (according to various estimates, about 50 to 100 people, mainly males but also some females) were sent to a nearby peat farm to cut peat and load it onto carts. The work lasted until November. These laborers did not receive any food, but they were allowed to return home on Sundays in order "to collect some food for the next week." In fact, the young workers had to leave the labor camp at night and go to the villages to exchange clothes, utensils, and other items for food.

Witnesses make both positive and negative comments about the attitude of the surrounding non-Jewish population. Some locals maintained contacts and trade with their Jewish neighbors. On the other hand, the survivors say that it was not only Germans and members of the Belorussian police who robbed the Jews—many other people took food, clothes, and other items. Attempts to stop the robbers or to complain to the Germans sometimes ended with the one making the complaint getting a beating instead.

On September 13, 1941, the Germans murdered all the Jews of the small town of Lukoml', in the Chashniki raion, purportedly in reprisal after a Soviet straggler (presumed to be a local Jew) killed a German officer there.[2] It is unclear exactly who carried out the killings, although one witness mentions the participation of the Belorussian police. Local informants speak of some 300 victims.[3] The news of this Aktion and subsequent rumors of other mass killings in nearby towns unsettled the Jews of Chashniki, but they were unable to gain much information about them.

The Jews of Chashniki were murdered on February 14–15, 1942. On the morning of February 14, about 100 young people were sent out of the town to clear snow from nearby roads. Thus the most youthful part of the Jewish population was moved away from the place of the future Aktion. At about 1:00 P.M., a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Oswald Schäfer) entered Chashniki on horse-drawn sledges, coming from the direction of Beshenkovichi.[4] From the morning of the same day, the Belorussian police began to assemble the Jews in the building of a former church, which had been turned into a "House of Culture" during the Soviet period. According to eyewitnesses, many Jews refused to go to the church, and towards dusk the area resembled a battlefield: there was shooting, and the police stormed some houses. Some Jews tried to flee and were killed on the run, some of them quite far from the town center. A group of policemen intercepted the young people who were returning to the town after clearing the snow and escorted them to the church.

About 1,000 Jews of Chashniki spent the night in the church, closely guarded by the Belorussian police. On the morning of February 15, at around 10:00 A.M., the police drove the Jews to some pits near the village of Trilesino. After a delay during which the Germans deepened the pits, the mass shooting began. The killers, both Germans and local police, took several people (probably an entire family) in turn, made them undress, placed them on the edge of the pit, and shot them with machine guns. Before the shooting, the Secret Field Police (GFP) unit that was responsible for rounding up the Jews (together with two volunteers from a local Luftwaffe unit) searched them for any valuables. The Aktion lasted all day. Over the following days the police combed the town and its vicinity and found some Jews who were trying to hide.[5]

After the Aktion, the belongings of the murdered Jews were collected, sorted, and under the auspices of the SD, handed

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over to the mayor to be sold to the Belorussian population. The proceeds were credited to the town's account.[6]

About a dozen mainly younger people, who had left the town some days before the shooting or succeeded in running away, survived the mass murder. Of those who survived, Zalman Solomonov, Fira Kharkevich (née Kaplan), Semen Shapiro, Arkadii (Abram) Pukhovitskii, Roza Topash (née Pukhovitskii), and Boris Plavnik were interviewed in 1985–1987.[7]

The murderers themselves estimated the number of those killed at 1,180.[8] The list (probably incomplete) compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report in 1944 indicates 700 Jewish victims. Of them, 321 (45.9 percent) were born in 1924 and later and thus were under draft age; 103 were born in 1901–1923 (draft age, 14.7 percent); and 276 (39.4 percent) were born in 1900 and before. The second group breaks down to 34 men and 69 women; the third group, to 125 men and 151 women.[9] The disproportionately large number of children in this sample may be ascribed to the fact that among them there were children from large cities who were staying with their grandparents in Chashniki for the summer and that families with many children were less inclined to flee from the Germans.

The mass shooting of the Jews of Chereia, also in the Chashniki raion, took place on March 5, 1942. There may have been a similar form of "open ghetto" there prior to the shooting, as in Chashniki. The murderers shot the Jews at two locations: one was near the school, and the second was outside the town. It is unclear who the murderers were. The Germans spared some "specialists" for a while, but several days later they were also finished off together with the Jews who were found hiding in the vicinity after the first Aktion. The last mass shooting took place near the Khalnevichi road, west of the town. The ChGK report lists 201 Jews killed in Chereia.[10]

SOURCES The author has published a more detailed account of the fate of Chashniki's Jews in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 1 (1992): 157–199. That essay also includes published versions of the main eyewitness accounts now located in YVA. The other major published source is G. Linkov, *Voina v tylu vraga* (1st ed., Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1947; 2nd enlarg. ed., Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1959).

The documents of the ChGK for the Chashniki raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-15). Relevant German documentation is located in the following archives: RGVA (500-1-770) and BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). Witness statements and copies of some of the German documents can be found in YVA (O-3/4690–4706, O-51.Ossobi/43 and M.29.FR/208).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. The eyewitnesses call him Chislenok; the difference can be attributed to the Belorussian pronunciation.
2. See YVA, O-3/4706; there are some discrepancies with the version published in Linkov, *Voina v tyla vraga*.
3. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 131 names of Jews; the informants were Nadezhda (an eyewitness, non-Jewish) and Yefim Rutman (not a witness).
4. YVA, O-3/4692.
5. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B von 16. bis 28. Februar 1942, in RGVA, 500-1-770; also YVA, O-3/4698, O-3/4699, O-3/4702, O-3/4703.
6. BA-MA, RH 26-201/17, p. 4, report of Sicherungsbrigade 201, Abt. VII, March 15, 1942.
7. Their interviews are now located in YVA as O-3/4690–O-3/4695.
8. Tätigkeits- u. Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B von 16. bis 28. Februar 1942.
9. GARF, 7021-84-15.
10. Ibid.

CHAUSY

Pre-1941: Chausy, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschaussy, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chavusy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chausy is located 157 kilometers (98 miles) north of Gomel'. According to the 1939 population census, 1,272 Jews (17.6 percent of the total population) lived in the town of Chausy. In addition, another 252 Jews lived in the villages of the Chausy raion. Following the German invasion of Poland and the Soviet occupation of its eastern part in September 1939, a number of Jewish refugees from Poland arrived in the town.

German military forces occupied Chausy on July 16, 1941, three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east before the arrival of the Germans, owing to the town's good rail and road communications, and men of eligible age were called up into the Red Army. A little more than half the prewar Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

Under German occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town; almost immediately it set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents. Shortly afterwards, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. The Jews of Chausy were exploited for various kinds of forced labor.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7b (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B) carried out two Aktions in the city. The men of Sonderkommando 7b murdered 31 Jews in the first Aktion, allegedly for being in contact with Soviet partisan forces.[1] In a second Aktion shortly afterwards, the Security Police (of Sonderkommando 7b) shot 20 Jews who were allegedly active Communists.[2]

At some time in the month of August, the German authorities established a ghetto in the suburb of Kozinki. A few weeks later, probably in late September or early October 1941, German security forces assisted by the local police liquidated the ghetto.[3] They rounded up all the Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, deprived them of any remaining valuables,

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and escorted them to a site about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside of town on the banks of the Pronia River, where a ditch had been prepared. The few Jews living in the nearby village of Dranukha were also brought to the same site at this time. Just as the shooting was about to start, a courageous teacher named Dora Ruvimovna Kagan jumped out of the crowd and confronted the head of the German police Danilov, shouting: "We are defenseless and can't fight you. But you can't kill us all. Millions of Soviet people are left, they will avenge us. Our innocent blood will be on their banners." According to another account, she spat in the face of Danilov before being cut short by machine-gun fire. Some of the Jews were only wounded as they fell into the ditch. After the grave had been filled in, the moans of the wounded could still be heard for many hours.[4]

Shortly afterwards the German authorities also rounded up and shot Jews born in mixed marriages with one Jewish parent. Among those shot was blond-haired, 18-year-old Ira Grubnykh, whose grandfather was a Jew.[5] Estimates of the number of Jews murdered vary according to different sources. In total, the Germans and their collaborators shot more than 675 Jews in Chausy.[6]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Chausy can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 473; and Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 272–273.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Chausy can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216); BA-L (ZStL/202 AR-Z 81/59, vol. 20); GAMO; GARF (7021-88-48); NARB (861-1-9, pp. 285–286); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 67, August 29, 1941.
2. Ibid., Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73, September 4, 1941.
3. Sources disagree regarding the date: Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 272, date it on August 16, 1941, but this is unlikely; GARF, 7021-88-48, indicates the end of September; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 305, dates it on October 9, 1941. See also BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 81/59, vol. 20, pp. 11, 126, which also gives contradictory dates.
4. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 272–273.
5. Ibid.
6. GARF, 7021-88-48, pp. 1 and reverse, gives the figure of 624 Jewish victims for the final Aktion. To these must be added those reported by the Einsatzgruppen prior to this. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 305, indicates that around 1,000 Jews were murdered, but this figure is probably too high.

CHECHERSK

1938–1941: Chechersk, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschetschersk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chachersk, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chechersk lies about 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Gomel' on the Sozh River. In 1939, there were 977 Jews in the town, 18.2 percent of the total population.

After the Germans invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, all able-bodied men of military age were drafted into the Red Army. In Chechersk, the local authorities formed a rifle battalion of 239 men commanded by Levkovich. The unit included many Jews. Although Chechersk was 37 kilometers (23 miles) away from the nearest railroad station, and despite the lack of an organized evacuation, nearly half of the Jewish population managed to leave before the arrival of the German army in Chechersk. Most of them hoped to return home soon.[1]

German forces occupied Chechersk on August 16, 1941, placing the town under the administration of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Commandant von Maibaum assumed military command in the town; Heimann was in charge of the agricultural command office; Kondrat Ganzhin became the head of the Rayon, and Golubovskii, chief of the Rayon police. The German occupiers also set up military strong points in the villages of Pokat', Nisimkovichi, Poles'e, Zales'e, Beliaevka, Rovkovichi, Merkulovichi, and Dudichi. In these thinly populated settlements, the village elders were assisted by two or three local policemen.[2]

No anti-Jewish activity took place in Chechersk during the first two months of the occupation; then things changed for the worse. Chumakov became head of the town police and recruited Chechikov, Zbaromirskii, Bel'kin, Ginsher, Kozlov, and Zatikov, among others. Prisoners were held in a jail set up in a building of the veterinary training school in Chechersk.[3]

Until October 1941, Jews in the town continued to live in their own homes under the control of the local police. They strictly followed the orders issued by the German authorities. In October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto. They arrested all the Jews in Chechersk and held them under guard in the town hall and in nearby houses. Gypsies were confined at a separate location. In the course of interrogations, accompanied by beatings, jewelry and other valuables were taken from the Jews.

The ghetto in Chechersk had no purpose other than to concentrate the Jewish population and prevent those held from escaping before they were annihilated. Consequently, the German authorities took no measures for sanitation, medical services, or the social welfare of the prisoners in the ghetto. They forced the Jews to work without question or

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compensation. This included heavy labor. Often their warders ordered the inmates to perform degrading and senseless tasks: to swat flies in the commandant's office; to drag carts with water, bricks, firewood, and trash from one place to another; and to dig ditches and then fill them up again.[4]

It was forbidden to feed the prisoners. Sometimes their keepers brought them rotten potatoes but did not provide any other food. If a local inhabitant attempted any communication with an inmate, the guards immediately put a stop to it. Despite the threat of starvation, the authorities prohibited local inhabitants from giving bread to the Jews. In effect, all contact with the local inhabitants was suppressed.

Because of the poor quality of the food, the ghetto inmates suffered from all kinds of gastric ailments. Many of them began having bloody diarrhea from dysentery. Untimely death became the norm. Hunger also provoked mental disorders.

The ghetto in Chechersk existed for about three months. The 435 inmates included mostly elderly men, women, and children. Of the total, 289 were Jews, and 146 were Gypsies.[5]

The annihilation of Jews in the ghetto took place in two main stages. In the first, at the end of November 1941, the Germans slaughtered 84 elderly men and women. Germans and their collaborators transported the weaker inmates to the site of their execution in motor vehicles; those able to walk they herded on foot. Local inhabitants working in a field who witnessed this activity asked the police where they were taking these prisoners. Their warders explained that they were "going to Gomel' for medical treatment." The Germans executed this first group in an antitank ditch outside of Chechersk.

The second mass shooting took place towards the end of December 1941. Members of the Gestapo arrived from the military commandant's office in Gomel' and instructed the local police concerning this Aktion. In the town hall, early on the morning of December 28, the police began searching the prisoners. They beat them, stripped them naked, and seized whatever personal possessions the victims still had with them. The Germans took gold, watches, and other valuables; the police took clothing and underwear, which they tied into small bundles and hid in their houses. A tailor, Samuil Baskin (born in 1896), who was considered a specialist worker by the Germans, witnessed one of these search-and-seizure operations that took place in an adjoining room.[6]

Before the Aktion began, the Germans and the police went around the town to gather the Belorussians and Russians into the square in front of the town hall. To instill fear, the Germans obliged the assembled local citizens to observe the treatment of the Jews before their execution. At a temperature well below freezing (–30 degrees Centigrade [–22 degrees Fahrenheit]), the Germans made the prisoners strip to their underwear, remove their shoes, and stand in the snow. Then they brought several wooden sledges into the square. At the command of Mayor Ganzhin, the police took from their parents the younger children, including infants, and threw them onto the sledges. Eyewitnesses said that "weeping and wailing filled the streets of Chechersk." Everybody was crying, including the Belorussians who witnessed the scene. Ganzhin asked the Jews, "Why are you crying? Don't be afraid, they're not going to do anything to you, just take you around a bit and let you go."[7]

The Germans and the police counted the prisoners again, then lined them up in a column 4 abreast and marched them along Sovietskaia Street to the killing site. The place chosen for this purpose was an antitank ditch 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the town and not far from the village of Krasnyi Bereg, on the Chechersk-Zabolot'e road. Following the column of prisoners surrounded by members of the punitive expedition and policemen were sledges with the children. When they had all arrived at the site of the Aktion, the column halted, and the first group of male prisoners was ordered to lie face-down in the snow. These were the strongest and healthiest inmates. A member of the punitive party would pin down a doomed Jew by placing a pitchfork without center tines on the neck of the victim so that he could not move his head, while a second German executioner shot him in the back of the head with a pistol. Policemen with pitchforks dumped the bodies in the ditch. Then it was the turn of the next rank of 4 prisoners. The Jews awaiting execution began weeping and crying out. People bid good-bye to one another, and children begged their mothers to take them back home. The Germans, however, paid not the slightest attention. They laid out children in the snow and beat them to death with spades. They grabbed the legs of infants like piglets, beat their heads on the frozen ground, and threw them into the ditch. Many were still alive. By 8:00 P.M., things finally quieted down. The punitive detail covered the bodies with snow. The next day, Ganzhin rounded up local inhabitants and forced them to bury the dead.[8] Some 500 people perished in the two Aktions, including the Gypsies. The Germans spared only 5 individuals who were tailors or shoemakers, whom they sent to Gomel'.[9]

After the mass killings, Ganzhin and the military commander in Chechersk, von Maibaum, held a banquet at police headquarters "to mark the deliverance of the town from the Jews."[10] The police department received a cash reward. In January 1942, Mayor Ganzhin awarded Leonid Chechikov 400 rubles for his zeal in guarding the Jews, participating in removing them to the site of their execution, and arresting partisans.[11]

During the years of the German occupation of the Chechersk raion, 130 inhabited localities were destroyed, while in the town itself some 300 houses were burned down. Before their retreat, German troops mined many buildings and streets in the town. Troops of the Soviet 61st Belorussian Army Front liberated Chechersk on November 27, 1943, in the course of the Gomel'-Rechitsa operation. When the war ended, the population of the Chechersk raion had dropped from 41,845 in 1941 to 30,991 in May 1944, a loss of 26 percent. Comparable figures for the town itself are 5,138 for the pre-war population, and 2,265 at the time of liberation, a loss of 59 percent.[12]

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in Chechersk on December 22, 1943, established that the Germans were responsible for killing 1,137 people in Chechersk and other communities in the raion; that included 716 people who had previously lived in other raions

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of the republic. The commission's documents do not identify the dead by nationality.[13]

SOURCES Other than those listed in the notes, published works about the fate of the Jews in Chechersk include Marat Botvinnik's *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

The main archival sources include AUKGBRBGO (file 2724); GAGOMO (560-1-3, 1345-1-13); GARF (7021-85-44); NARB (861-1-6); PALS; TsAKGBRB; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. *Pamiats': Chechersk raion* (Minsk, 2000), pp. 205–208.
3. NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 207 and reverse.
4. *Sovietskaia Belorussia*, May 16, 1995.
5. GAGOMO, 560-1-3, pp. 2–3.
6. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, pp. 50–51, witness testimony of Samuil Motelevich Baskin (born 1896), October 9, 1944.
7. TsAKGBRB, Minsk.
8. Ibid.
9. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, witness testimony of Vladimir Stepanovich Pugin (born 1924), May 18, 1944.
10. PALS, excerpt from the diary of the secretary of the Chechersk underground party district committee, Pavel Dedik, Gomel', 1944, p. 146.
11. On December 29, 1944, the NKVD Military Court for the Gomel' oblast' sentenced Leonid Timofeevich Chechikov to 15 years of hard labor plus 5 years' deprivation of his civil rights. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, p. 89.
12. Data concerning the population of Gomel' oblast' as of May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
13. NARB, 3922-1-2, pp. 22–23.

CHERIKOV

Pre-1941: Cherikov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Tscherikow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Cherykau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Cherikov is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 949 Jews were living in Cherikov, comprising 14.8 percent of the total population. In addition, there were 132 Jews living in the villages of the Cherikov raion.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on July 17, 1941, about four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. The town was taken only after bitter fighting, which resulted in considerable destruction.[2] In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the entire German occupation, which lasted until October 1, 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur established a Rayon administration and a police force recruited from local residents. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur 846 was based in Cherikov.[3]

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the local authorities, on the instructions of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also required to perform forced labor. The wearing of the Jewish Star of David was strictly enforced.

In August 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the town. A detachment of Sonderkommando 7b shot a group of Jews.[4] On October 29, 1941, the Ortskommandant in Cherikov ordered the shooting of Salmon Plotkin for repeatedly defying the order to wear the Jewish star and for allegedly having contacts with the partisans.[5]

Very little information is available about living conditions for the Jews in Cherikov under the German occupation. Two secondary sources use the term "ghetto" in connection with the town, and according to Marat Botvinnik, it appears that some Jews from the surrounding villages and settlements were brought into Cherikov at some time before the mass shooting of the Jews.[6] It is likely that some form of open ghetto was established in Cherikov, with Jews prohibited from leaving the limits of the town.

Available accounts indicate that before killing the Jewish population of Cherikov in late October or early November 1941, German security forces, assisted by the local police, rounded up the Jews near the town hall, informing them that they would be resettled to another locality. The Jews were then escorted on foot to a site about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) north of the town near the mill, where a ditch had been prepared.[7] Two Germans shot the Jews in the ditch in small groups. Six local Belorussians were ordered to fill in the ditch afterwards. One of these men recalled: "The Jews cried, screamed, and the Germans beat them with whips, dragged them to the ditch by force, tore children away from their parents, and threw them into the ditch. It was so horrible that I still don't understand how I kept from going mad."[8]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, the mass shooting took place on November 7, 1941.[9] It was conducted by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 as part of an antipartisan sweep conducted by units of Security Division 221. Einsatzgruppe B reported later in December that 786 Jews of both sexes had been shot in Cherikov and Klimovichi.[10] Estimates of the number of Jewish victims in Cherikov range from 238 up to 500, but since at least 500 Jews were murdered in Klimovichi, the actual number in Cherikov was probably towards the lower end of this range.[11]

In 1943, members of the Soviet partisan detachment known as "Thirteen," which contained a number of Jews, conducted anti-German operations near Cherikov. Following a police ambush, the Jewish partisan Girsh Izrailitin exploded a grenade rather than be captured, which resulted in the deaths of 16 local police collaborators, including the head of the Cherikov police.[12]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population in Cherikov can be found in the follow-

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ing publication: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 481.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Cherikov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-MA (RH 26-221/19); GAMO; GARF (7021-88-49 and 8114-1-955); NARB; USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 39, 71.
2. See Konstantin Simonow, *Kriegstagebücher* (East Berlin, 1979), 1:15–52, 147.
3. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
4. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on police activity from August 24–30, 1941. Bundesbeauftragter für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, Zentralarchiv, ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI, p. 47.
5. GARF, 7021-88-49, p. 9, Ortskommandantur Tscherikow, Bekanntmachung, October 29, 1941, signed Ortskommandant Saup. See also BA-MA, RH 26-221/19.
6. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 266; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 306.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 266; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 275–276; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 306; and GARF, 7021-88-49.
8. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 266.
9. GARF, 7021-88-49, pp. 1 and reverse side, 6, and 7 with reverse side.
10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 9.
11. *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 481, gives the lower figure of 238. In 1969 an obelisk was erected at the site of the mass shooting. GARF, 8114-1-955, pp. 9 and reverse, gives the higher figure of 500. Other estimates fall between these figures. The ChGK for Klimovichi estimates at least 800 Jews killed there in early November 1941; see NARB, 861-1-9.
12. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 231.

CHERVEN'

Pre-1941: Cherven' (until 1925, Igumen), town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tscherwen, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Cherven', raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Cherven' is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,941 Jews in the town out of a total population of 6,376 (30.4 percent).

With the beginning of military operations, all men of military age were mobilized into the Red Army. Only a small number of Jews were able to flee before the rapidly advancing German forces. Units of the German 10th Panzer Division entered Cherven' on July 1–2, 1941. The Germans established a military administration (Ortskommandantur), and soon after their arrival they recruited a local police force. Grigorii Rusetskii was appointed chief of police, and Filip Razmyslovich, Maksim Kitov, Dmitrii Zenkovich, Karl Zhdanovich, Shirshov, and Iakovlev were among those who enlisted.[1]

In August 1941 a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, then based in Minsk, arrived in Cherven' and murdered 139 people, also collecting 125,880 rubles from town residents; the victims probably consisted primarily of male Jews.[2]

Then in the fall of 1941, the occupying forces ordered Griadka and Sovetskaia Streets in Cherven' to be cleared. Jews were resettled into these streets, which hitherto had been inhabited predominantly by Belorussians. According to eyewitnesses, during the resettlement, the smith Borukh Gelfand put up some resistance. For his actions, Gelfand was subjected to horrific torture: nails were hammered into his head.[3] It is estimated that nearly 2,000 Jews lived in the ghetto. The ghetto in Cherven', like that of many other places in Belorussia, was of no particular economic significance. Its main function was to concentrate the Jews and prevent them from fleeing, to facilitate their subsequent extermination. The Jews were ordered to carry out their assigned forced labor tasks, including arduous physical work, calmly and obediently. The Jews were isolated: Belorussians and Russians were not allowed even to approach them, and they were systematically starved. The Jews' valuable possessions were seized.

The Jews in the Cherven' ghetto continued to suffer from persecution and starvation into the winter of 1941–1942. The mass killing of the remaining Jewish population was conducted on one day between January 31 and February 2, 1942. At this time Cherven' lay within the command area of Feldkommandantur 244 of Security Division 286. The killing Aktion was organized by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, the command of which had just been taken over by SS officer Heinz Richter, based in Mogilev.[4]

At 6:00 A.M., the ghetto was surrounded by reinforced units of German and local Belorussian police. Search parties looked for Jews even outside the confines of the ghetto, in Cherven'. In the town hospital they found Gitlina, whose leg had been amputated and, in a separate room, a Jewish woman who had recently given birth. Both women were taken from their beds and sent to the ghetto.[5] When all the searches had ended, the people were herded along the road towards the village of Zametovka in the Kolodishchi sel'sovet. The column of Jews was stopped at the place known as Glinishche. The policemen in sleighs brought with them shovels and a box of ammunition. The mass shooting began at noon. In the winter frost, the prisoners were ordered to remove everything except their underclothing and then, in groups of 30 or 40 people, were escorted into the ditches and shot with automatic rifles. The Belorussian policemen played an important role in the Aktion. Among

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those who showed the greatest eagerness were Rusetskii, Razmyslovich, Kitov, Zenkovich, and Zhdanovich.[6] On that day, approximately 1,400 people were shot. The German authorities ordered local Soviet citizens to fill in the pits. Because the ground was frozen, the pits were only lightly covered, and dogs started to scavenge the corpses. Therefore, they issued new orders for the pits to be filled in again more thoroughly.[7]

According to Soviet sources, during the occupation in Cherven' and in the Cherven' raion, 6,321 citizens of various nationalities lost their lives, including 766 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and 1,240 people who were burned inside buildings during the course of German reprisals against the Soviet partisans.[8]

Cherven' was liberated by the Red Army on July 2, 1944.[9] After the liberation, three mass graves were found in the town: around the Jewish cemetery on Minsk Street (1,750 people); near the natural boundaries around Kurgane and Kirpichnoe (400 people); and on Bobruiskaia Street (315 people).

SOURCES There is no specific publication focused on the fate of the Jewish community in Cherven' during the Holocaust. For further details on the memorialization of the victims, see L. Smilovitsky, "Attempt to Erect Memorial to Holocaust Victims Blocked by Soviet Belorussian Authorities," *East European Jewish Affairs* 27:1 (1997): 71–80.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Cherven' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-17); NARA; YVA (O-53/24; M-33/435); and ZSSta-D. In addition, the author's personal archive (PALS) contains some correspondence from the survivor Tsodik Rytov, received in 1998.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. According to the testimony given to the ChGK by Ol'ga Lavrent'evaia (born 1907) and Ol'ga Ivenents (born 1891), see YVA, M-33/435, p. 24; O-53/24, p. 673.
2. NARA, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2722201, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 73, September 4, 1941.
3. PALS, letters from Tsodik Rytov (Israel) dated September 17 and December 3, 1998.
4. The available sources differ on the date of the mass shooting. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur II/252 was based in Cherven'; this unit was probably still in place at the end of January 1942.
5. According to the testimony given to the ChGK by Aleksandr Korotko (born 1920), YVA, O-53/24, p. 67.
6. YVA, M-33/435, pp. 2–8.
7. According to the letter of Lt. F.S. Tunik, September 23, 1944, published in *Sovetskie evrei pishut Il'e Erenburgu, 1943–1966* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 158. German sources indicate that 1,342 Jews were killed in Cherven' on January 31 (or February 1), 1942, by a unit of Einsatzkommando 8; see ZSSta-D, 45 Js 35/64, Bd. I, pp. 59–79, Verfügung dated September 8, 1967. The Einsatzgruppen reports erroneously give the figure of 15,000 victims, but probably 1,500 was intended; see EM no. 186, March 27, 1942, NARA, T-175, reel 233.
8. YVA, M-33/435, pp. 2–8.
9. Cherven' was liberated by the 110th and the 348th Artillery Divisions of the Soviet Army along with the Budinov, Zukov, and Kalinin partisan detachments. Jews comprised between 10 and 15 percent of these partisan units.

DARAGANOVO

Pre-1939: Daraganovo, village, Starye Dorogi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Daraganowo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Darahanava, Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Daraganovo is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) west of Bobruisk. In 1926, there were 60 Jewish families living in Daraganovo. By mid-1941, migration had slightly reduced the Jewish population of the village.

German armed forces captured Daraganovo in early July 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were called up to active duty in the Red Army. About 100 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, the village was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The German military administration created a village authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village authority to make arrangements for the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as for their use in various types of forced labor.

On September 6, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in the village, in the course of which 11 people were accused of being Soviet activists and shot. The remaining Jews were forced into a ghetto, for which several houses on the edge of the village, on Pesochnaia Street, were allocated. The Germans liquidated the ghetto in May 1942, shooting 73 Jews in a forest north of the village. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, stationed in Bobruisk, carried out the shooting, in which the Ordnungsdienst also took an active part. On January 25, 1943, the children of mixed marriages were seized and shot in the village. In 1976, a monument was erected at the site of the mass grave.[1]

SOURCES The following published sources contain some information on the annihilation of the Jews of Daraganovo: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 303; V. Zaitsev and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin, comp., and Il'ia Al'tman, ed., *My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4: Sbornik* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*

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before and during the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 292.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Daraganovo can be found in the following archives: GAMO; and GARF (7021-82-8).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. According to the list of names, the number of victims was 85 (GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 65–66).

DOBRUSH

Pre-1941: Dobrush, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dobrusch, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dobrush, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dobrush is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) east of Gomel' on the Iput' River. The town has a railway station on the Gomel'-Unecha line. In 1926, there were 372 Jewish inhabitants (2.7 percent of the total population of 13,800).

Following the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many refugees arrived in Dobrush. Dobrush was strategically significant, as it lay on the main rail line through Briansk to Moscow, so the Luftwaffe bombed the town. More than two thirds of the Jews in Dobrush managed to leave the town, either as staff of a factory or government organization or independently on foot towards Gomel'.[1]

German forces occupied Dobrush on August 22, 1941. During the German occupation, Dobrush was subordinated to Rear Area, Army Group Center. The Germans appointed M.G. Sobolev to be the mayor and Karp Amel'chenko as his deputy. The former examining magistrate of the Dobrush raion, Fedosii Semenchik, became chief of police, and Anufii Klimenkov was the prison warden.[2] The police, the jail, local authorities, elders of the volost', and local communities were all subordinated to the German military command and the mayor.

No anti-Jewish Aktions took place in Dobrush during the first two months of the occupation. Jews were allowed to live in their own homes but were forbidden to visit public places, to go onto the main streets of the town, or to maintain contacts with Belorussians and Russians. Jewish children above age 10 and all Jewish adults were required to wear yellow patches on their outer garments.[3] At the end of October 1941, the Gestapo ordered Mayor Sobolev to evict the Jewish population from within the town limits of Dobrush. In the municipal records Vasilii Zheldakov recorded the names of the 106 Jews who were displaced. To calm them, the police informed the Jews that this was in preparation for their deportation to Palestine. On the appointed day, the authorities ordered the Jews to assemble at the town police station, from which they were escorted 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) south of the town to two outbuildings of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). The police categorically forbade the Jews to enter the town limits. The guards starved the prisoners and escorted them to perform the hardest and dirtiest labor. Jews had to drag logs out of the river, clean streets, and unload freight cars. The local police and the Germans humiliated the Jews.

The liquidation of the ghetto was planned to take place at the same time as the execution of Communists and Soviet activists. The arrests of 19 Communists (18 men and 1 woman) took place on November 17, 1941. In the last days before the Aktion, the external perimeter of the ghetto was tightly guarded. On November 20, Gansevskii and Morozov made Jews dig a large ditch, 10 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 2 meters deep (about 33 by 6.6 by 6.6 feet).[4] On the morning of November 21, at 10:00 A.M., eight policemen escorted the Communists in closed motor vehicles from the Dobrush jail to the MTS. The police took the Jews in a column of fours to within 50 meters (164 feet) of the ditch and made them kneel down. The police formed a cordon to prevent escape. Three officers of the Security Police, from the detachment in Gomel' (commanded by Wilhelm Schulz) of Einsatzkommando 8, directed the Aktion, assisted by 25 local policemen and 10 Germans.[5] Among the local policemen present were Semenchik, Gansevskii, Sukalin, Lapunov, Khatskov, Kachanov, Kachalin, and Davydulin. A number of local residents, including many relatives and friends of the non-Jewish victims, came to the killing site, although Sobolev had instructed the policemen to keep observers at a distance.

First to be shot were the Communists; then it was the turn of the Jews. The policemen searched them, making them remove their clothing. Sukalin, Kachalin, and Lapunov undressed and searched the women. Khaia Kosolapova, in her early twenties, a Soviet clerk, tried to run away, but the policemen Sukalin and Kachalin caught her and dragged her back to be shot. As she was killed, Kosolapova shouted, "Goodbye, comrades, you who know me. I am dying for my homeland, for Stalin. Long live our Red Army!"[6]

The Germans went about their gruesome task as if they were slaughtering livestock. They would bring two or three victims to the ditch, where the German executioner stabbed the children with a knife and threw them, still alive, into the ditch. Police officer Khatskov was especially active in shoving people into the ditch. Among the first victims were members of the Aronchik family: the wife, husband, and four children. The mother, Basia Aronchik, 32 years old, held her 2-year-old son in her arms; the next-oldest child clung to her skirt, and the two older children followed behind. One of the older children appealed to Semenchik, begging him, "Dear Uncle, you know me. Dear Uncle, spare me, I want to live! I sat at the same desk as your boy in school, and I never did anything bad to anyone! Save me!" Whereupon a policeman grabbed him and threw him into the ditch, then shots rang out. The women and children sobbed so loudly that their wailing and moaning could be heard at a distance. Those only wounded were buried alive.[7]

The killing went on from 10:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. In total, 125 people were killed: 19 Communists and 106 Jews. After

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the mass shooting, the search began for those who had escaped by hiding. A week later, a 13-year-old girl named Ishevskaia, who had miraculously survived in Dobrush, sought out Amel'chenko to request some of the belongings of her parents, who had been killed. Amel'chenko arrested her and turned her over to the German commandant's office to be shot.[8]

The German occupiers used Jewish property to reward collaborators and as an incentive to the local population to be cooperative. Most of the property was distributed after the resettlement of the Jews into the MTS barracks, where the ghetto was established. The authorities took some of the Jewish belongings as fines or "contributions" in place of money: ornaments, gold and silver, and personal items. Finally, they took clothing, undergarments, and footwear removed from victims before the executions on November 21. After the mass shooting, the victims' belongings were hauled away in eight carts to the authorities' headquarters. German members of the punitive expedition and the police took some of the loot; whatever remained that was still usable was sold off to local inhabitants or distributed among those who worked for the authorities.

According to German investigative sources, a detachment of Security Police from Sonderkommando 7a based in Klintsy arrived in Dobrush at the end of March or the beginning of April 1942 and murdered another 70 Jews, who were being held in three to five houses in a wooded area to the north of Dobrush. The Security Police, assisted by the local police (Ordnungsdienst), shot the Jews into a ditch.[9] These were presumably Jews who survived the first Aktion or were captured in the area subsequently and held until a second Aktion could be organized.

Units of the Red Army liberated Dobrush on October 10, 1943. On the same day, the 48th Army counterintelligence unit "Smersh" arrested a group of active collaborators with the German occupiers who had committed crimes against local civilians. The collaborators were tried by a military tribunal.[10]

During the years of occupation, the population of the Dobrush raion declined by about 30 percent, from 31,244 inhabitants in 1941 to 21,791 in May 1944. In the town of Dobrush itself, the population fell almost 40 percent, from 13,815 to 8,399.[11] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in the town on December 16, 1943, established that 576 civilians (including 199 persons in the town of Dobrush) and 18 prisoners of war (POWs) perished in the Dobrush raion during the German occupation. Opening the mass grave near the MTS revealed 124 bodies buried there: 70 of them had bullet wounds; 10 showed signs of having been struck with a blunt object; and 44 had no visible injury, which suggested that they were buried alive.[12] Of the 124 bodies, 67 were women, 57 were men, 32 were children up to 10 years old, and 49 were elderly persons. Most of the bodies were found in awkward positions, which indicated an agonizing death.[13]

So far, of the 106 ghetto inmates, it has only been possible to establish the family names of 53 victims: 22 men and 31 women.[14]

SOURCES Publications relating to the fate of the Jews of Dobrush under German occupation include the following: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Pamiat': Dobrushskii raion*, 2 vols. (Minsk, 1999).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; GAGOMO (1318-1-8); GAOOGO (144-5-6); GARF (7021-85-38); NARB (4-33a-65); USHMM; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Robert Haney and Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. *Pamiat': Dobrushkii raion*, 1:256.
2. From the interrogation of defendant Feodosii Ivanovich Semenchik, April 1, 1945, Grodno. AUKGBRBGO, file 6936, p. 17.
3. GARF, 7021-85-38, pp. 1, 10, 22.
4. From the verdict of "guilty" in the case of accomplices in Nazi crimes in Dobrush, October 29, 1943, AUKGBRBGO, file 15884, vol. 1, pp. 455–460.
5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, p. 771.
6. AUKGBRBGO, file 15884, vol. 1, p. 49.
7. Excerpt from the examination record of witness Anna Prof'evna Zhurbenkova-Kotsuba (born 1906), October 16, 1943, Dobrush, ibid., vol. 1, p. 48.
8. Interrogation of Mikhail Nazarovich Lapunov, ibid., vol. 1, p. 106.
9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, p. 771; and vol. 23, (1998) Lfd. Nr. 620, p. 166.
10. The Military Field Court, 73rd Nozybkov Infantry Division, based on a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, USSR, dated April 19, 1943, sentenced these individuals to death by hanging: Vasilii Nikolaevich Zheldakov, Karp Anatol'evich Amel'chenko, Leonard Boleslavovich Gansevskii, Mikhail Nazarovich Lapunov, and Daniil Fomich Sukalin. Petr Abramovich Levin was sentenced to be shot. Sentenced to 10 years' loss of freedom in a corrective labor camp, confiscation of belongings, and disenfranchisement for 5 years were Elena Vasil'evna Zheldakova, Ivana Eliseevicha Tsubrikova, and Anufria Efimovicha Klimenkova. The sentence was final and not subject to appeal: AUKGBRBGO, file 14884, vol. 2, p. 683.
11. Data regarding the population of Gomel' oblast' on May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
12. AUKGBRBGO, file 6936, p. 110.
13. Ibid., file 15884, vol. 1, p. 456.
14. According to *Pamiat': Dobrushskii raion*, 1:347–350.

DRIBIN

Pre-1941: Dribin, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Drybin, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dribin is situated 64 kilometers (40 miles) to the northeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 563 Jews living in Dribin, comprising 17.9 percent of the total population.

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German armed forces occupied the town on July 14, 1941, about three and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army.

During the entire German occupation until October 1, 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) exercised authority in the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a raion authority and a police force composed of local residents.

Shortly after the occupation began, the raion authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews ages 16 to 50 were also required to perform heavy physical labor.

On September 30, 1941, all the Jews of the town were settled into an open ghetto, which consisted of 11 houses. The ghetto in Dribin existed for only one week. On October 6, 1941, the Jews were assembled and instructed to wear their best clothes and bring their prized possessions. German forces of Einsatzkommando 8 then organized the destruction of the ghetto. Assisted by the local police, German forces escorted the Jews into a forest 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the town, where they shot them all, around 400 in total. The Jews were also robbed of all their property by the perpetrators.[1]

SOURCES The Dribin ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 138; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 291, 298.

Relevant documentation can be found in GARF (7021-88-37); NARB (861-1-9, pp. 152–153); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8; and RG-53.002M, reel 7).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-88-37, pp. 2 reverse and 10; and NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 152–153.

DRISSA

Pre-1941: Drissa, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); 1962: renamed Verkhnedvinsk; post-1991: Verkhniadzvinsk (Drysa), raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Drissa is situated about 60 kilometers (38 miles) northwest of Polotsk. In 1939, 825 Jews lived in the town, making up 30.1 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Drissa raion (without the town of Drissa) included 677 people, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Volyntsy and Borkovichi, as well as in Borovka, the northern suburb of Drissa.

The 19th Panzer (Armored) Division of the LVII German Army Corps of Panzer Group 3 forced its crossing over the Zapadnaia Dvina River at Dzisna in the Drissa area on July 3, 1941; the town of Drissa was taken on the same day. The fighting at the Dzisna-Drissa bridgehead went on until July 6. On July 10, 1941, the German 14th Panzer Division of the newly formed 4th Panzer Army captured Volyntsy and Borkovichi. The rest of the Drissa raion was captured by the 19th Panzer Division (southern part) and by the XXII Army Corps of the 9th Army by July 13, 1941.

From August 1941 onward, Drissa was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Ortskommandantur 262 was based here. From January to March 1942, Drissa was under the authority of Feldkommandantur 749.

Drissa is situated close to a railway, and many Jews managed to leave the town before the Germans captured it. After the war, 12 or 13 Jewish families returned to Drissa; many others remained in the places to which they had been evacuated.[1]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in February 1942 the Germans assembled 769 Jews from Drissa in a "special camp" (ghetto). Shortly afterwards, most probably on February 10, they shot them into a mass grave at the local Jewish cemetery in groups of 10 to 15 people. Infants were thrown into the ditch alive or shot in the air. Some people who were only wounded were also buried alive. The murder was perpetrated by a "punitive squad," most probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9, supported by the men of the Ortskommandantur and local policemen (*politsais*). The victims were brought to the killing site in trucks, which were driven by local drivers.[2] Everything was done in full view of the local non-Jewish population. After the massacre, the perpetrators burned down the ghetto; thus, those who attempted to hide in the ghetto perished in the flames.

A group of young people succeeded in fleeing from Drissa before the ghetto was established; they crossed the front lines and survived. Some others tried to run away during the Aktion but were captured by the Nazis and killed.[3]

The estimate of the number of Jewish victims made by the ChGK—769 people—seems to be excessive, taking into account that there was a successful mobilization into the Red Army in Drissa and that some Jews succeeded in evacuating the town. On the other hand, many Jewish refugees from the western areas settled in the Osveia-Drissa area; most probably, the Germans resettled the Jews from Borovka into the ghetto in Drissa.

In Borkovichi, 30 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Drissa along the Polotsk-Daugavpils railway, no less than 60 Jews were killed; 10 Jews were killed in the village of Iustianovo (7 kilometers [4.4 miles] south of Drissa); and 16 Jews were killed in the village of Ianino, 1 or 2 kilometers (0.6–1.2 miles) north of Drissa. (Information on the fate of the Jews of Volyntsy, also in the Drissa raion, can be found in the entry for that ghetto—see **Volyntsy.**)[4]

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SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Drissa raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-215) and NARB (861-1-13). Other relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-DH (e.g., ZM 635); BA-MA (RH 26-201/17); and YVA (O-3/5499).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Testimony by Yona Gildin, YVA, O-3/5499.
2. GARF, 7021-92-215 (see also NARB, 861-1-13, p. 85). Christian Gerlach, referring to documents of the 201st Security Division, writes that "at least" 93 Jews were killed in Drissa; see Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 684.
3. YVA, O-3/5499.
4. GARF, 7021-92-215.

DUBROVNO

Pre-1941: Dubrovno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dubrowno, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dubrouna, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dubrovno is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, 2,119 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.4 percent of the population. Another town in the raion with a considerable Jewish population was Liady (897 Jews, or 39.2 percent of the total population in 1939; see **Liady**). The rest of the Jewish population of the Dubrovno raion (without the town of Dubrovno) constituted 222 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Baevo and Rossasno (see **Rossasno**). After World War II, the town of Osintorf (18 kilometers [11 miles] north of Dubrovno) was switched from Orsha raion to Dubrovno raion. The number of Jews in Osintorf is not clear; most probably, they numbered between 10 and 30.

The "Dneprovskaia textile mill" was not evacuated by the authorities (Dubrovno lies rather far from the railway); only some sections of it were blown up. This means that there was no large-scale evacuation of the population from the town (in other towns such as Orsha or Vitebsk, the evacuation of industrial plants helped thousands of Jews to escape the Nazis).

Dubrovno was captured by the German forces (17th Panzer Division of the XLVII Army Corps of the 2nd Panzer Group) on July 16,[1] after which it was in the rear area of the 2nd Army (Infantry). From August 1941, Dubrovno was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 286th Security Division; the Secret Field Police (GFP) Group 723, subordinated to this division, was quartered here. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report mentions an Ortskommandantur in Dubrovno under Kommandant Major Hänschin.

The Germans put together an indigenous local administration in Dubrovno and its Rayon, including a local police force. The mayor of Dubrovno was Skvarchevskii, the former

Russians and Jews at forced labor building a bridge in Dubrovno, n.d.
USHMM WS # 81533, COURTESY OF NARA

head of a peat factory. The head of the indigenous police in the volost' was Kulikovskii. The mayor of Osintorf was I. Trublin.

The town of Osintorf served as the base for forming one of the Russian "armies," which was to fight on the German side to fulfill police functions: the Russian National People's Army (Russkaia Natsional'naia Narodnaia Armiia, RNNA). In 1941, under the aegis of the headquarters of Army Group Center, the "Trial Battalion Graukopf" was formed, mainly from Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The members of the battalion wore Soviet uniforms and had Soviet weapons but carried German insignia. In the spring of 1942, the Battalion Graukopf was transformed into the RNNA. The local population called its servicemen *narodniki*.[2]

Information on the Holocaust in Dubrovno is scanty. A ghetto in Dubrovno was established in the fall of 1941. According to the ChGK, it was located in the area called "the camp '*zhilkoop*' " (which may be interpreted as an abbreviation of "dwelling cooperative"). Eyewitnesses, both those who gave testimonies to the ChGK and those from Gennadii Vinnitsa's collection, mention physical abuse of the Jewish inmates. A non-Jewish witness says: "I went to the Kommandantur to receive an Ausweis (identity card) and saw *politsais*

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[men of the indigenous police] there, who put 10 Jews on the ground and beat them with sticks."[3] In December 1941, the inmates of the ghetto were shot by a German "punitive squad"; the local commandant was also present at the execution site. According to the ChGK, the execution site was an area beyond the Dneprovskaia textile mill, where a mass grave had been prepared beforehand; according to Vinnitsa, it was a sand quarry close to the Jewish cemetery. Witnesses attest that the Nazis employed sadistic methods of killing.

Both the ChGK and Vinnitsa indicate that the Nazis spared artisans and their families from this Aktion. The artisans and their families were killed in February 1942.

The ChGK estimates the number of Jews killed in December 1941 at 1,500 and the number killed in February 1942 at 300. In other individual and group shootings that took place in Dubrovno, the Nazis killed an additional 185 Jews. The total number of Jewish victims in Dubrovno was 1,985. At the same time, the list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains only 330 names of Jews.

The Jews of the town of Osintorf were killed in March 1942. The witnesses who were interrogated by the ChGK in 1945 estimate the number of those killed at 20. The witness Shmuglevskii, who, according to his words, "was under custody" together with these doomed Jews, said that among them there were seven women and five children under 16. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK refers to 10 Jews killed. Of them, the families Ginsburg and Simkin were killed in October 1941 in Osintorf, and the Khanins, in February 1942 in Dubrovno. It is not clear whether the witnesses of the ChGK included these 10 or only some of them (the Ginsburgs and Simkins) among those 20 people on whom they gave information.[4]

In the village of Barsuki, 11 kilometers (7 miles) east-southeast of Dubrovno, two Jewish women married to non-Jews were killed.

SOURCES In the book by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pages 16 to 31 deal with the Holocaust in the Dubrovno raion.

The documents of the ChGK for the Dubrovno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-6), as can those for Osintorf (7021-84-10).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Heinz Guderian, *Erinnerungen eines Soldaten* (Heidelberg, 1951), pp. 154–157.
2. A.M. Litvin, "Antysavetskiia vaenna-palitseiskiia farmiravanni na terytoryi Belarusi w hady Vyalikai Aichyinai vainy 1941–1944 hh." (Ph.D. diss., Minsk, 2000), pp. 69–70.
3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 18.
4. GARF, 7021-84-6 and 7021-84-10.

ELIZOVO (YELIZOVO)

Pre-1941: Elizovo, town, Osipovichi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Elisowo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Elizava, Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Elizovo is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 303 Jews living in Elizovo, accounting for 6.7 percent of the total population. Following the occupation of Poland in September 1939 by German and Soviet forces, a number of Jewish refugees settled in Elizovo, bringing with them information about the Nazi persecution of the Jews.

German armed forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 1, 1941, just over a week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, the Germans bombed the town, and a few Jews managed to flee eastward or were conscripted into the Red Army. Probably about two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Elizovo at the start of the German occupation.

On the first day of the occupation, the Germans collected about 100 people, Jews and non-Jews, and murdered them in an Aktion in reprisal for the killing of a German soldier in the vicinity.[1] Throughout the occupation period (from July 1941 to February 1944), a German military commandant's office was in charge of Elizovo. The German military administration established a town council and a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

The German authorities soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. For example, Jews were forced to wear yellow circular patches on the back and front of their clothes; they were forbidden to have contact with non-Jews; they were forbidden to keep pets; and young Jewish men and women were taken for forced labor, building a road between Elizovo and Svisloch'.[2]

A few weeks into the occupation, probably in August 1941, the remaining Jews in the town were herded into a ghetto, for which a few buildings were allocated. According to Jewish survivors, the ghetto was not fenced in.[3] Some Jews gave their property to non-Jews for safekeeping, but in one instance the peasant Kabanov subsequently handed the items to the German authorities, who demanded the surrender of all Jewish property.

On October 8, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Elizovo, in which a dozen or so Jews who had been sent to work on the road were taken to the forest and murdered. On October 14, the Germans conducted a brutal Aktion in the nearby village of Svisloch', in which a number of Jews were killed. Then in the winter of 1941–1942, probably in early November 1941, the Germans rounded up the Jews of Elizovo, humiliated them by making them sing, and forced them to surrender their warm clothing for the German armed forces before releasing them again.[4]

On January 21 or 22, 1942, Soviet partisans attacked the glass factory building in the town and set it on fire. Then the next day an SS squad arrived and conducted a reprisal Aktion in which they shot most of the remaining Jewish men, about 28 people. Before burying the bodies in two large

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graves, the Germans removed any gold teeth from the corpses' mouths.[5]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on April 5, 1942, shooting all the remaining Jews. A few Jews managed to evade the roundup and hide in the surrounding countryside or make their way to join the Soviet partisans. In total, at least 100 Jews were murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators in and around Elizovo in 1941–1942.

SOURCES Information on Elizova can be found in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 304, 312.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Elizovo can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; VHF (# 38244 and 38470); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova (born 1924); and # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai, dates this event on November 3, 1941; # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova, however, describes a similar incident but dates it in early January 1942.
5. Ibid., # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai, dates the partisan attack on January 21, 1942; # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova, dates it on January 22, 1942.

EZERISHCHE (YEZERISHCHE)

Pre-1941: Ezerishche, town and center, Mekhovoe raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jeseritsche, Rayon Mechowoje, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Eziaryshcha, Haradok raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ezerishche is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) north of Gorodok. The Mekhovoe raion had 235 Jews in 1939, most of whom lived in Ezerishche (estimates range from 60 to 175). The next-largest contingent lived in Mezha (perhaps as many as 86 people). German armed forces of the XXIII Corps of the 9th Army captured Ezerishche on July 17, 1941.

Sometime in October 1941, the Jews were resettled into the building of a former inn: a long, one-story building near the railway station. The building was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded. According to other witnesses, the "ghetto" included two buildings, one wooden, the second made of bricks, and was not surrounded by barbed wire.[1] The discrepancy in the witness accounts may be ascribed to the deterioration of the Ezerishche Jews' situation in the late fall of 1941 and the winter of 1941–1942.

In February 1942 (or perhaps in early December 1941),[2] all the Jews were escorted from the "ghetto" across the railway to a marsh to the northwest of the village and were shot there near pits that had been dug previously. The shooting was carried out one family at a time; before the killing, the victims were ordered to undress. The killing was somewhat haphazard, and many victims, merely wounded, were buried alive.

The number of Jews killed in Ezerishche is unknown. One of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) records gives an estimate of 200 victims, which is probably an exaggeration; other ChGK records and witnesses state that 150 or 175 were killed; some local witnesses reported 60 dead, which seems to be too low an estimate. According to all the witnesses, a number of professionals (such as pediatrician Frida Bentsman, two other physicians, two pharmacists, and the school principal Khait) were all killed on that day.

Elsewhere in the Mekhovoe raion, a number of Jews, possibly as many as 86,[3] were killed in Mezha (36 kilometers [22 miles] northeast of Gorodok) in February 1942; in Bychikha (about halfway between Gorodok and Ezerishche, along the railway), no fewer than 6 Jews were killed near the railway station; there were also other places in the area where Jews were killed.

SOURCES Information can be found in Gennadii Vinnitsa's *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), p. 32.

Documentation on the Ezerishche ghetto can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-9); and YVA (O-3/4608).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 32.
2. GARF, 7021-84-9, ChGK report, dates the massacre as February 1942. Vinnitsa, *Gorechi' i bol'*, also gives this date. However, the ChGK report, undated, deposited at the archive of the Gorodok Museum of Local History (Gorodokskii Kraevedcheskii Muzei), indicates early December 1941, as do the witnesses interviewed in 1985 (YVA, O-3/4608).
3. Eighty-six "peaceful citizens" were shot by the Germans in Mezha during the occupation, according to the estimate of the ChGK. The main shooting took place in February 1942; it is unclear whether all the 86 people counted by the ChGK were killed on that day or whether some of them (who therefore may not have been Jewish) were killed later. See GARF, 7021-84-9, pp. 2–4.

GLUSK

Pre-1941: Glusk, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Glussk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Hlusk, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Glusk is located 46 kilometers (29 miles) southwest of Bobruisk. In 1939, 1,935 Jews lived in Glusk (37.8 percent of the total population).

According to the testimony of Yankel Gurevich, at the beginning of the German invasion many citizens of Glusk were distraught and did not know what to do.[1] Grigory Brum

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stated that no one in Glusk knew how long the war would last, but most assumed that if they waited, the war would soon end. It was widely believed that even if Glusk were to be occupied, the Jews would be left unscathed. The majority of Jews in Glusk were unable to evacuate because of the rapid German advance. German forces entered the city on June 27–28, 1941.[2]

Although during the course of the first month no anti-Jewish Aktions took place, the situation changed quickly. The Germans organized a police force from local citizens, under the command of Makarov. Jews were ordered to wear a yellow six-pointed star on the front and back of their clothing. Some form of ghetto was established (probably an open ghetto), but most Jews continued to live in their own houses, which were also marked with a Star of David. Survivor testimony uses the term "ghetto" explicitly, but it remains unclear if the ghetto area was enclosed by a fence or if it was guarded.[3] Jews were forbidden to leave the settlement without permission or trade with non-Jews. They were ordered to report to a labor camp daily, from which they were sent to perform various tasks. At night they were released. The Jews were used for the most arduous forced labor: repairing roads, digging ditches, and clearing forests. Galina Gelfer, who was only 14 at the time, recalls digging the ground, sweeping the streets, cleaning, and washing for the Germans.[4] Some of those sent to work each day did not return. Those who could not work or walk in the column fast enough were shot. According to Michael Epstein (Epshtein) the policemen insulted and tortured the Jews with more glee than the Germans. According to the account of Juliy Aizenshtadt, on November 29–30, 1941, the Nazis put on a show in Glusk. They collected the spectators at the nursery school and forced them to watch as the Jews were made to carry horse manure in their hats. The Nazis laughed and whipped them. They ordered the hairdresser Maizus to climb a large pear tree and jump down: he broke several bones. Avremul Mashnitser was placed backwards on a horse; then they whipped the horse, which galloped off. Avremul, grabbing for the horse's tail, hit his head against the sharp corner of a roof, fell off, and died. The Nazis laughed. One of them held a goat and stroked it, as if to demonstrate to everyone present that the animal was better than the Jews.

Many predicted the upcoming extermination. In the ghetto, people heard about the extermination of the Jews in Bobruisk and other places. On the morning of December 2, 1941, the Jews were ordered to gather in the square in front of the commandant's building and to bring their valuables, linen, and a little food. Then the policemen began searching the Jewish houses. People shouted and ran into the streets while the policemen chased after them, caught up with those who fell behind, beat them, and forced them into the square. A small group of Jews hid in the garage of the military commissariat in Glusk, but they were found.

According to Galina Gelfer, who hid in the attic of an empty store overlooking the assembled Jews, the women and children were loaded into three big black trucks, possibly gas vans, and apparently were killed by gassing before their bodies were thrown into the pits at Myslotino Hill, 1 or 2 kilometers (0.6 or 1.2 miles) from Glusk. As the vans were relatively small, a number of trips were necessary. The Germans, with dogs, and local policemen escorted the remaining Jews to the same pits on foot.[5] These Jews were then shot at Myslotino Hill. Between 1941 and 1943, this place was often used to murder not only Jews but also those who were deemed to be "suspect" in Glusk and in the Glusk raion. In addition, Jews were also shot and buried at the western outpost near the furniture factory and at the Jewish cemetery. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated that the total number of "peaceful citizens" murdered in Glusk was about 3,000;[6] this figure probably includes more than 1,000 Jewish victims.

Close to 100 Jews escaped owing to special circumstances: expert craftsmen received permission from the Nazis and were allowed to live in their own houses, outside the ghetto area; some left the night before the extermination because they were forewarned by their neighbors; others did not report to the square in front of the commandant's building on December 2, 1941, but hid and thereby escaped the German trap; and finally, a few wounded Jews even emerged from the pit into which they had been shot.

At the beginning of December 1941, one of the Jewish groups that had escaped from Glusk assembled in the forest and, with the help of local peasants, traveled to the village of Rudobelka, where they hoped to join the partisans. When they arrived, they realized that there were no partisans, but they were also pleasantly surprised to find that there were no Germans either and that the local peasants were willing to share their food with them. In the spring of 1942, more than 20 Jews from Glusk (the Brum family [Chema, Hannah, Girsh, and Tzilia], the brothers Isaac and Boruch Graizel, Michael Epshtein, Alter Epshtein, and others) met in the village of Slavkovichi. There, from local inhabitants and the Soviet soldiers stranded behind German lines in the Glusk raion, the partisan force "Budennyi" was created under the command of Red Army Captain Boris Tzikunkova.

In total, the force consisted of 184 partisans, including more than 20 Jews. Alter Epshtein fled the "ghetto" along with his wife and his 8-year-old son; two of his daughters had been killed during the massacre of the Jews of Glusk. Alter was a tailor for the partisans, while his wife baked bread for them. Several of the Jewish women acted as nurses. Before the war, Markman worked as an arms specialist in the military town of Urech'e, near Starye Dorogi. He repaired the old weapons and created automatic rifles. In April 1944, during the German blockade of the partisan zone, many Jews were killed. Alter, to avoid being captured by the Germans, blew himself up with a grenade.

Another group of Jews from Glusk (Juliy and Naum Aizenshtadt; Kasriel, Abraham, Ida, Yankel, and Rachel Gurevich; and others) became partisans in the "Red October" detachment, which combined with the brigade named after "Shchors" under the command of Fyodor Pavlosky (the first Belorussian partisan to be honored with the title "Hero of the Soviet Union").[7] Yankel Gurevich became the commander of their Uritskiy machine-gun platoon (under the command of

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Chavkin). After Belorussia was liberated in July 1944, the Jewish partisans from Glusk were called up to the Soviet army and fought until the end of the war.

Glusk was liberated on June 27, 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Glusk can be found in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005).

Documents on the murder of the Jewish population of Glusk can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF; NARB (845-1-60); USHMM (RG-22.002M and Acc.1995.A.537); and YVA. The author also has in his personal archive (PALS) letters written after the war by former inhabitants of Glusk.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

Group portrait of 11 boys and girls from the Stalin School in Gomel', 1941. Among those pictured is Sonya Lishansky, seated second from right in the first row, the only Jewish child in this photograph known to have survived the Holocaust in Gomel'.
USHMM WS #58242, COURTESY OF SONYA LISHANSKY

NOTES

1. PALS, letter from Yankel Gurevich in Tel Aviv, July 10, 1994. This letter has been published in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 198–199.
2. PALS, letter from Grigory Brum in Ahdod, September 22, 1997.
3. See Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 332; see also the testimony of Olga Shulman in Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, truzhenikam tyla, uznikam fashistskikh kontslagerei i getto, zhivym i pavshim povsiashchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 296–300.
4. USHMM, Acc.1995.A.537, handwritten memoir of Galina Gelfer.
5. Ibid.
6. NARB, 845-1-60, p. 25; GAMO, 2952-2-139, p. 8; GARF, 7021-82-6, p. 21 (USHMM, RG-22.002M).
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 333.

GOMEL' (GOMEL' OBLAST')

Pre-1941: Gomel', city, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gomel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Homel', raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Gomel' is located 300 kilometers (186 miles) southeast of Minsk. In 1939, Jews numbered 40,880 (27.3 percent of the city's total population).

In the first weeks of the war, the population of Gomel' benefited from the fact that German forces only occupied the city about two months after the start of the invasion, and many people managed to evacuate in the interim. By the time the Germans took the city on August 21, 1941, about 80,000 inhabitants had fled, but some 4,000 Jews remained (about 9 percent of the pre-war total).

After occupying Gomel', the Germans set up a temporary military administration. During August and September 1941, they established branches of the Security Police in Gomel' and other towns of the region. During the occupation, security forces in the city included units of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, or GFP), the Field Gendarmerie (Feldgendarmerie), the Order Police (Schutzpolizei), a local police force, and a guard company subordinated to the military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur).[1]

Local policemen, villagers, and city residents captured, handed over to the Germans, and often themselves killed Jewish soldiers in the Red Army who had avoided encirclement by the enemy or escaped from prisoner-of-war (POW) camps. In July 1941, David Komisarenko fled the POW camp in the Gomel' area. He was subsequently detained by two policemen who identified him as a Jew. Some of the captured Jewish servicemen tried to hide their ethnicity. When they were identified as Jews, they died terrible deaths. In the winter of 1942–1943, the Germans discovered Jews among the POWs in Durchgangslager (Dulag) 121 in Gomel'. The policemen stripped them in the severe cold and poured water on them so that they would freeze to death.

After the German occupation of Gomel', Jews were soon identified with the help of the local population and required to wear special yellow marks on their chests and backs. In September or October 1941, four separate ghettos were created in Gomel'. The resettlement of the Jews lasted about a week. On only half an hour's notice, they were escorted away, carrying with them nothing but bed linen. Later, local policemen and Germans returned to Jewish houses and took everything of value; what remained was put in a warehouse.[2]

The main ghetto in Gomel' was in the Monastyrek district. It housed some 800 Jews from the center of the city. The second ghetto was on Novo-Lubenskaia Street. It held about 500 people, including 97 Jews who were brought to Gomel' from Loiev. The third ghetto was on Bikhovskaia Street. The Jews who lived in Novo-Belitsa, on the left bank of the

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Sozh River, were put into a separate ghetto. In September 1941, 200 ghetto inmates were moved from Novo-Belitsa to Monastyrek. They were tortured, and the beards of the religious Jews were cut off.[3]

Very cramped quarters, unsanitary conditions, no medical care, and a lack of rudimentary conveniences were typical of all four ghettos. A single room of 20 square meters (215 square feet) was usually shared by seven people or more. They had almost no belongings, making housing them easier. The number of ghetto inmates rapidly declined due to disease, transfers, and killings.

Before the war, the Monastyrek district of Gomel' was populated by workers. It consisted mainly of one-room houses, with several families living in each. When the district became a ghetto, to accommodate more people, all the inner partitions in the houses were demolished, and three-tiered bunks were installed. All the inmates of the ghetto, including infants, were registered, and a list was compiled of specialists and intellectuals. The German authorities promised good jobs and meals, but in return the Jews were required to hand over all their money, furs, and gold and silver articles. After this initial demand was met, the Germans soon came back asking for more.

This procedure took place in all of Gomel's ghettos. Threatening to shoot hostages, the Germans collected wedding rings, gold and silver articles, coins, laundry and toilet soap, bedding, linen, clothing, and other items. German soldiers in groups and individually would go on "excursions" to Jewish houses, where they took all they wanted. Belorussian policemen followed suit.

The food was bad. Ghetto inmates, as well as POWs, were given a gruel made of buckwheat skins, barley bran, or frozen potatoes mixed with water. Later the inmates were given 150 to 200 grams (5.3 to 7 ounces) daily of "ersatz bread" made of acorns—and not even that every day. Not everyone received the gruel because they did not have their own dishes. Sometimes the food was just dumped into hats or cupped hands.

A significant number of Jews in the ghetto had large families or were aged or sick. Most of the inmates were women and children. There were almost no adult men or youths of draft age. Few of the elderly retained their illusions of the Germans as "a cultured nation" that had left the Jews alone in 1918 and even protected them from Russian "pogromists."

The ghettos were guarded vigilantly, and under threat of severe punishment, it was forbidden to leave them without special permission. Schwech, the military commandant of Gomel', issued an order that "all contact with Jews, such as greetings, handshakes, or conversation, must be avoided." It was prohibited to exchange goods and food, to communicate, or to pass on information. Those who violated the rules were beaten, deprived of food, and sent to penal jobs. Often such punishment was carried out in public as a lesson to others. Jews could be killed with impunity for any misdemeanor. Leaving the ghetto was allowed for only two reasons: going to work or transporting the dead to the cemetery. All inhabitants of the ghetto, including family members, were punished and could even be shot for leaving the ghetto without permission.[4]

Ghettos served as places where Jews were assembled and isolated for rapid extermination. Thus there were no long-term programs, health services, or sanitation measures. The inmates had to fend for themselves. Like the ghettos of the entire region, the ghettos in Gomel' resembled concentration camps. Jews were seldom sent to do work vitally needed for the city, the region, or the Wehrmacht. More often they were assigned to odd jobs—cutting firewood, rooting out stumps, sweeping and cleaning streets, emptying garbage pits, burying corpses, and removing unexploded mines, shells, and bombs. At railroad stations, Jews cleaned and washed carriages, loaded and unloaded them, moved sleeping cars, and cleaned spur tracks, roads, and the aerodrome.[5] At work, they were beaten with canes and whips, and the weak and the sick were shot. Refusal to go to work could end tragically. In Gomel', in September 1941, it was decreed that every fifth inmate would be shot if someone did not report for labor.[6]

Jews were deliberately not assigned professional jobs. Instead, intellectuals, doctors, teachers, engineers, and other professionals were given hard manual labor. Often they were forced to perform deliberately senseless and humiliating tasks—to drag big carts with tubs of water; to carry bricks, firewood, and garbage from one place to another; to dig pits and then fill them up again. Only in dire need did the Germans fall back on the expertise of Jewish "specialists," for whom temporary exceptions were made. An order of September 28, 1941, issued to the SS-Cavalry Brigade, which was operating in the region, read: "It is understood that craftsmen may be spared."[7]

From August through December 1941, the German occupiers systematically carried out the extermination of the Jews in Gomel'. They killed the first group of 10 people on the pretext that they had participated in sabotage shortly after the Germans entered the city. In October 1941, 52 Jews "who had posed as Russians" were executed. On the orders of Kommandant Preis-Müller, Sonderführer Hartman and Kracht murdered more Jews in the woods near Davidovka village on October 7 and 22.[8] Besides units of Einsatzgruppe B, SS units subordinated to the Reichsführer-SS headquarters staff, units of the Order Police, the Secret Field Police, the Gendarmerie, and other locally based units took part in the execution of Jews.[9]

Some of the Gomel' Jews died in prison and labor camps in the city itself and elsewhere in the Gomel' region. Hundreds of Jews died at the peat extraction site in Kabanovka and at other labor camps to which they had been moved from detention centers and ghettos. Executions were carried out in the prison yard, on the Gomel'-Chernigov highway, and at the third-, sixth-, and ninth-kilometer markers on the Rechitsa highway, among other sites. Most of those killed were shot at kilometer 3 (mile 1.9) of the Rechitsa highway, near the grounds of the machine-tractor repair shop and in the Leshchinets Forest area not far from Davidovka village.[10]

Burial of the dead was conducted with mockery. Excrement was dumped into the ditch with the bodies. Beginning in November 1941, crowds of German soldiers and officers would gather at the ditch with the bodies of those shot, laughing

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merrily and taking photographs. These activities took place almost daily as new German units arrived in the city.[11]

Early in November 1941, a notice in big letters appeared on the wall of the timber mill. It said that on the following day, under pain of death, no inhabitants were allowed to leave home before 9:00 A.M. By 6:00 A.M. the next morning, all the policemen of the third police district in Gomel' arrived at Monastyrek. Soon, about 100 men under the command of the Security Police showed up as well. Some of the policemen encircled the area of the ghetto. The others, together with the Germans, began driving Jews out of their homes by force. Inhabitants were not allowed to take anything with them. Several members of the eviction party put a bucket on the head of an old man and made him dance while they pounded on the bucket with sticks and laughed. Two mentally retarded youths were shot on the spot in their own house.[12]

By 10:00 A.M. the roundup was over. Six trucks were provided for those who could not walk on their own in the ragged column of those on foot. Children were tossed into the trucks "like heads of cabbage." The column was halted near the machine-tractor repair shop, where there was an antitank ditch. The Jews were forced to lie down in the ditch and then were shot with submachine guns. Many of them were buried alive. Eyewitnesses recounted that "the earth was breathing and steaming."[13] According to a report of Einsatzgruppe B, 2,365 Jews were "executed" in Gomel' in a special Aktion, which probably took place in November 1941.[14]

While Jews were being driven from the Monastyrek ghetto to the site of their execution, Vera Kozlova helped save Lazar Mill, from Gomel', and his friend David, who was from Novo-Belitsa. The young woman hid the pair in the attic of her house and later provided them with women's clothes that they used to escape safely from Gomel' to Novo-Belitsa over the Sozh River bridge. Lazar and David managed to find local partisans and joined their unit.[15]

Khana Khoroshina had ended up in the ghetto with her parents and younger brother. In November 1941, she fooled the guards and found shelter with the family of her school friend Ania Dereviashkin. The Dereviashkins hid her in the daytime and at night took her to another friend, Lida Mikhalkina, who at dawn escorted her back to the Dereviashkins. This procedure continued until May 1942, when Khana got the chance to become a guide for a blind woman who was going to the Krasnogorsk raion in Briansk oblast' of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Khana stayed there in a village until the Soviet army arrived.

In March 1942, a number of Jews were captured by the Gendarmerie in the countryside around Gomel' and were taken to the Gomel' prison, where they were subsequently shot by men of the Security Police.[16]

During 1942, Heinrich Himmler created special units known as Sonderkommando 1005, led by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel. Their task was to reopen graves, exhume and burn the corpses, and take other steps to conceal mass burial sites.[17] A detachment of Sonderkommando 1005 was active in Gomel'. Jews, POWs, and local inhabitants removed bodies from the pits and burned them in piles. Then tractors plowed up the ground, and it was sown with grass. The Red Army drove German forces out of Gomel' on November 26, 1943, in the Gomel'-Rechitsa offensive. During the years of occupation, the population of Gomel' had decreased from 145,217 in 1941 to 47,163 in May 1944, 32.5 percent of the pre-war level.[18]

When the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) arrived in Gomel', it determined that during the occupation the Germans and their accomplices had exterminated tens of thousands of people in prisons, four ghettos, and five POW camps.[19] Mass graves were discovered in the following locations: an antitank ditch on the grounds of Brilevsky Garden (2,500 victims); 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Gomel' in the woods between the villages of Davidovka and Leshchinets (12,000 victims); in the woods at the 7 kilometer (4.4 mile) marker on the Rechitsa highway beyond Davidovka (1,080 victims); 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from Gomel' on the other side of Davidovka (5,000 victims); on the grounds of the city jail (126 victims); and on Plekhanov Street (160 victims). Many Jews were among those shot in the antitank ditch on the grounds of the machine-tractor repair shop (6,000 people).[20]

SOURCES The following publications provide information on the ghettos in Gomel' and the extermination of the city's Jewish population: *Gomel' Oblast'* (Gomel', 1988); Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), pp. 28–29; Daniel Romanovsky, "Skol'ko evreev pogiblo v promyshlennykh raionakh Vostochnoi Belorussii v nachale nemetskoi okkupatsii (iul'-dekabr' 1941g.)?" *Vestnik evreiskogo universiteta* 22 (2000); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 213–214; "Kak eto bylo. Poslednie dni Gomel'skogo getto," *Edinstvo* (Gomel'), nos. 5–6 (1991); Aron Shneer, *Plen*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 2003); Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941–42," available at www.jewishgen.org/Belarus/newsletter/GomelGhettos.htm. The book *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), p. 58, contains information on people from Gomel' honored as Righteous Among the Nations.

Documents regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Gomel' can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBGO (file 234, vol. 6); GAGOMO (1345-1-9 and 15); GAOOGO; GARF (7021-85-217, 7021-85-413, 7021-85-415); NARA (N-Doc. NO-5520); NARB (4-33a-65, 861-1-12); RGASPI (69-1-818); USHMM; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-85-217, p. 14.
2. NARB, 861-1-6, p. 4.
3. GARF, 7021-85-413, p. 15; 7021-85-415, p. 40.
4. GAGOMO, 1345-1-9, pp. 4, 181–203, 226–227.

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5. Ibid., 1345-1-15, pp. 3–6.
6. NARB, 861-1-12, p. 25.
7. RGASPI, 69-1-818, p. 142.
8. From information addressed to P.K. Ponomarenko, secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party (Bolshevik), Belorussian Republic, GAOOGO, 144-5-1, p. 5.
9. YVA, O-53/3.
10. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 105.
11. YVA, M-33/479, p. 12; M-33/480, p. 42.
12. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, testimony of Tamara Kirick (born 1926).
13. Ibid., testimony of Adelia Bel'skaia (born 1904).
14. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 8 (December 1–31, 1941), in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion, 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 268.
15. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, testimony of Vera Kozlova (born 1919).
16. NARA, N-Doc. NO-5520, statement of Wilhelm Förster.
17. Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 29.
18. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, pp. 167–168, 218.
19. GAGOMO, 1345-1-12, p. 34.
20. From a report addressed to P.K. Ponomarenko, secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party (Bolshevik), Belorussian Republic, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 11.

GOMEL' (VITEBSK OBLAST')

Pre-1941: Gomel', village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gomel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Homel', Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

In the village of Gomel', located 21 kilometers (13 miles) south of Polotsk, the Jewish population in 1920 was 129 (out of a total population of 140).

The area was occupied by the German army in July 1941 and came under the administration of Rear Area, Army Group Center. In October 1941, 18 Jews, most or all of them men, were killed near the village of Sviatitsa, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of Gomel', by a German squad that had arrived from Vetrino. The victims were forced to dig their own grave. Zalman Kurman was forced to bury those killed, after which he was also killed. The rest of the Gomel' Jews, 80 people, were assembled in three houses; they were killed in January 1942, most probably by the same unit that perpetrated the murder of the Jews in Voronichi, close to the nearby village Dvor-Gomel' (1 kilometer [0.6 mile] north of Gomel'). The list of victims of the German occupiers in Gomel' compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in 1945 contains the names of 93 Jews. One Jewish woman married to a non-Jew survived both massacres.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210).

Daniel Romanovsky

GORKI

Pre-1941: Gorki, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Horki, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Gorki is located 60 kilometers (38 miles) northeast of Mogilev. In 1926, there were 2,343 Jews in Gorki, or 27.8 percent of the total population; in Gory, 14 kilometers (8.7 miles) east of Gorki, there were 355 Jews. In 1939, 2,031 Jews lived in the town, making up 16.3 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Gorki raion (without the town of Gorki) numbered 510 people, the largest number of whom lived in the small town of Gory and the village of Lenino (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] northeast of Gorki).

Gorki is the site of the Belorussian Agricultural Academy. Thus the authorities were most interested in evacuating the academy's equipment, students, and workers, including many Jews among the latter, who were evacuated in advance and in an organized manner. On June 27, Gorki underwent the first air raid, suffering heavy bombing. The authorities called on the population not to panic, which was interpreted as a prohibition on leaving the town without permission, but at the same time they started to organize the evacuation of state property and officials. On July 3 and 6, 1941, respectively, two evacuation trains left the local railway station, taking mainly students and workers from the academy. Then the raion party committee left Gorki. Some of the local Jews who did not work or study at the academy tried to evacuate on their own, mainly on foot.

Although many Jews left the town after July 6, the main flight from Gorki, according to eyewitness accounts, took place on July 12, hours before the town's capture by the Germans. Hundreds of people, both Jews and non-Jews, tried to leave; some of them perished during an aerial bombardment that day, many were intercepted by advancing German forces, and others succeeded in fleeing the town.

The German forces (XLVI Army Corps of the 4th Panzer Army, formerly 2nd Panzer Group) entered Gorki from the south on July 12, 1941. They were followed by units of the IX Army Corps, belonging to the 2nd Army. From August 1941, Gorki was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 286th Security Division; Gorki was under the control of Feldkommandantur 199.

When the Germans were entering Gorki, two young Komsomol members, "carrying out Stalin's order" (regarding scorched-earth tactics), set fire to the town, and part of Gorki burned. One of the arsonists, Faikin, was Jewish. According to a survivor's account, he managed to hide in the countryside but in 1942 was found by the Germans, most probably after some locals denounced him. One witness says that in 1942 she saw Faikin hanging on the gallows, with a board on his chest bearing the inscription: "I am a yid. When the Germans were coming, I carried out Stalin's order to burn down the town."[1]

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During the first days, the occupiers assembled the Jews on the square in front of the academy, formed them into a line, and announced their new regulations concerning the Jews. At this time, they imposed the wearing of "Jewish Stars" on clothing and established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Gorki.[2]

Despite the fact that some witnesses mention a ghetto in Gorki, most probably there was no formal ghetto in the town. However, since much of the town had burned, the Jews were collected together in the area of town known as Mstislavskaia Hill, or Mstislavka, on Mstislavskaia and Internatsionalnaia Streets. The Jewish residential area in Mstislavka was not fenced in,[3] but Jews were not permitted, or feared, to leave the area. Survivor accounts reflect a degree of fear towards the locals felt by the Jews.

Einsatzkommando 8 organized the mass murder of the Jews in Gorki on October 7, 1941.[4] In the morning, the Germans and Belorussian police assembled all the Jews at the Mstislavka area and escorted them to the Belyi Ruchei Forest, where they shot them all. Einsatzgruppe B reported that 2,200 Jews had been "liquidated in eight localities" in the Gorki area. It is unclear how many of these Jews were from Gorki. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jewish victims in the town at 300 people.[5]

Elsewhere in the raion, no fewer than 34 Jews were killed in Gory, and at least 19 Jews were killed in the suburban kolkhoz "3-ia Piatiletka" on the outskirts at Sloboda, most probably in August or September 1941. After an initial killing Aktion, a small ghetto composed of only two houses was established in Lenino for the few surviving Jews and those from nearby villages; they were killed later, in Gorki.[6] No fewer than 20 Jews were killed in the village of Rudkovshchina, 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Gorki along the P-15 road. Two Jews were killed in nearby Vereshchaki. One Jew was killed in the Sharipy sel'sovet (12 to 13 kilometers [about 8 miles] northwest of Gorki). In the village of Naprasnovka, Maslaki sel'sovet (25 kilometers [15.5 miles] west-northwest of Gorki), according to the interrogations made by the ChGK, on March 22, 1942, German forces killed 250 Jews; before the massacre, they imposed a "contribution" in gold and valuables on the Jews and beat them severely. The victims were buried in eight pits, 200 meters (219 yards) west of Naprasnovka.[7]

SOURCES The book by W.M. Livshyts, *Ishlo w byassmertsa Horatskae heta* (Orsha, 1995), contains a short description of the Holocaust in Gorki and a list of the victims.

The documents of the ChGK for the Gorki raion can be found in GARF (7021-88-36). Relevant German documentation is located in BA-BL and BA-MA (RH 26-286/6). Witness statements can be found in YVA (O-3/4657-67) and VHF (# 42387).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4660.
2. Ibid., O-3/4659.
3. VHF, # 42387, mentions a "Jewish street" but notes that it was not enclosed by barbed wire.
4. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133.
5. GARF, 7021-88-36.
6. Stefan Yevmenenko, YVA O-3/4666. See also **Lenino**.
7. GARF, 7021-88-36, pp. 9–10. See also **Naprasnovka**.

GORODETS

Pre-1941: Gorodets, village, Rogachev raion, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodez, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Haradzets, Rahachou raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Gorodets is located about 85 kilometers (53 miles) north-northwest of Gomel'. In 1926, the Jewish population of Gorodets was 607, comprising 69 percent of the total.

German forces occupied the village on July 9, 1941. Many Jews managed to flee east into the Soviet interior. According to the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, in September 1941, the Jews in Gorodets, composed of 200 local Jews and 400 refugees from Bobruisk and other settlements, were concentrated within a large building where they were confined for a month under conditions of overcrowding, starvation, and abuse. In October the Jews were brought to the Brogtsev camp, and then on November 6, most of them were executed nearby. Those that escaped this Aktion were murdered in February 1942.

One Soviet source also indicates that the German occupying authorities established a ghetto in Gorodets in September 1941, which existed for about one month before it was liquidated in October.[1]

SOURCES Publications mentioning the fate of the Jews of Gorodets during the Holocaust include the following: 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), p. 445; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 108; and Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941–42," available at www.jewishgen.org/Belarus/newsletter/GomelGhettos.htm.

Documentation relating to the ghetto in Gorodets can be found in the following archive: GAGOMO (1345-1-15).

Martin Dean

NOTE

1. GAGOMO, 1345-1-15, p. 55.

GORODOK

Pre-1941: Gorodok, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Haradok, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

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Gorodok is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) north-northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,584 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.7 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Gorodok raion (without the town of Gorodok) constituted 136 people.

German forces (18th Motorized Division of the LVII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group) occupied Gorodok on July 11, 1941.[1] Before its capture, the Luftwaffe bombed the town heavily on July 4. This early air raid, as well as the fact that Gorodok was situated on a railway, precipitated the evacuation and mass flight of much of the town's population, including many Jews. After the war, Gorodok had a comparatively large Jewish population,[2] which probably indicates that quite a number of Jews successfully left the town.

Gorodok was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center; it was situated in the realm of the 403rd Security Division and Ortskommandantur 763, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 815. The names of the local collaborators of the Nazis are not well documented. A survivor stated that the registration of the Jews in Gorodok was carried out by someone called Binya Shklyar; it is unclear whether he was the chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat).

Shortly after the beginning of the occupation, the German authorities registered all the Jews, and then they introduced the wearing of yellow patches on their clothes and forced labor. Eyewitnesses recollect that some labor tasks were of a purely humiliating character. For example, one day the Jews of Gorodok were forced to pull up grass in the town using their bare hands. On another occasion, according to an eyewitness account, the Germans organized the systematic robbery of the Jews. A witness recalls: "Germans, together with local policemen [*politsais*] entered the more affluent Jewish houses, dragged out their property, showed the [Belo-] Russians the Jewish belongings, and suggested that people take some of it; but the best things were taken by [the Germans] themselves." According to the witness, some Belorussians took Jewish possessions, but others refused.[3] The same witness recalls a pogrom that took place in the town: "A real pogrom, I knew about such things only from books!"[4] At the same time, according to another witness, the Germans did not close the synagogue in Gorodok initially, and some Jews gathered for prayer there; some others, however, feared that the Germans would take them from the synagogue and gathered for a *minyan* in a private house on Karl-Marx Street.[5]

From July 20 to the middle of August 1941, a subunit (Teilkommando) of Sonderkommando 7a was based in Gorodok. In charge of the Teilkommando was Obersturmführer Richard Foltis of the SD. During this period the Jewish Council was established. Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of Dr. Walter Blume, organized the first, "partial" shooting of Jews in the town in the first half of August. On the day of the Aktion, the Teilkommando, reinforced by other men from Sonderkommando 7a, assembled 120 to 200 people, healthy men and several young and healthy women, under the pretext of assigning them to construction work. The people were told to report to the assembly place with shovels. The order did not alarm the Jews (since forced labor was a routine occurrence). Once the people had assembled, the Germans escorted them to the village of Berezovka (1.5 kilometers [about 1 mile] south of the town) and shot them there. During the Aktion, a Jewish man was shot while trying to escape.[6] Only after this first shooting did the Germans establish a ghetto in Gorodok for the remaining Jewish population.

The ghetto was situated in the center of town, on a slope, a steep bank of the Gorozhanka River. It was fenced on three sides with barbed wire, and on the fourth side, the river formed its boundary. According to witnesses, the fence was erected within two weeks of the Jews being resettled into the ghetto area. At the highest point of the ghetto fence, a watchtower was built, and a guard watched over the ghetto. The ghetto consisted of a building belonging to a former technical college (*tekhnikum*) and several houses. The tekhnikum building was in poor condition: its windowpanes were broken, as were the stoves.

The ghetto prisoners did not receive any food. Some children managed to get through the barbed wire and bring some food into the ghetto. However, contagious diseases soon spread among the ghetto population. Thus there was a high rate of mortality inside the ghetto. The corpses were taken from the rooms to a corridor. From time to time, the Germans took out small groups of Jews and murdered them. For example, several days after the ghetto was established, on one morning, the Germans took 20 Jews out of the ghetto and shot them.

At some stage, the ghetto prisoner Sonya Dobromyslova, "Di Sheine," in an attempt to stop the epidemics, succeeded in persuading the town's authorities to permit the ghetto's Jews to wash themselves in the public bath adjacent to the ghetto perimeter and to cleanse themselves of lice. The Jews washed themselves, but after a few days, local policemen entered the ghetto and took a rather large group of Jews to be shot.

On October 14, 1941, the Gorodok ghetto was liquidated; its remaining 394 inhabitants were shot on the pretext of the danger of epidemics spreading to the non-Jewish population.[7] On that day at 4:00 A.M., the Germans and the local police escorted the remaining Jews through the Volkov Posad area of the town to the forest at the Vorob'evy Hills. The route was exhausting (the path went uphill), and many ghetto inmates were old, and all were emaciated, so the guards shot some Jews on the way. At the Vorob'evy Hills, members of the SS shot the Jews in pits that had been dug beforehand. After the mass shooting, the ghetto was burned down.

SOURCES A rather small book on non-Jews who rescued Jews in the Vitebsk region, by A. Shulman and M. Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voinoi* (Vitebsk, 1997), describes, among other things, the Holocaust in Gorodok. The article by A. Shulman, "Evreiskii Gorodok," *Mishpokha* 4 (1998), also deals with the ghetto of Gorodok.

Documentation on the Holocaust in the Gorodok raion can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/220); GARF (7021-84-5); LG-Ess (29 Ks 2/65); and YVA (TR 10/388 and TR 10/388a; O-3/4602-4607).

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NOTES

1. N.K. Andriushchenko, *Na zemle Belorussii letom 1941 goda* (Minsk, 1985), pp. 143–144.
2. According to Shulman, in 1980 there were 202 people in Gorodok whose nationality recorded on their passports was "Jew." See Shulman, "Evreiskii Gorodok," p. 54.
3. YVA, O-3/4603 (Anna Kuksinskaya).
4. Ibid. Some hints on the pogrom may also be found in Shulman and Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voinoi*, p. 29.
5. YVA, O-3/4607 (Galina Bukhbinder).
6. Ibid., O-3/4602, 4603, 4605, and 4607; LG-Ess, 29 Ks 2/65, verdict of December 22, 1966. See also *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, vyp. 12, p. 58.
7. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 149.

GRODZIANKA

Pre-1941: Grodzianka, *town*, *Osipovichi raion*, *Mogilev oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Grodsjanka*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Hradzianka*, *Asipovichy raen*, *Mahiliou voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Grodzianka is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 150 Jews living in Grodzianka, out of a total population of 1,247.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village on July 1, 1941, about 10 days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. In this intervening period, a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were inducted into the Red Army. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) named Mukin, the former director of the post office, and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Grodzianka. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor without pay; and they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village.

On August 15, 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in the village. In its course, a few dozen Jews (probably mainly Jewish men) were rounded up and taken to the Christian cemetery. Apparently this site was chosen as a special humiliation for some of the Jews who still observed their religion. Threatening them with automatic weapons, the Germans forced the Jews to dig a long trench in the cemetery. Then the Germans made them lie down in groups in the trench, where they shot them in the back of the head. For several days afterwards, the ground continued to move on top of the mass grave.[1]

In the summer or fall of 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews of Grodzianka, together with Jews from the surrounding small villages, to move into a small ghetto. After the Jews were rounded up and resettled into the ghetto, some local inhabitants stole the property that was left behind in the vacated houses, arguing that the Jews would not need these items anymore. The ghetto was located near the railway not far from the post office in the former Vinokur house: a long structure made of wood, which was reminiscent of a barracks. The house was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police. Because the available accommodation was insufficient, some Jews had to sleep on the floor or even outside. The German authorities did not provide the Jews with food. The Jews, including some children, had to sneak out of the ghetto at great risk to beg or barter for food from their non-Jewish neighbors. Some people helped them, but others chased them away immediately. It was only through such support in the village that the Jews could stay alive in the ghetto.[2]

The area around Grodzianka became a center of Soviet partisan resistance during the winter of 1941–1942. Some Jews from the village managed to escape from the ghetto and served with the Soviet partisans. Parents of young children also tried to smuggle them to safety by hiding them with non-Jews in the surrounding countryside. The Germans threatened to kill anyone caught hiding Jews, however, and many people were reluctant to give them shelter. In Grodzianka, the Germans and local police could shoot a Jew with impunity if they were in a bad mood or as a reprisal for the latest partisan attack.[3]

The ghetto in Grodzianka was liquidated on March 4, 1942, when 86 of the 92 Jews then present in the ghetto were shot. The shooting was carried out on the instructions of the commander of Kampfgruppe Dietrich, Police Captain Karl Dietrich. This Kampfgruppe had been formed in Mogilev in late February 1942 to combat partisans; it consisted of four companies of Ukrainian police, with German SS and police officials playing leadership roles in these companies. In response to several partisan attacks against the German outposts in the area between Klichev and Cherven', Kampfgruppe Dietrich was combing the region from east to west in early March 1942, when it encountered the small ghetto in Grodzianka. The shooting itself was conducted by Ukrainian police of the 2nd Company, commanded by Police Lieutenant Willi Schulz. The Ukrainians escorted the Jews, mostly women, the elderly, and children, under close guard to a large pit that had been dug on the morning of the Aktion on the edge of the forest. The Ukrainians shot the Jews in the pit, using rifles and pistols. After a time, the scene at the mass grave became increasingly chaotic, with the Ukrainians shooting almost randomly at the Jews who had been herded into the pit, with the result that many of the victims may only have been wounded when the pit was covered with earth.[4]

In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the names of 93 murdered Jews are listed.[5]

For the shooting of Jews in Grodzianka, as well as for other crimes, Willi Schulz was sentenced in 1967 to six years and six months in prison.

SOURCES Publications containing relevant information about the murder of the Jews of Grodzianka include: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vols. 22 (Lfd. Nr. 604) and 25 (Lfd. Nr. 644); and

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My ne mozhem molchat': Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste, *Vypusk 4: Sbornik*, comp. D.V. Prokudin, ed. I.A. Al'tman (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008), p. 31. The testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko (Lanevskaia) can be accessed at www.mishpoha.org/library/04/0415.shtml.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Grodzianka can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko (Lanevskaia), available at www.mishpoha.org/library/04/0415.shtml.
2. Ibid.; this source seems to imply that the ghetto was established before the August 1941 Aktion. See also, however, V. Zaitseva and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in Al'tman, *My ne mozhem molchat'*, p. 31.
3. Testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko.
4. See the verdict of Landgericht Detmold (2 Ks 1/65), December 22, 1965, against Karl Dietrich, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 22, Lfd. Nr. 604; and the verdict of Landgericht Detmold (2 Ks 2/66), February 16, 1967, against Willi Schulz, in idem, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 644.
5. GARF, 7021-82-5, pp. 170–173.

IANOVICHI

Pre-1941: Ianovichi, *town*, *Surazh raion*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Janowitschi*, *Rayon Surasch*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ianavichy*, *Vitsebsk raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Ianovichi is located about 36 kilometers (22.5 miles) east-northeast of Vitebsk and 13 kilometers (8 miles) south of Surazh. Ianovichi had a more significant Jewish population than the raion center, Surazh. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, Ianovichi had 709 Jewish residents (34.8 percent of the total population). In the town of Surazh, there were 461 Jews in 1939 (15.4 percent of the population). The rural Jewish population of the Surazh raion (excluding the towns of Surazh and Ianovichi) was fewer than 100 people.

Ianovichi was captured by the Germans most likely on July 12, 1941, the same day as Surazh. According to the witnesses, an avalanche of refugees passed through Ianovichi from Vitebsk on July 9; not many Jews from Ianovichi joined this wave. The survivors blame local physician Dr. Yefim Lifshits, who had studied in Germany and who dissuaded local Jews from evacuating, claiming that the Germans were a "cultured people" and would not harm the Jews.

The mayor of the Ianovichi volost' under the German occupation was Vasilii F. Vysotskii. The Germans established a Jewish Council in Ianovichi; its head was Dr. Lifshits, and his deputy was Labkovskii, the pharmacist.

Jews had to perform forced labor, mainly improving roads and constructing a military airfield. The Jews who had been members of the pre-war kolkhoz "International" continued their agricultural work. At the beginning of August, the Jews were registered, on the orders of the local German commandant, Daum.

In the neighboring town of Surazh, it appears that no ghetto was formed. The murder of the Jews of Surazh was one of the first Aktions in the region in which the Germans annihilated all the Jews in one location. Einsatzkommando 9 carried out the murder of the Jews of Surazh on August 15, in conjunction with an antipartisan operation.[1] The record of the exhumation carried out by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated that 674 persons were killed; some of the victims were not local Jews but Jewish refugees from Vitebsk who failed to leave Surazh before the Germans arrived.[2]

Sometime in the middle of August, Einsatzkommando 9 also sent a detachment to Ianovichi. This unit carried out the first mass shooting of Jews in the town; an eyewitness states that it was the same group that acted in Surazh: Schneider's detachment. On August 15 (according to other sources, August 17 or even 19), 1941, the detachment selected 149 Jews, mostly young and healthy men, with shovels, for some "forced labor." At the same time, the local police surrounded the town, cordoning off the exits. The SS took the men to a square in the town's center and ordered them to sit down on the ground, to look ahead and not to turn their heads. After all the men were assembled in the square, they were brought to Valki village, 1.5 to 2 kilometers (about 1 mile) southeast of the town, and shot there. The Einsatzkommando described those killed as "NKVD spies and political functionaries."[3]

Only after this first shooting was a ghetto established in Ianovichi. All non-Jews were resettled from an area adjacent to the Vitebsk road (Unishevskogo Street), and Jews were settled in this area. The ghetto was divided into two parts by the Tadulino road, and non-Jews were permitted to use this road. Jews and non-Jews were prohibited from communicating with one another. The ghetto was not provided with food, but there were some vegetable plots within its area, which helped the inmates sustain themselves. Some youngsters ventured through the barbed wire surrounding the ghetto and exchanged items for bread. Every time the Germans discovered that the barbed-wire fence was damaged, they beat Lifshits.

The ghetto was liquidated on September 10, 1941. On this day, Einsatzkommando 9 appeared once more in Ianovichi, assembled the rest of the ghetto population—women, children, and old people—brought them in trucks to the village of Zaitsevo, around 5 kilometers (about 3 miles) east-northeast of Ianovichi, and shot them there in an antitank ditch. The SS did not even attempt to conceal this Aktion. According to eyewitnesses (peasants of the Zaitsevo village), the first batch of victims that was brought to the execution site from the ghetto consisted of young girls; the Einsatzkommando men raped them and then shot them. Only after this was the rest of the ghetto population brought to the site, some in trucks, others on foot.[4] The Einsatzgruppe reported that 1,025 Jews of Ianovichi "underwent special treatment" because of the danger of an epidemic.[5]

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The Jewish survivors from Ianovichi who were interviewed after the war refer to their wartime non-Jewish neighbors with great bitterness. For example, witness B.E. says that with the coming of the Germans, the attitude of the local population towards the Jews changed drastically: "The locals could come to a Jew and take away whatever they wanted, even a cow. . . . [Belo-]Russian boys turned their backs on the Jewish boys straight away, even those with whom [we] had studied at school. They broke off all communication [with Jews] openly/demonstratively . . . some pointed their finger at us: 'Jew-mug' [*zhidovskaia morda*]; they might also beat you with a stick."[6] The non-Jewish witnesses from Ianovichi who were interviewed at the same time express no less acrimony towards their former Jewish neighbors, attesting that they were cowards. All this indicates that relations between Jews and non-Jews during the German occupation were poor. On the other hand, the same B.E. describes a peasant who came to the Tadulino road and threw a parcel of food over the ghetto fence.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the former Surazh raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-13 and 13a). The events in Surazh and Ianovichi are mentioned in the Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 73 and 92 of the SD. They were also discussed at the trial of the former members of Einsatzkommando 9 held in 1961 in Berlin; the materials of the trial can be found, for example, in YVA (TR-10/388 and TR-10/388a), as can eyewitness accounts of the events in Surazh and Ianovichi (O-3/4611-4618).

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NOTES

1. YVA, TR-10/388a (Berlin trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 [Filbert] held in 1961), p. 47; the ChGK dates the mass murder of the Jews in Surazh as July 28 or August 2, 1941.
2. GARF, 7021-84-13, 7021-84-13a; YVA, TR-10/388.
3. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73; see also YVA, O-3/4613, 4614, and 4615.
4. GARF, 7021-92-220.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92; also YVA, TR-10/388, p. 69; also YVA, O-3/4614.
6. YVA, O-3/4614.

KHOLOPENICHI

Pre-1941: Kholopenichi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Cholopenitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khalopenichy, Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kholopenichi is located about 114 kilometers (71 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 500 people. In addition, another 388 Jews resided in the remainder of the Kholopenichi raion. Most of these Jews probably resided in the small village of Shamki (Schamki), about 6 kilometers (4 miles) to the northwest of Kholopenichi, which had been founded as a Jewish agricultural colony in the late nineteenth century and had a population of 310 Jews in 1925.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 5, 1941. During the occupation, which lasted until the summer of 1944, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. An auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from local inhabitants. In early October 1941, the 3rd Battalion of Infantry Regiment 354 was based in Kholopenichi and presumably ran the Ortskommandantur at that time.[1]

Very little information is available about the living conditions of the Jews in Kholopenichi and Shamki during the summer of 1941. It is known that a number of refugees from other towns further to the west, including Minsk and Borisov, became trapped there by the German advance and were housed together with the local Jews. In nearby Zembin, the Jews were registered and moved into a ghetto by August 1941, on instructions from SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann of Einsatzkommando 8, then based in Borisov. It is possible that a similar procedure was carried out in Kholopenichi, which also lay within Schönemann's area of operations. On the basis of evidence given in the trial of David Egof, the head of the Belorussian police in Borisov in the fall of 1941, and other investigative sources, historian Christian Gerlach and also *The Black Book with Red Pages* refer to the existence of ghettos in both Kholopenichi and Shamki by September 1941.

In late September 1941, a German punitive detachment of more than 100 men armed with submachine guns arrived in Kholopenichi. The unit was composed of a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Borisov commanded by Schönemann, together with German soldiers of the 12th Company, Infantry Regiment 354,[2] and members of the local Belorussian police. On the pretext of resettling the Jewish population to another locality, the German soldiers went to all the Jewish houses and gathered the Jews on the premises of a social club. Those who were unable to walk were taken in carts. In total, around 800 people were collected there. Then under heavy guard, they all were escorted from the social club to the "Kamennyi log" (Stone Ravine) 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town, where they were shot. On that same day, also at the Kamennyi log, the punitive detachment shot a number of additional Jews who had been brought there from the village of Shamki. The German punitive detachment forced 36 local inhabitants, at gunpoint, to bury the corpses. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report estimates that altogether the German detachment shot 1,600 "innocent citizens" from Kholopenichi and Shamki.[3] However, in light of the 1939 population figures and the likelihood that some Jews had managed to evacuate, the total number of victims was probably just over half this number.

According to the report of the Einsatzgruppen no. 124, dated October 25, 1941, a large Aktion was conducted in Cholopenitschi (Kholopenichi), in which 822 Jews were "liquidated." The alleged reason for the complete liquidation of the Jews there was to prevent them from providing any possible support to the numerous partisans said to be operating in the area.[4]

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SOURCES The existence of a "ghetto" in Kholopenichi is mentioned in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229; and Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 586–587, which cites a number of German investigative sources. Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 126, however, refer only to a site of destruction of the Jewish population.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Kholopenichi and Shamki can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-L; BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-87-16); NARB (861-1-8, p. 195); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
2. The Aktion in Kholopenichi is mentioned in the diary of Richard Heidenreich, as cited by Hannes Heer, "Killing Fields: Die Wehrmacht und der Holocaust," in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995), p. 61. According to the research of Christian Gerlach (*Kalkulierte Morde*), however, the Aktion is misdated in this source as taking place in October—other more reliable sources indicate September 25, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-87-16, p. 4. This source dates the Aktion in early September 1941.
4. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

KHOTIMSK

Pre-1941: Khotimsk, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Chotimsk, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khotsimsk, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Khotimsk is located about 168 kilometers (105 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. The Jewish population in 1939 was 786 (roughly a quarter of the total).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Khotimsk on August 15, 1941, less than seven weeks after the German attack on the Soviet Union. During that interval, a number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while the local authorities called up eligible men to serve in the Red Army. However, several hundred Jews remained in Khotimsk under the Germans. Throughout the occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Khotimsk. The Ortskommandantur established an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

By order of the military commandant soon after the occupation, the local authorities registered the Jews, required them to wear distinguishing patches, and assigned them to various kinds of forced labor. Jews were also forbidden to leave the town on pain of death.

Little information is available about the living conditions of the remaining Jews in Khotimsk between the summer of 1941 and the summer of 1942. It appears that some Jews from other towns where massacres had already occurred arrived in Khotimsk, warning the inhabitants of their likely fate.

On July 12, 1942, the Germans collected the Jewish population of Khotimsk in the building of a Jewish school under the guise of registration and tortured them in various ways. During this roundup, they shot 24 Jews.[1] The Jews were then held in the school building as a makeshift ghetto for almost two months, under conditions of hunger and overcrowding. During this period some Jews were taken to prepare large pits. Fearing the worst, the pharmacist poisoned himself and his family, rather than submit to being shot by the Germans.[2] On September 3–5, 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, assisted by men of Reserve Police Battalion 91 (which was stationed in Khotimsk from July 1942), shot more than 300 Jews, mostly women, children, and the elderly, at the site of the flax mill.[3]

A number of Jews were active in the Soviet partisan groups in the Khotimsk region, including Boris Veniaminovich Levertov, who was decorated with the order of the Red Banner. Soviet partisan detachments disrupted German communications and blew up trains.[4]

SOURCES Relevant publications concerning the fate of the Jews in Khotimsk during the Nazi-German occupation include *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 471; and 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), p. 621.

Information concerning the extermination of the Jews in Khotimsk may be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAMO; GARF (7021-88-47 and 532); NARA (T-315, reel 1678); NARB (4683-3-1047); USHMM (RG-22.002M); VHF (# 44385); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. NARA, T-315, reel 1678, p. 72, KTB Sich. Div. 221 Ia, July 12, 1942; GARF, 7021-88-532, p. 18. These sources corroborate each other, giving July 12, 1942, as the date of ghettoization. On the existence of a ghetto, see also NARB, 4683-3-1047, p. 58.
2. VHF, # 44385, testimony of Galina Myrkina (born 1923), interviewed in 1998.
3. BA-L, ZStL, V 205 AR 512/63, vol. 1, pp. 90, 155 ff., 213–214, and vol. 8, p. 1023. According to *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 471, the ghetto was liquidated on September 4, 1942, with 800 victims. This figure is almost certainly too high. GARF,

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7021-88-532, gives the figure of 652 Jewish victims, probably for the entire German occupation.

4. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages* (*Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews*) (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 387–389.

KLICHEV

Pre-1941: Klichev, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Klitschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klichau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Klichev is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Mogilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 433 Jews living in Klichev.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the area around Klichev in early July 1941. Some Jews managed to escape in time to the interior of the Soviet Union. According to some sources, the Germans established a ghetto in Klichev in the second half of 1941, which may have contained up to 600 Jews. In early 1942, German forces liquidated the ghetto, shooting 300 Jews at the Jewish cemetery.

In April 1942, German forces reported that Klichev had been captured by Soviet partisans, resulting in the burning of grain storage facilities. German forces recaptured the town shortly afterwards. The Red Army drove out the German occupation forces in the summer of 1944. A small number of Jews managed to survive the German occupation in and around Klichev, either in hiding or by joining the Soviet partisan forces, which were very active in this region.

SOURCES The ghetto in Klichev is mentioned in the following publications: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 442; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 299, 309; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:108.

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KLIMOVICHI

Pre-1941: Klimovichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Klimowitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klimavichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Klimovichi is situated 124 kilometers (77 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 1,693 Jews lived in the town, making up 17.7 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Klimovichi raion (without the town of Klimovichi) constituted 706 people, the bulk of whom lived in the town of Rodnia (16 kilometers [10 miles] southeast of Klimovichi) and in the villages of Lazovitsa (6 kilometers [4 miles] southeast of Klimovichi), Miloslavichi (25 kilometers [15.5 miles] northeast of Klimovichi), Khotovizh, and Karpachi (15 kilometers [9 miles] north of Klimovichi).

Klimovichi lies on a railway line. A more or less organized evacuation began on July 5, but it did not involve the whole population. For example, on July 14 all the Communist Party authorities (the raion committee, or *raikom*) with their families evacuated in 30 trucks;[1] there were some Jews among these party leaders. According to survivors, most of the Jews tried to leave the town independently in August 1941, many of them in horse-drawn carts. Some of the first refugees successfully escaped the Germans; those who left later and those who headed eastward, in the direction of Khotimsk and Roslavl', did not. According to witnesses, many of those who attempted to evacuate were forced to return to their houses, which had been completely plundered by the local population in the meantime.

German forces belonging to the 2nd Panzer Group (commanded by Heinz Guderian) took Klimovichi in the course of the Roslavl' operation. Roslavl', an important railway junction northeast of Klimovichi, fell to the Germans on August 3, 1941, thereby cutting off the main route out of town to the east. On August 9, 1941, the 3rd Panzer Division of the XXIV Army Corps entered Klimovichi. The Germans had captured the entire raion by October 8–10. Klimovichi came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The 221st Security Division controlled the area;[2] Feldkommandantur 549 exerted authority in Klimovichi.

The Germans put together a local administration in Klimovichi in which a man named Ustinovich served; he is described by witnesses as "the chief of the Russian Gestapo." Appointed as Jewish elder was Froim Rodin, the former head of the town's fire brigade. The military authorities ordered Jews to affix "Jewish stars" to their clothes (on the chest and on the back) and to houses owned by Jews. Jews had to perform various types of forced labor and were subjected to many other restrictions on their liberty. The man who supervised Jewish forced labor was Shcherbakov, a former Russian member of the Jewish kolkhoz in Mikhalin.[3]

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans took 10 or 12 prominent Jewish men and formed a "committee" headed by Shcherbakov, which had to collect gold and any other valuables in the possession of Jews. When these men failed to collect the full sum that the Germans demanded, the latter took them and Rodin as hostages and placed them in the local prison, in the building of a former bank. After having held the hostages in the prison for about 10 days, the Germans and the local police (*politsais*) shot all of them except one, a bricklayer.

According to one account, the "contribution" that led to these murders was the second one; it was preceded by a first "contribution," which the Jews had collected in full. According to another account, in mid-October the Germans resettled the Jews of Klimovichi on one street, forming an "open ghetto."[4]

On November 6, 1941, the Belorussian police sent younger Jews to work near the alcohol plant. After that, the Germans and the politsais began to round up the rest of the Jews from their houses. The Jews were told to take warm clothes and

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valuables with them. They were then brought along the Timonovo Road to the area of a former airfield, 500 meters (547 yards) south or southwest of Klimovichi, and placed in unused garages near the town's hospital. From this place, the Jews—who had been told to leave all their belongings in the garage—were taken in batches of 10 or 15 people and shot in a former fuel storage pit near the airfield. Men of the 221st Security Division organized the massacre, aided by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9.[5] The witnesses attest that the killers were not the SS in black but "Germans in green uniform." Some of the killing was perpetrated by the politsais; some children were killed with shovels rather than by guns. According to other accounts, the perpetrators tossed Jewish children into the pit, which contained some water, and the children drowned.[6] Many were buried alive.

Some of those sent by the Germans to perform labor in the morning managed to survive. The politsais let them go home at 3:00 P.M. Many succeeded in fleeing from Klimovichi. According to some witnesses, it was German soldiers at the alcohol plant who warned the young Jews that their relatives were all being killed at this time.[7]

After the large-scale murder Aktion on November 6, the Germans sold items previously belonging to the Jews in a shop. The Germans kept the specialist workers alive, and together with the politsais they caught many of the Jews who had fled from Klimovichi on the day of the murder and put them into the prison. Witnesses estimate that together with the specialists there were about 80 Jews in the prison (and perhaps also in an adjacent house). After some days, these Jews were also sent to perform forced labor tasks.

Sometime in December (or on November 27–28) 1941, the SS came to Klimovichi and shot those Jews who had fled from the Aktion on November 6. The Jews were taken directly from their working place, led to "Chalk Hill," the location of a former lime plant, and shot there. Again, some young Jews managed to flee.[8] According to the survivor Leitus, in the first days of December, the Nazis transferred Jews from the nearby villages of Golovchin, Krugloe, and Pelshichi to Klimovichi, held them several days in a makeshift ghetto, and on December 12, killed them.[9] It is unclear whether she is describing the same murder Aktion or another one.

The specialists were killed later, maybe in 1943, in the Vydrenka Forest, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jews killed in Klimovichi at 900; the same number was inscribed on the monument erected at the site of the large massacre by the victims' relatives in the late 1950s. The relatives reburied those who had been killed at Vydrenka and Chalk Hill at the same place, the site of the large massacre. Most probably, about 700 of these victims were killed on November 6, 1941: Einsatzgruppe B reported that as part of an antipartisan sweep conducted by units of Security Division 221, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 shot 786 Jews of both sexes in Klimovichi and Cherikov.[10]

In April 1943, some SS men appeared in Klimovichi. With the support of the Belorussian police and the "chief of the Russian Gestapo" Ustinovich, they carried out the extermination of children of mixed origins (those with non-Jewish mothers and Jewish fathers). They assembled seven non-Jewish women married to Jews and put them in the local prison. Then they took away all their children, and on April 12 (or 13), 1943, in the night they killed them at the same prison, according to one witness, "without any of the children making a sound" (most probably, the children were poisoned). The children were buried at Vydrenka Hill. The same squad also carried out the murder of Gypsy women and of Belorussian women ill with certain diseases.[11]

According to witnesses, Jewish and non-Jewish relations were quite good in Klimovichi both before and under the German occupation. Of those Jews who were in Klimovichi when the Germans entered the town, 15 managed to survive the German occupation—many of them because non-Jews hid them. Raya Shkolnikova was even hidden by a Belorussian policeman. Non-Jews provided Jews with food. At the same time, many Belorussians and Russians volunteered to serve in the police and collaborated with the Gestapo, participating in the denunciation of Jews. Many Jews were denounced by their former non-Jewish neighbors.

Elsewhere in the raion, in Miloslavichi, the Nazis shot no fewer than 115 Jews.[12] In Khotovizh, 40 Jewish and 7 Gypsy families were killed near the Jewish cemetery.[13] At the kolkhoz "Bliung" (literally meaning "flourishing" in Yiddish; 7 kilometers [4.4 miles] north of Klimovichi), at least 8 Jews were killed, and in Kuleshovka (20 kilometers [12.4 miles] north of Klimovichi), 6 Jews. In the village of Khodun (18 kilometers [11.2 miles] north of Klimovichi), a Jewish woman married to a Belorussian was killed. In Rodnia on December 17 (another version: on the night of December 8–9), 1941, about 50 or 60 Jews were taken from their homes and shot in a depression near the Jewish cemetery.[14] In Dubrovitsa (19 kilometers [11.8 miles] west of Klimovichi), 4 Jews were killed, and in nearby Popekhinka (17 kilometers [10.6 miles] west-southwest of Klimovichi), 1. In Pisliatino (25 kilometers [15.5. miles] east of Klimovichi), 5 Jews were killed. In the sel'sovet Semenovka (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] southeast of Klimovichi), 2 Jews were killed.

SOURCES The essay by Sh. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," appeared in Moshe Zhidovetskii, ed., *Sbornik statei po evreiskoi istorii i literature* (Rehovot, Israel, 1992), pp. 857–876.

The documents of the ChGK for the Klimovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-15 and 7021-88-38); relevant German documentation is located in BA-MA (RH 31-770 and RH 26-221/156); witness statements and other documentation can be found in YVA (O-3/4726–O-3/4736; and M-29. FR/213).

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NOTES

1. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," p. 860.
2. BA-MA, RH 26-221/156.
3. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," p. 863. It is unclear whether Shcherbakov was the mayor.

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4. GARF, 7021-88-38.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December, 19, 1941.
6. GARF, 7021-88-38.
7. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," p. 870.
8. Ibid., p. 871; also YVA, O-3/4730.
9. YVA, O-3/4732.
10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 9.
11. Witnesses Polina Stelmakova and Tatyana Nemkina, YVA, O-3/4729, O-3/4735.
12. GARF, 7021-84-15.
13. *Pamiats': Klimavitskii raion* (Minsk: Universitetskae, 1995), pp. 386–387.
14. GARF, 7021-84-15.

KOKHANOVO

Pre-1941: Kokhanovo, village, Tolochin raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kochanowo, Rayon Tolotschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kokhanau, Talachyn raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kokhanovo is situated about 27 kilometers (19 miles) east-southeast of Orsha. In 1926, the Jewish population of the village was 480.

German forces captured the village in early July 1941. According to Gennadii Vinnitsa, the ghetto was established in September 1941, on Orshanskaia Street; it took up half the street. Apart from the local Jews, Jewish inhabitants from the village of Galoshevo were also brought into the ghetto. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reported that 300 people were confined within the ghetto, which was surrounded by a fence and barbed wire.[1] Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans ordered the shooting of 15 Jewish youths, apparently in reprisal for some real or suspected act of resistance. According to a local witness, the Solovei family, consisting of four people, was also killed by the Germans in punishment for the flight of 15-year-old Meyer Solovei from the ghetto.[2] Another ghetto inmate named Gil' escaped from the ghetto several times but was forced to return on each occasion, as he received no assistance from the population in the surrounding countryside.[3]

The mass killing of the ghetto Jews in Kokhanovo took place in January 1942. The killing site was at the Jewish cemetery near the railway; the pit was dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in advance. One source states that the Germans also had to use explosives because of the frozen ground. Before the killing, local policemen took the best clothes from the victims. After the mass shooting, local inhabitants were made to cover the corpses with earth. The ChGK estimated the number of victims at 228, mostly women, children, and the elderly.[4]

SOURCES The book by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), deals briefly with the Holocaust in Kokhanovo (pp. 124–126). The documents of the ChGK for Kokhanovo can be found in GARF (7021-84-14).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-14, p. 12.
2. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 124–126.
3. Leonid Smilovitsky, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 183.
4. GARF, 7021-84-14, p. 12.

KOLYSHKI

Pre-1941: Kolyshki, village, Liozno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kolischki, Rayon Liosno, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kalyshki, Liozna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kolyshki is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Vitebsk. Estimating from available census data for 1939, there were roughly 420 Jews living in Kolyshki on the eve of the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Units of the German V Army Corps, 9th Infantry Army, occupied the Liozno area in mid-July 1941. Rayon Liosno became part of Rear Area, Army Group Center. There was no significant evacuation from Kolyshki, but some Jews managed to leave; at the same time, some refugees from other places, including Vitebsk and Ianovichi, were stranded in the village just at the moment the Germans arrived.

There was no formal ghetto in Kolyshki. Many Jewish houses were burned down during the fighting, and the small Jewish population of the village gathered together in a few intact Jewish houses. According to survivors, the Germans knew which houses were Jewish because non-Jewish boys showed them; Jewish houses were marked with distinctive symbols. The Germans ordered the Jews to wear yellow patches on their clothes; some witnesses state that the order was issued the day after the Germans entered the village,[1] while others date this order in August.[2] The Germans also confiscated all the cattle from the Jews.

Witnesses recollect the first months of the German occupation as a period of incessant robbery. Both the Germans and the local police (*politsais*) robbed the Jews. Everything could be taken away: food, clothes, matzot that remained after Passover, even Soviet state loan bonds.[3] It was hard to distinguish organized confiscation from primitive robbery.

Some Jews were killed in the first months of the occupation. According to a survivor's account, a rather aged Jew was killed during the first days on the pretext that he was an arsonist who had set some houses in Kolyshki on fire. He was killed in the morning; the Germans who came to his home waited for him to finish his morning prayer, then took him out and killed him. (The witness Sofya Gorelik calls him

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Daniil Pudovik; according to her, they forced him to dig a pit, then stunned him with a shovel and buried him alive.)[4] The survivor Raisa Khamaida's father, Abram, was also killed by the Germans. Raisa recollects: "They came to our home and said: 'Give us some tobacco.' . . . But did we have tobacco? They brought my father to the courtyard—it was December 1941—and forced him to run around the house, and they beat him with rifle butts until he dropped dead." The Nazis also killed the mentally ill daughter of the teacher Lazar Shnol, as well as a certain Velvele Merzlyak.[5] In October, six Jews (according to other versions, four or five) made expeditions from Kolyshki into the countryside to barter items for food and were killed by some Germans they met.[6]

On February 9, 1942, a Soviet reconnaissance unit appeared in Kolyshki, and some days later some of the Jews left Kolyshki. The survivor Sofya Gorelik says: "After several days the reconnaissance men gathered us and said: 'We shall be triumphant, but there will be fighting here.' We asked: 'May we leave with you?' The commander said: 'That is the reason why I called you here.' And he explained that everyone must get packed and leave for Ponizov'e immediately." The majority of Jews left for the Ponizov'e village, which was 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northeast, in Russia. Those evacuated stayed in Ponizov'e until March and then were evacuated farther to the rear. The same witness said: "We lived several days in Ponizov'e, and the district party committee instructor, or somebody else, gathered us and told us the same things that the scouts in Kolyshki had said: 'We shall be triumphant, but there will be fighting here, and nobody knows who will be here tomorrow,' and so on. 'You must go, and especially persons of Jewish extraction; go, we shall give you transportation.'"[7]

Not all the Jews left with the Red Army in February 1942; unfortunately, some remained in Kolyshki (even Sofya Gorelik recollects that she, her aunt, and her cousin required considerable effort to convince her mother to leave Kolyshki). On March 17, 1942, a mixed German-Belorussian squad appeared in Kolyshki. The men were dressed in white camouflage cloaks; thus they managed to surround the village and enter it unnoticed. The men drove the Jews out of their houses and set the houses on fire. Some Jews were killed during the roundup; according to a survivor, the Nazis burned children of the Rabinovich family alive in a bonfire in the center of the village. The rest were escorted in the direction of Liozno and killed, most probably in the Adamenki Ravine. The number of victims is unclear; the list compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) gives 148 names of Jews killed; it is unclear whether the list is complete. The roundup in Kolyshki was carried out hastily, and some Jews managed to evade it. Thus, the survivor Olga Notkina says that the politsais saw them but did not touch them because, most probably, they took them for non-Jewish marauders.[8]

Before the war, in 1938, Kolyshki was the site of one of the most infamous antisemitic incidents in the Belorussian SSR (documents from a journalistic investigation of the incident can be found in the archive of the Belorussian Yiddish newspaper *Oktiabr*). Nevertheless, some Kolyshki survivors attest that they were rescued by their non-Jewish neighbors. For example, Raisa Khamaida and her mother survived because their neighbors told the Germans that they were not Jews but Russian refugees. There were also other cases of Jews being rescued by local inhabitants.[9]

SOURCES The events in Kolyshki are described in Arkadii Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," *Mishpokha* 8 (2000): 68–78. Relevant witness statements on the events in Kolyshki can be found in YVA (O-3/4718 and O-3/4719).

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NOTES

1. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," p. 75.
2. YVA, O-3/4718.
3. See, e.g., ibid., O-3/4719.
4. See ibid.
5. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 75–76; see also YVA, O-3/4719.
6. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 75–76; see also GARF, 7021-84-8.
7. YVA, O-3/4719. The detailed account given by Sofya Gorelik contradicts the allegation made by Shulman in his essay ("Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," p. 76) that the reconnaissance unit men did not warn the Jews of Kolyshki about the impending danger and did not let them evacuate.
8. GARF, 7021-84-8; YVA, O-3/4718; Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 76–77.
9. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 76–77.

KOPYS'

Pre-1941: Kopys', town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kopys, Rayon Orscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Orsha raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kopys' is situated about 22 kilometers (14 miles) south of Orsha. In 1939, the Jewish population of Kopys' was 405, 9.9 percent of the total.

The Germans captured the town on July 11–13, 1941, in the course of very heavy fighting (it was in this sector of the front that the XLVII and XXIV Motorized Army Corps of Panzer Group 2 had to force the crossing of the Dnieper River). Only a few local Jews escaped to the east before the Germans arrived. In the first half of August, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B "liquidated seven [former Communist] functionaries in Kopys' for alleged arson and plundering."[1] The Jews were required to wear distinguishing armbands and a yellow star on their backs as well.

In December 1941, the German authorities resettled the Jews of Kopys' into a small ghetto consisting of several buildings in the area of a linen factory, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. Local witnesses indicate that the area was fenced and guarded by the local police. In total, at least 250 Jews were confined within the ghetto.[2] One survivor recalls that there were about 10 people per room in the ghetto

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and that some had to sleep on the floor. The Jews obtained food by bartering items with the local population. Rumors spread in the ghetto about the murder of Jews in larger towns, but people feared that there was nowhere for them to go. On the eve of the liquidation of the ghetto, a few Jews escaped into the surrounding countryside. For example, Alexander Shmyrkin fled with his school friend after his mother told him to run.[3]

On January 14, 1942, a German "punitive squad" (in the words of Belorussian eyewitnesses) assisted by local policemen carried out a mass shooting of the town's Jews. The pits close to the area of the linen factory had been prepared in advance. The murderers picked out groups of 15 people, ordered them to undress, forced them to lie in the pit, and shot them with pistols. According to the estimate of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), around 230 Jews were killed in this way. The majority of the victims were women, children, and the elderly. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 143 Jews. Some Jews were spared from this massacre, most probably "specialists." For example, the tailor Yevel (Yoel) Melikhan and his two sons were not killed until May 15, 1942.[4]

SOURCES Most of the information on the Kopys' ghetto is based on interviews conducted by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa with local residents in the 1990s, published in his books *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 93–95, and *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 53–54. The Kopys' ghetto is also mentioned in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 177; 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), pp. 657–658; and Wila Orbach, "The Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 2:6 (1976): 32.

Documentation from the ChGK for the Orsha raion can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); USHMM; VHF (# 39401); and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 137, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 2 der Einsatzgruppen (July 29 to August 14, 1941).
2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 53.
3. VHF, # 39401, testimony of Alexander Shmyrkin. Shmyrkin, however, claims that the ghetto was not enclosed or guarded, and he dates the liquidation Aktion in November 1942, which seems unlikely.
4. GARF, 7021-84-10, statement by Khaya Melikhan.

KORMA

Pre-1941: Korma, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Karma, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Korma is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) north of Gomel'. In 1939, there were 981 Jews in Korma (40.3 percent of the population).

Following the German invasion, all men of military age, including many Jews, were called up into the Red Army.

Korma was occupied by German troops on August 15, 1941. During the first weeks of the occupation, the Korma Rayon was administered by military units subordinated to Rear Area, Army Group Center. The Wehrmacht established so-called field and local commandants (Feld- und Ortskommandanturen), which set up local administrations in the towns and surrounding Rayons and appointed local mayors. For a period in 1941, Ortskommandantur 353 was based in Korma. In the area around Korma, the Germans established several military garrisons, the largest being in Korma itself, consisting of more than 200 soldiers.

The military forces supervised a local police unit recruited within 10 days of the German occupation. The chief of police in Korma was Denis Makarenko.[1] A Ukrainian named Nikolay Gurov became chief of police for Rayon Korma, and Mitrofan Blatov was appointed as the head of the Rayon (Rayonchef) because he spoke German.[2] The military commandant was initially Major Max Rozmaisel, a Czech by nationality; he was subsequently replaced by Fritz Essel. The surname of the local head of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, or GFP) was Reger. Leutnant Glazer was the chief of the Department of Agriculture, and a person named Schein was in charge of the punitive detachment.[3] A curfew was imposed on the civilian population from 9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. Everyone over the age of 16 was obliged to carry a personal identification card, and those found without one could be severely punished.

After the occupation of the town by German forces, shops and private apartments were looted. The Germans ordered the Jews to sew fabric in the shape of yellow stars onto the outside of their clothes.[4] In September 1941, German soldiers and some younger officers from the military headquarters in Gomel' arrived in Korma. Together with Makarenko and four policemen, they went to the houses of the Jews and registered every person. After this procedure, the Jews were ordered to stay in their houses and were not permitted to leave their places of residence. Two ghettos were established in Korma: one for the Jews residing in the town, the other for the Jewish population of the surrounding area. Most of the population in both ghettos consisted of women, children, and the elderly. According to different sources, the number of people residing in the two ghettos ranged between 500 and 700 prisoners. One of the ghettos was located in the brick buildings of the Jewish school, which had belonged to the synagogue before, on School Street. The other ghetto was established in the buildings of the former financial department of the town administration of Korma and was located on Abaturov Street. The ghetto areas were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by police units.[5] In addition, a prison and a concentration camp for the non-Jewish local population were also set up in Korma. The German authorities placed a Latvian named Aleksandr Stsepuro in charge of both ghettos. Before the war, Stsepuro had

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been the head of the Health Department in Korma. However, the military commandant and the Feldgendarmerie retained ultimate responsibility for the administration of both ghettos.[6]

The ghettos in Korma were not established primarily for the purpose of exploiting Jews economically. They served only to concentrate the Jews and to prevent them from escaping before the Germans murdered them. For this reason, the German authorities did not concern themselves with the poor sanitary conditions or make provisions for medical help or other social assistance inside the ghettos. The ghetto areas were much too small for the number of inmates, and the Jews faced terrible overcrowding and extremely unhygienic conditions. The food delivered into the ghettos for each person was only half the ration received by non-Jews in Korma. Meat and butter were prohibited to the Jews. A daily ration of 120 grams (4.2 ounces) of bread, 15 grams (0.5 ounces) of flour, and 10 grams (0.4 ounces) of buckwheat was provided for each person per day. The residents of the ghettos tried to alleviate the shortage of food by digging up potatoes and living off their small stocks of groceries. All contact between the Jews and the local population was forbidden. Though the non-Jewish population also suffered from hunger and there was a strict prohibition on illegal trade into the ghettos, some local inhabitants still sold bread to the Jews. Nonetheless, many children in the ghettos died of starvation and weakness.[7]

Every morning the residents of the ghettos were herded into the market square, and from there they were sent to various work assignments. Those Jews unable to work were humiliated by the Germans and publicly beaten by the police. Every morning the Jews left the ghettos in groups; one police guard was in charge of 20 people. The Germans made the Jews perform forced labor all day. Among the main tasks performed were cleaning toilets, clearing garbage, and road construction. This physically demanding work was sometimes too much for people, and the death rate under these conditions was high.[8]

The ghettos in Korma existed for approximately two months. The Aktion to liquidate the two Jewish ghettos was carried out on Saturday, November 8, 1941. On the previous evening, 50 members of a special SS police unit arrived from Gomel', wearing uniforms bearing the emblem of a death's head. The Germans and local police escorted the ghetto inmates to a grave site about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town and forced some of the victims to excavate a large pit about 42 meters by 12 meters and 0.5 meters deep (138 by 39 by 1.6 feet). The victims were forced to undress completely before being shot. At this time the Germans and their collaborators beat them with rubber sticks and extracted any gold crowns from their teeth. Members of a punitive squad commanded by the head of the local police, Makarenko, actively participated in this killing Aktion. The Jews were forced to lie facedown on the ground and were shot in the back of the head from behind. Among the victims were many elderly people, women, and children, including Aron Libman (born 1879), Genya Girshon (born 1896), the physician Dora Gordon, and others. The young children were thrown into the pit and buried alive.[9] After the killing Aktion, the police seized the livestock that had belonged to the Jews. The trade department of the German administration in Korma was responsible for all former Jewish property. The proceeds from the sale of Jewish property were paid into the account of the German administration.[10]

The town of Korma was among the first settlements in Belorussia to be liberated. Troops of the Soviet 3rd Army of the Belorussian Front recaptured the town on November 26, 1943. According to Soviet figures from May 1944, the population of the Korma region declined from 45,050 to 34,272 during the period of German occupation (a loss of about 24 percent). In the town of Korma itself, the number of inhabitants fell from 2,434 to 928.[11] Members of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) exhumed the mass graves in Korma in November 1944. They discovered that there was no sign of bullet wounds on the corpses of the children under six years of age. It was assumed that these victims had been beaten until they were unconscious and then buried alive. The ChGK concluded that the German occupants killed a total of 1,173 people in the Korma raion. In the town of Korma itself, 728 civilian inhabitants and 132 Soviet prisoners of war had been murdered. The ChGK compiled a list of the names of 634 families that were victims of the German invaders. The main concern of the commission's work was not to establish the nationality of the victims but rather to identify the perpetrators.[12]

SOURCES Information on events in Korma during World War II can be found in the following books: *Pamiats': Karmianski raion. Historyka-dokumental'naia khronika haradou i raionau Belarusi* (Minsk, 2003); and *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 279.

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community in Korma can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (case no. 391); GAGOMO (1345-1-5); GARF (7021-85-215); NARB (4-33a-65); and YVA (M-33). In the personal archives of the author (PALS) there is also a letter from Khatskiel Merkhasin in Denver (CO, USA), dated November 9, 2004.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Denis Makarenko was shot by Soviet partisans in May 1942.
2. Protocol of Mitrofan Blatov (1899), March 6, 1944. See AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 32.
3. YVA, M-33/474, p. 15: list of German-Fascist war criminals on the occupied territory of the USSR for the Korma raion, Gomel oblast', Belorussian SSR.
4. Protocol of Proskov Kortel'chik (1893), November 17, 1941, AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 380.
5. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-85-215.
6. GAGOMO, 1345-1-5, pp. 4, 9, 220.
7. TsAKGBRB, Minsk.
8. AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, pp. 30–31.
9. GARF, 7021-85-215, p. 13.
10. AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 375.
11. According to the figures for the Gomel oblast' for May 1, 1944, see GAOOGO (former Party Archive), 144-5-6, p. 218.
12. GARF, 7021-85-215, pp. 1–2, 9.

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KOSTIUKOVICHI

Pre-1941: Kostiukovichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kostjukowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post 1991: Kas'tsiukovichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kostiukovichi is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,134 Jews living in Kostiukovichi, comprising 18.6 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on August 13, 1941, approximately seven weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim, a large part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the occupation, which lasted until September 28, 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established to control the town. On the orders of the German military administration, Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks and were forced to perform heavy physical labor. The Ortskommandantur set up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. The mayor of the town was Mikhail Grigorevich Borisevich, and the chief of police was Nikolay Ivanovich Roslavtsev. The town mayor registered the Jews of the town and handed over the list to the German Security Police. For his collaboration with the Germans, including his participation in the murder of the Jews, Borisevich was sentenced to death by hanging by a Soviet military tribunal at the end of the occupation.[1]

Very little information is available regarding the living conditions of those Jews who remained in Kostiukovichi under the German occupation. In November 1941, the director of the bank, a Jew, was shot for alleged connections with the partisans. According to two secondary sources, *The Black Book with Red Pages* and *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, a ghetto existed there from the fall of 1941 until September 1942. It is likely that the Jews lived in some form of open ghetto until the mass shooting of the Jews, dated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in September 1942.[2]

On September 3, 1942, all the Jews were told that they would be traveling to Palestine and were ordered to gather on the road. They were all a short distance outside the town on the way to the Kommunary railway station when the Germans and their collaborators shot them in groups of 50 in pits prepared beforehand. Before being shot, the Jews were forced to undress down to their underwear, and policemen and Germans collected their valuables.[3] According to some sources, in March 1943, another 161 Jews were shot near the rope factory. On April 14 and 15, 1943, policemen from Kostiukovichi shot another 14 Jews.

A forensic examination of the two main grave sites, conducted by the ChGK in December 1943, revealed that out of 536 corpses examined, 128 were adult males, 265 were adult females, and 143 were infants and children up to the age of 15. The investigation demonstrated that 253 victims had gunfire wounds to the head, chest, or abdomen; 23 had skull injuries made by blunt objects; 87 had wounds in their extremities; and no injuries were found on 173 corpses. These injuries indicated that many people had been killed by shooting from firearms at close distance, but others had been buried alive.[4]

SOURCES Mention of a "ghetto" in Kostiukovichi can be found in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 267–268; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 300, 310. Additional information on the murder of the Jews in Kostiukovichi can be found in the following publications: I.M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:171–172; and 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), p. 665.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Kostiukovichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-39); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Steven Seegel

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1. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 267.
2. GARF, 7021-88-39, p. 1.
3. Ibid.; *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 431. According to another source, the shooting of the Jews took place in November 1941. The perpetrators were from Einsatzkommando 8.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 267–268.

KRASNOLUKI

Pre-1941: Krasnoluki, village, Kholopenichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krassnoluki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krasnaluki, Chashniki raion, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krasnoluki is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. On the eve of the German occupation in June 1941, probably around 300 Jews resided in the village.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Krasnoluki in early July 1941. During the occupation, which lasted until the summer of 1944, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. An auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from local inhabitants. In early October 1941, a company of Infantry Regiment 354 was based in Krasnoluki and presumably ran the Ortskommandantur at that time.[1]

Very little information is available about the living conditions of the Jews in Krasnoluki during the summer and fall of

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1941. It is possible that at some time in the fall of 1941, some form of open ghetto was established in the town, as was the case in the nearby town of Chashniki.

On March 6, 1942, German security forces gathered together in a few houses 305 Jews, composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly, and then escorted them to a pit about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town, where they shot them all.[2]

SOURCES The "ghetto" in Krasnoluki is mentioned in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 97. Other secondary sources, however, including, Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:188, do not mention the existence of a ghetto in Krasnoluki.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Krasnoluki can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-87-16); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
2. GARF, 7021-87-16.

KRASNOPOL'E

Pre-1941: Krasnopol'e, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Krassnopolje, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krassnapolle, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krasnopol'e is located about 110 kilometers (69 miles) southeast of Mogilev. According to the census of 1939, there were 1,181 Jews living in Krasnopol'e (33.1 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on August 15, 1941, roughly seven weeks after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22). During this period, a large proportion of the Jews in Krasnopol'e managed to evacuate to the east, and the Soviets began to induct eligible men into the Red Army. Probably around 400 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation. Throughout the occupation (from August 15, 1941, until October 1, 1943), the German military Feldkommandantur in Propoisk governed Krasnopol'e. It established a raion administrative council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local citizens. In October 1941, Feldkommandantur 544 was based in Propoisk.[1]

Following orders issued by the German military administration, shortly after the start of the occupation, the Rayon council organized the registration of the Jews and required that they wear distinguishing marks on their chests. The German authorities also made Jews ages 14 to 60 perform various forms of heavy labor.

The occupying authorities created a ghetto in Krasnopol'e in September 1941.[2] Units of Police Battalion 322 liquidated the ghetto in two Aktions on October 22 and 25, 1941. Just prior to this, the German authorities forbade Jews to leave the ghetto.[3] In the first Aktion, the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 322 seized and shot 121 Jewish men; in the second Aktion, the 1st Company of the same battalion shot 3 Jewish men and 216 Jewish women. Altogether, the Germans massacred 340 Jews in the two Aktions. The German report gives as the reason for the shootings "incitement to insurrection" (*Aufwiegelung*) and "support for the partisans." The Jews were shot and buried about 700 meters (766 yards) to the northwest of the town.[4] Jewish children left behind were shot about two months later.[5]

SOURCES Information concerning the extermination of the Jews in Krasnopol'e can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika haradou i raenau Belarusi: Krassnapolle raen* (Minsk, 2001), pp. 198–199; and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945*, trans. John Glad and James S. Levine (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 236.

Documents relating to the persecution and extermination of the town's Jewish citizens can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-88-40); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM (RG-48.004M); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. BA-MH, RH 26-221/14b, map, rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte, as of October 9, 1941.
2. NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 329, 333 reverse side, and 336 reverse side.
3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 236.
4. Kriegstagebuch des Polizei-Bataillons 322, entry dated October 22, 1941, in USHMM, RG-48.004M, reel 2. Soviet sources estimate the number of victims considerably higher (1,000 to 1,500) and report further anti-Jewish Aktions in 1942 and 1943; e.g., Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 300. The evidence for this, however, is unreliable.
5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 236.

KRICHEV

Pre-1941: Krichev, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kritschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krychau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krichev is situated about 95 kilometers (59 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,362

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Jews living in Krichev. They made up 8.5 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 17, 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the occupation, which lasted from July 17, 1941, to September 30, 1943, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a town authority and a police force composed of a number of local residents. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur (V) 256, subordinated to Security Division 221, was based in Krichev.

Shortly after the occupation began, the town authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform heavy physical labor, such as road repair work.

In August or September 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in Krichev, moving all the Jews (about 80 families in total) into several houses next to the church. The Jews had to wear patches bearing a Star of David and were forbidden to walk freely about the town.[1]

German security forces liquidated the Krichev ghetto in November 1941. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 130 Jews were shot near a flax-processing mill, and 60 to 80 Jews were killed on the grounds of a cement factory.[2] However, it is likely that in total more than 300 Jews were murdered in Krichev. The mass shootings were carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, with the help of the Belorussian local police.

In November 1941, in the Krichev raion, 122 Jews were killed in the village of Moliatichi and 30 Jews in the village of Antonovka.[3] According to an Einsatzgruppen report, in November 1941, several Aktions were conducted in Krichev and the surrounding area for reasons of "security and order," which resulted in the shooting of 1,231 Jews of both sexes.[4]

SOURCES Publications mentioning the ghetto in Krichev include the following: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 266–267; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 140; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 300–301; Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003), p. 117; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:208–209.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L; BA-MA; GARF (7021-88-41); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. "From the testimonies of witnesses Pechkurova, Yakushovka, Kurbako, and Gritova," in Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 266–267.
2. GARF, 7021-88-41, pp. 3–4; NARB, 861-1-9, p. 239. A list of 34 deceased Jews of the town can be found in GARF, 7021-88-41, pp. 32–33.
3. GARF, 702-88-41, pp. 6–7 (Moliatichi); p. 8 (Antonovka); pp. 34–36 (Moliatichi). The shootings in Antonovka occurred on November 14 and 17, 1941.
4. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941.

KRUCHA

Pre-1941: Krucha, village, Krugloe raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krutscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krucha, Krublae raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krucha is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Mogilev. According to the 1926 census, Krucha had a Jewish population of 297, comprising 52.4 percent of the total. In the 1930s, the number of Jews in the village decreased slightly.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 8, 1941, approximately two weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During those weeks, some of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country, but some remained in Krucha, as they did not want to leave behind elderly relatives. Most men of military age were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. No more than 120 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In late September or early October 1941, the German military authorities resettled all the remaining Jews in Krucha on Kozlina Street in a separate part of the village, creating an open ghetto. In October 1941, more than 100 Jews in Krucha were shot by the Germans and Belorussian police, who wore white armbands. German forces of the Wehrmacht liquidated the ghetto on October 10, 1941, by shooting at least 114 people 400 meters (437 yards) south of the village (in 1968, a memorial was placed at the site of the shooting). After the shooting, the bodies of the Jews were thrown into a pit, where a local non-Jew was ordered to arrange them neatly. Some Jews, who feigned death or were only wounded, were buried alive.[1]

A number of Jews tried to run away to a nearby forest during the murder Aktion. However, the policeman Ivan Skochek ran after them and caught two of them. These two Jews were then shot by the pursuing Germans. At least two others are known to have survived and subsequently joined the Soviet partisans.[2]

The shooting was carried out by soldiers of the 3rd Company (company commander: Hauptmann Friedrich Nöll) of the 1st Battalion of the 691st Infantry Regiment of the 339th Infantry Division. The order for the shooting was given by the commander of the 1st Battalion, Major Alfred Commichau,

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on the grounds that the Jews were allegedly assisting the partisans. After the war, the former commander of the 3rd Company, Friedrich Nöll, and the former first sergeant (Hauptfeldwebel) of the company, Emil Zimber, were found guilty and sentenced by a court in Darmstadt (Germany) to three and two years of imprisonment, respectively.[3]

SOURCES Relevant publications concerning the destruction of the Jewish population in Krucha include the following: Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 111–113; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 398, pp. 375–378; *Pamiats': Kruhlianskii raion* (Minsk: Belaruskaia entsyklapedyia, 1996), pp. 369–370; and Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944: Begleitbroschüre zur Ausstellung* (Hamburg: HIS, 2004), pp. 28–29.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archive: GAMO (306-1-10, pp. 117–119).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Kruchanskii sel'savet," in *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 450; GAMO, 306-1-10, pp. 117–119; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12, Lfd. Nr. 398, p. 375. See also *Pamiats': Kruhlianskii raion*, pp. 369–370. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 111–113, give the number of victims as 156.

2. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 111–113.

3. LG-Darm, verdict of May 8, 1954 (2 Ks 2/54), published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12, Lfd. Nr. 398; LG-Darm, verdict of March 10, 1956 (2 Ks 2/54), in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 13 (1975), Lfd. Nr. 429; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht*, pp. 28–29.

KRUGLOE

Pre-1941: Krugloe, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krugloje, Rayon Krutscha (Krucha), Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krublae, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krugloe is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Mogilev. In 1939, 238 Jews lived in Krugloe, making up 19.5 percent of its population, and 375 Jews lived in the rest of the Krugloe raion, the bulk of them in the village of Krucha, 17 kilometers (10.6 miles) west of Krugloe.

Owing to Krugloe's location, far from major highways and with no easily accessible railway station, only a few Jews were able to leave the village in 1941 before the Germans captured it. Witnesses do not mention any organized evacuation of the population from Krugloe.

Krugloe was captured by German forces (XLVII Army Corps of the 4th Panzer Army, formerly of the 2nd Panzer Group) on July 8, 1941. Ortskommandantur I/532, subordinated to the 9th Infantry Army, was established in Krugloe. From August 1941, the town was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Most probably, Krugloe, like nearby Tolochin, was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 683 stationed in Orsha.

According to the survivor Yevgenii Elman, in the first days of the occupation the Germans ordered the appointment of a Jewish elder: Meyer Pevzner, a former tailor. His first job was to compile a list of all the Jews residing in Krugloe. The Germans also introduced the wearing of "Jewish Stars." Some Jews continued to work in the kolkhoz; the Germans also took Jews (only Jews) for forced labor, repairing roads.

On September 15, 1941, the Germans ordered Pevzner to assemble all male Jews ages 15 to 60, with shovels and other work tools, near the Ortskommandantur. According to Elman, a German punitive squad had arrived in Krugloe the previous day. Not all the Jews turned up; as a punishment, the Germans shot Pevzner on the spot. The rest of the male Jews, some 60 to 100 men, were brought to a nearby forest and shot there.[1] Subsequently there were other murders of groups of Jews in Krugloe.

The testimony of Honya Epshtein, who was brought to Krugloe from Shepelevichi on December 12, 1941, together with the other remaining Jews from the Shepelevichi ghetto, provides a description of the Krugloe ghetto. There were about 25 to 30 people living in each house. Other Jews were also brought there from Teterino. Epshtein's family had to sleep on the floor without pillows or mattresses. Water could only be obtained from the "Jewish well" or the Drut River. There was almost no food. People survived on frostbitten potatoes and whatever meager rations were distributed. Leaving the ghetto entailed risking one's life, as all contacts with the local population were forbidden. Jews caught outside the ghetto were publicly executed at regular intervals. The number of ghetto inmates gradually declined, so that in the spring of 1942, those few Jews who remained were relocated into two small houses on the edge of town. This "two-house ghetto" was surrounded with a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) fence and was closely guarded by the local police. Despite the risks, Jews continued to sneak out to obtain food from sympathetic peasants in the villages of Ostrov, Pavlovo, and Ogloblia, who gave them bread. The police took a roll call every day, and if anyone was missing, they would search for them and cruelly beat everyone.[2]

The remaining Jews in the Krugloe ghetto, about 200 people, including the resettled Jews, were murdered by the German occupants using gas vans in June 1942. Eyewitnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention the German officer whom they call Nikodemus as the main perpetrator of the mass murder.[3] Epshtein managed to hide successfully under the floorboards for several days after the Aktion, despite repeated searches. He escaped at night to the village of Ogloblia, where the Shevchik family fed and clothed him, before he fled further away

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from Krugloe, as he knew the local police were still searching for him.[4]

A monument was erected at the killing site by the victims' relatives in 1962, which states that 515 Jews were killed at this spot. Among the victims were also Jews from the villages of Teterino (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] south of Krugloe), Khatkovo (16 kilometers [9.9 miles] east-northeast of Krugloe, now in the Shklov raion), and Shepelevichi (about 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] to the southwest).

Nineteen Jews were killed in the village of Golovchin (22 kilometers [13.8 miles] south-southeast of Krugloe along the P-26 road) in early October 1941. Kh. Zelikova and her five children were shot and killed in Novoprud'e (5 kilometers [3.1 miles] north of Krugloe).

SOURCES The testimony of Honya Epshtein has been published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 295–298.

The documents of the ChGK for the Krugloe raion can be found in GARF (7021-88-42); and in GAMO (306-1-10). An eyewitness account can be found in YVA (O-3/4674).

Daniel Romanovsky and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4674.
2. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 295–298.
3. GARF, 7021-88-42.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 297–298.

KRUPKI

Pre-1941: Krupki, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krupki is located 118 kilometers (73.3 miles) northeast of Minsk.

In 1939, there were 870 Jews out of 3,455 inhabitants (25.2 percent) in Krupki. German forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941. Only a few of Krupki's Jews managed to flee either by road or by rail at the start of the invasion; the majority found themselves trapped under German occupation, together with some refugees from western Belorussia.

The Germans organized a police force consisting of local inhabitants, which was led by Timofei Svitkovskii, a former officer in the Red Army. A man named Baranovskii became head of the Rayon, and successively, Karon', Pavkovets, and Evtishevskii served as town mayor. The commander of the local punitive detachment was Ivanov. The military commandant was a German officer named Gebel (or Goebel). Belorussians Ivan Dranitsa, Vladimir Khvashchevskii, Mikhail Titovets, Vasilii Koran', Daria Urgulevskaia, Dmitrii Molosai, Fedor Kondratenko, Vasilii Balbas, Vasilii Asipovets, and Ul'ian Keyzo served in the local police.[1]

In July 1941, the Germans organized one of the first ghettos on occupied Belorussian soil in Krupki. The Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto without written permission from the mayor. All Jews were obliged to wear distinguishing marks on their clothing and had to perform forced labor. No detailed information is available on whether the ghetto was guarded or on the existence of a fence enclosing it. However, about 1,000 Jews lived within the ghetto. It appears that the Germans did not make long-term plans for the ghetto and its inhabitants; instead, they used it only as a place to collect and hold Jews temporarily until their extermination. There was also a prison in Krupki for people suspected of concealing Jews or those viewed as disloyal or hostile to German rule.[2]

The Germans conducted a series of initial killing Aktions against the Jews in Krupki between July and mid-September 1941. The largest Aktion took place at the cemetery, half a kilometer (about a third of a mile) outside Krupki. The Germans murdered more than 100 people, including the elderly, women, and children.[3]

On September 16, 1941, the German occupying authorities separated the Jewish men from their families and other ghetto inmates, and they threatened to kill them if their relatives failed to produce a ransom in the form of fur clothing.

The Germans conducted the main liquidation Aktion against the ghetto on September 18, 1941. At 7:00 A.M., the Germans gathered all the Jews on the market square near the town council building and declared that they would be sent to Germany for work. The Jews were ordered to take with them only their money and other valuables. They were also told to keep their doors unlocked and to hand the keys to the mayor. All the Jews were checked according to a list. Then the German forces escorted them along Sovetskaia Street in the direction of the village of Lebedevo, leading them off to the swampy bank of the Strazhnitsa River on the other side of the Minsk-Moscow highway. Along the way, many Jews began to suspect their fate once the column passed the railway line and continued on towards the swamp. During the march, everyone was prohibited from stopping or talking; those who disobeyed were beaten with sticks.[4]

The column stopped near Panskoe village, at the First of May kolkhoz in the Shatski sel'sovet, where before the war there had been a quarry and now two large pits had been prepared.[5] The Jews were ordered to sit down on the ground 50 meters (164 feet) from the pits. The guards ordered some of the prisoners to carry a few wide planks, which were then thrown across the trenches. Then 10 people were chosen, including a woman with two children. The mother carried her baby, 10 or 11 months old, in her arms, while the other child held her hand. The prisoners were escorted to the trench and were ordered to strip down to their underclothing. The Germans put the clothes on trucks and wrenched the children away from their mothers. The Germans ordered the Jews, now undressed, to walk across the planks. Panic began to envelop the crowd, and heartrending screams were heard.

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Doomed to die, the Jews turned around and were shot in the head by the guards. A volley of rounds was fired, and 9 Jews fell into the trench. An old man who remained standing was shot again to finish him off. Another officer grabbed a child by his legs and smashed him head first into the ground, then let him fall "like a chick" into the trench.[6]

The Aktion in Krupki was carried out by a section of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Borisov under the command of Werner Schönemann, assisted by the locally based unit of the Wehrmacht. Obergefreiter Richard Heidenreich of the 12th Company, 354th Regiment, made a note in his "diary" about the Aktion in Krupki. The evening before, the senior lieutenant selected 15 men with "strong nerves." Once they had been informed of their task, they marched to the nearest swamp. The victims were ordered to get into the ditch, and the shooting detail stood over the victims. As Heidenreich describes it: "10 shots were heard and 10 Jews fell down. It continued like this until we had killed them all. Only a few people kept a stiff upper lip. Children clung to their mothers, and women to their husbands. I won't forget this image for a very long time."[7] A large part of the Belorussian police was also present at the Aktion. Commander of the police Svitkovskii, military commandant Gebel, commander of the punitive detachment Ivanov, commander of the Rayon Baranovskii, and policeman Broneslav Zakrevskii all actively participated in the Aktion. According to Maria Shpunt, at first the killing site was surrounded by several hundred guards, but later, once many Jews had been killed, some policemen were permitted to go to the mess hall for dinner.[8]

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B dated October 25, 1941, 912 Jews were murdered in Krupki that day.[9] After the shooting, local Belorussians were ordered to bury the corpses. According to Anton Krukovskii (born 1883), the bodies of the dead were placed in rows in two pits: one 60 meters long and 3 meters wide (197 by 9.8 feet), the other 15 meters by 3 meters (49 by 9.8 feet) and just over 1 meter (3.3 feet) deep. The corpses were packed almost to the top of the pits. When the Germans came to bury the people, they killed a man, a woman, and a little boy who were still alive. After covering the pits, the Belorussians were allowed to go home. Individual Jews caught subsequently were also shot.[10]

In March 1942, men of Einsatzkommando 8 also shot the Jews in two villages, one north and one south of Krupki. In each case, 15 Jews were shot.[11] In 1943, the Germans, with the help of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), exhumed the mass grave and burned the corpses. Afterwards, the Soviet POWs were murdered.

Some Jews survived the Aktion. Among them were Sofia Shalaumova (born 1920), Maria Shpunt, and her younger son. After counting all those who had been killed, the Germans ordered men from the surrounding villages to cover the mass grave. The work was not finished, however, because some Belorussians noticed that the trench was "breathing" and that they needed to wait. After hearing the shots, Sofia, for example, fell into the trench at the proper time without being wounded. Among the peasants who were burying the bodies, she recognized her acquaintance Nikolai Bogdanov and asked him not to cover her with earth. He did as she asked.[12]

Maria Shpunt tried to persuade the Germans to let her live by claiming that she was not Jewish. While she pleaded for her life, 11 people from her group were killed, and Maria, with her baby, was placed on a pile of breathing bodies as the German soldiers went to get a new group of Jews. The woman took advantage of this pause, crawled out of the pit, and ran into the brush; though the Germans shot at her, she got away unscathed.[13]

SOURCES Information on the Krupki ghetto and the fate of the Jews of Krupki can be found in the following publications: Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998); "Esli by zemlia mogla govorit'," *Novosti nedeli* (Tel Aviv), April 13, 2000; Hannes Heer, Christian Reuther, and Johannes Bacher, eds., "*Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944*": *Visuelle Konzeption und Gestaltung der Ausstellung* (Hamburg: HIS, 1996). Further details on the war period can be found in the local history publications *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Krupskaho raiona* (Minsk, 1999). On the dating of the murder of the Jews in Krupki, see Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), pp. 586–588.

Documentation concerning the murder of the Jews in Krupki under German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAMINO (634-1-4, 7, 8, 9, 12; and 686-1-5, 10, 19); GARF; NARA; NARB (861-1-8); YVA (M-33/425); and in the personal archive of the author (PALS) (letters from Petr Antonovich Bulakh and Lubov [Mosinoy] Koichu).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/425, p. 4.
2. GAMINO, 634-1-4, 7-9, 12; and 686-1-5, 10, 19.
3. NARB, 861-1-8, p. 222-a, testimony of Nina Dashkevich (born 1927).
4. YVA, M-33/425, pp. 9–12.
5. "Esli by zemlia mogla govorit'."
6. PALS, letter from Petr Antonovich Bulakh.
7. Heidenreich diary, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 9/64, Verfügung vom Sept. 9, 1969, pp. 3 f., cited in Heer, Reuther, and Bacher, "*Vernichtungskrieg*," p. 114.
8. GARF, 7021-87-7.
9. NARA, T-175, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941; Heidenreich diary, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 9/64, Verfügung vom September 9, 1969, pp. 3 f.; NARB, 861-1-8, p. 222a. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 573, LG-Köl, 24 Ks 1/63, verdict of May 12, 1964, p. 178.
10. YVA, M-33/425, p. 714.
11. LG-Bonn, 8 Ks 2/62, verdict of February 19, 1964 (published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, (1978) p. 564).
12. PAGV, letter from Sofia Yakovlevna Shalaumova, July 7, 1998.
13. YVA, M-33/425, pp. 8–9.

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KUBLICHI

Pre-1941: Kublichi, village, Ushachi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kublitschi, Rayon Uschatschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kublichy, Ushachy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kublichi is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Polotsk. Before September 1939, it lay close to the border with Poland. In 1926, it had 546 Jews, according to the population census. The Jewish population of the Ushachi raion (without Ushachi) consisted of 306 people, the bulk of whom lived in Kublichi. Extrapolating from the rate of population decline in the raion in the period 1926–1939, the Jewish population of Kublichi was probably somewhere between 230 and 300 in 1939.

German forces of Army Group Center captured Kublichi on July 3, 1941. There was no organized evacuation. According to survivors, the authorities (among them some Jews) abandoned Kublichi by car after the local unit of the Red Army had left the village. Only a few Jews, mainly men and party or Komsomol members, tried to flee before the Germans entered the village, but almost nobody succeeded.

There was an "interregnum" in Kublichi between the departure of the Soviets and the arrival of the German army. During this period, peasants rushed into Kublichi to rob the abandoned shops and warehouses. According to the survivor Vera Gilman, the peasants tried to prevent the Jews from joining in the plunder. They cried: "Yids, you've got riches enough, soon the end will come for you too."[1]

The occupiers appointed local authorities and ordered Jews to register. The registration of Jews was conducted in the square before the Kommandantur and was accompanied by a selection of those fit for work (starting at age 13). There were various kinds of forced labor in Kublichi. Jews were subjected to different forms of abuse; some were killed. For example, according to Gilman, a Jew named Shneiderman appeared at work one day without the yellow patch on his clothing. The Nazis told him to undress and carved a six-pointed star on his back with a knife; when he tried to resist, they killed him (by setting their dogs on him). The Nazis also killed other Jews in Kublichi.

In the fall, most probably in September 1941, the Jews were resettled to Lepelskaia Street; this was the first "ghetto" in Kublichi. The witnesses differ on whether the street was fenced in with barbed wire. The ghetto was not guarded, but there was a high mortality rate among the ghetto inmates.

In the winter of 1941–1942, there was a resettlement of Kublichi Jews to Ushachi. It is unclear from the witness accounts when this resettlement took place. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the Jews of Kublichi were brought to Ushachi together with the Jews of Usaia and Bobynichi in December 1941. Gilman dates this event on December 10, 1941. Nonetheless, both Kublichi survivors Vera Gilman and Nikolai (Kolia) Gilman attest that when they arrived in the ghetto of Ushachi, it was empty, because all the Jews of Ushachi had been killed. This could only mean that the Kublichi Jews arrived in Ushachi in January 1942. So a more probable date for the resettlement is January 1942, maybe even January 12, when the Jews of Ushachi were shot.

Before the resettlement to Ushachi, some Jewish "specialists" were separated and spared in Kublichi for a while. The eyewitnesses, both Jewish and non-Jewish, give varying information on the names and even on the number of those who were spared. Vera Gilman claims that 15 families of specialists (such as carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers) were singled out and placed in a separate house as early as November 1941; at the same time, the rest of the Jews were resettled into the building of the former maternity hospital. The building was guarded by the local police. Some people from the "maternity hospital" were used for labor too. Gilman attests that there was some cleavage between the specialists (who lived under somewhat better conditions than the rest of the Kublichi Jews) and the maternity hospital dwellers. When the latter came to the specialists asking for some bread for their children, the specialists refused, saying: "You will be killed in any case, and we are permitted to live."

So, according to Gilman, on the day of the resettlement from Kublichi to Ushachi, at 6:00 A.M., the residents of the maternity hospital in Kublichi were driven out of the building and ordered to leave all their warm coats, *valenki* (warm felt boots), and good clothing behind. Half undressed, they were taken on horse sleds and brought to the Ushachi ghetto. Some people died of exposure on the way. After the deportation of the Jews from Kublichi, a local shop sold Jewish belongings to the Belorussian population.

The new arrivals were settled in the houses of the former Ushachi ghetto; they found the ghetto abandoned by its former inmates. The ghetto was guarded. According to the survivors, the resettled people found graffiti in Yiddish in one of the houses: "They are bringing us to be shot. If somebody survives, let him avenge us" (*Undz firt men shisn. Ver vet zikh rateven un bleibn lebn, nemt nekome far undz*). Old people put on their talles (prayer shawls) and prayed.

Some days later, the Jews of Kublichi were killed too. On the morning of the day when the Nazis began to drive the Kublichi Jews out of the Ushachi ghetto, somebody set the ghetto on fire. Some of the Kublichi Jews were killed on the spot, and the rest were brought to the same pits on Doletskaia Street where the Ushachi Jews had been killed, and they were shot there. It is unclear when and how the specialist Jews from Kublichi were killed.

The ChGK estimated the total number of Jews killed in Ushachi at 925. This number is almost certainly too high, taking into account that there were only 893 Jews living in Ushachi and its raion in 1939.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

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The documents of the ChGK for the Ushachi raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-223). Eyewitness testimonies can be found in YVA (O-3/2244 and O-3/4708-4717).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. YVA, O-3/2244.

LAPICHI

Pre-1941: Lapichi, village, Osipovichi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lapitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lapichy, Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lapichi is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the census of 1926, there were 709 Jews living in the village. By mid-1941, emigration had considerably reduced the Jewish population.

German forces captured the village in early July 1941, two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, a few Jews managed to evacuate to the east, but many who tried to leave were forced to return by the rapid advance of the German forces.[1] About 300 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

Throughout the German occupation, from July 1941 to June 1944, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German commandant established a village authority and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. Soon after the occupation, the German commandant ordered the village authority to register and mark the Jews and organize their exploitation for various types of forced labor.

On August 18, 1941, the first Aktion took place, in which a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 shot 107 Jews who were accused of engaging in sabotage and supporting the partisans.[2] Survivor Inna Viktorovna Voinova, who stayed in Lapichi after her attempt to flee from Minsk was blocked by German forces, recalled that on August 18 (Aviation Day in the Soviet Union) rumors spread that the Red Army would come and save them. Instead, Germans and local police (*politsai*) surrounded the town and escorted all the Jewish men into the woods and shot them. After this first Aktion, mostly women, children, and the elderly remained in Lapichi, living in constant fear as news of further executions in the region arrived daily.[3]

Information on whether a ghetto existed in Lapichi is very sparse. According to Voinova, the Germans did not permit Russians and Jews to live together, but otherwise her testimony seems to indicate that most Jews continued to live in their own homes. In January 1942, the Germans and local police surrounded part of the town and gathered all the Jews there into three houses. Everyone expected that this was the end, but most Jews were sent home and ordered to pack up their warm clothing (presumably for donation to the German army). However, 10 or 12 people—some old men and a few teenagers—were kept behind and then shot next to the village fence.[4]

The women and children remained alive until April 1942. Then, in a single day, Germans and local police from Osipovichi surrounded the village, gathered all the Jews together, and shot them in a large ditch. More than 140 people were murdered in this Aktion.

Voinova recalls that her survival was due to a fortunate circumstance: "When the Germans came to take everyone away, my Aunt Tonia told them that there was a Russian girl whose parents had been arrested and that she lived in the house. The German ordered me to go to the other half of the house, where a Russian family lived. And so I continued to live."[5]

Different relatives of the famous Yiddish poet Moshe Kulbak died in all three of the Aktions conducted against the Jews of Lapichi, which meant that they were buried in three separate graves.

SOURCES Inna Viktorovna Voinova's recollections of her experiences in Lapichi during the war were published in *Sovetish Heymland*, no. 8 (1990), and are available in English translation on the Web at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/kurenets/k_pages/kulbak.html. Other relevant publications include V. Zaitsev and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin and Il'ia Al'tman, eds., *My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4: Sbornik* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 568; "Lapichi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 5: 263-264 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi Fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004); 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), p. 705; and Marat Botvinnik, in *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Lapichi can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-82-5); and NARB.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "War Survivors," available at www.levins.info/history/SurvivedWar.html.
2. See the report of the 252nd Infantry Division for August 18, 1941: "Of the total of 179 prisoners, the SD shot: 107 Jews and three partisans," cited in Hannes Heer, "Die Logik des Vernichtungskrieges. Wehrmacht und Partisanenkampf," in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1997), p. 117. According to Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, 75 Jewish males were shot in a forest near the village in August 1941. In 1993, their remains were reburied in the Jewish cemetery in Osipovichi.
3. Testimony of Inna Viktorovna Voinova, born in Minsk in 1931, available at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/kurenets/k_pages/kulbak.html.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

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LENINO

Pre-1941: Lenino (until 1918, Romanovo), village, Gorki raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Gorki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lenina, Horki raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lenino is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) to the northeast of Mogilev. In 1923, under the Soviets, the Jewish population of Lenino was 498, of whom 41 worked as artisans, while most others were engaged in agriculture.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the village in the second week of July 1941. According to one witness, about 70 Jews were murdered by the Germans and the *politsais* (local police) shortly after the arrival of German forces. The Jews who managed to flee from Lenino, as well as some who lived in nearby villages, were then assembled in Lenino (about 60 Jews altogether) and confined in two houses, as a form of small ghetto; they were subsequently transferred to Gorki, probably in the fall of 1941, and murdered there together with the local Jews. Three Jewish "specialists" continued to work for the Germans in Lenino until the summer of 1942, when they were also killed.[1] During the occupation, probably about 140 Jews from Lenino and the surrounding villages were murdered by the German occupying forces and their collaborators.

SOURCES Information on Lenino can be found 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), p. 722; and in Uladzimir M. Liushyts, *Ishlo u byassmertse Haradotskae Heta* (Orsha, 1995) pp. 7–8.

There is a testimony regarding the fate of the Jews in Lenino at YVA (O-3/4666).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. Stefan Yevmenenko, YVA, O-3/4666.

LEPEL'

Pre-1941: Lepel', town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lepel, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lepel', raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lepel' is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,919 Jews lived in the town, comprising 13.9 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Lepel' raion (without the town of Lepel') was 289 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small town of Kamen'.

German forces (XXXIX Army Corps, Panzer Group 3) entered Lepel' on July 3, 1941. From August 1941, Lepel' was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being situated on its western edge, close to the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). From August 1941 until July 1942, the Lepel' area lay in the realm of the 403rd Security Division; from July 1942 it fell under the 201st Security Division, with its headquarters in the village of Borovka, northeast of Lepel'. The town of Lepel' was the site of Feldkommandantur 181. In 1941–1942, Ortskommandantur I/851 was based in Lepel'.

The German military authorities appointed Yu.N. Nedelko, a former schoolteacher of physical training, as the mayor of Lepel', and Voitekhovich became head of the Belorussian police.[1]

Survivors Roza Fishkina and Semyon Feigelman give good accounts of the situation of the Jews in Lepel' under German occupation. From the start, the Germans shot those whom they suspected were Communists and provoked local people into robbing and murdering Jews.

Both survivors attest that some days after the arrival of the Germans the new authorities introduced the first anti-Jewish measures. One day, early in the morning, they woke up the Jews of Lepel' and assembled them on a boulevard in the town's center for a meeting. All Jews, including small children, old people, and the sick "who had been unable to get up from their beds for several years," in the words of Fishkina, were told to come to the assembly place. The assembly was accompanied by beatings and other kinds of violence; the boulevard was guarded by German soldiers, so some Jews thought that it was a deportation or mass execution. But once there, the Jews simply had to listen to an officer read out new regulations restricting Jewish life. Among other things, forced labor was introduced. A Jewish committee was appointed with the Jewish elder Gordon at its head.[2]

A ghetto was established in Lepel' at the end of July 1941. It included the streets Leninskaia, Volodarskaia, Vokzal'naia, and Bannyi Lane (according to another account, Leninskaia, Vokzal'naia, and Kanal'naia Streets). According to Fishkina, the houses in this district of the town were wretched: some of them had neither doors nor windows nor wooden floors. Jews were crammed 30 to 40 people to a house. The ghetto inmates were forbidden to switch on the light, to go out of their houses "without any business," and to look out of the windows. In winter they were forbidden to take water from wells; they could only melt snow instead. The ghetto inmates did not receive any food.

Every day, the ghetto Jews were escorted to forced labor. On the way they had to sing a song, of which the only words were "Juden kaputt" (the Jews are finished). Fishkina does not mention the Jews being used for any vital or systematic tasks; their work included cleaning the streets of snow, cleaning cesspools without any tools, cutting firewood, transporting bricks, and doing other menial tasks. During the work, "traitors" (local collaborators, most probably, local police) beat the Jews with sticks, trying not to miss anybody.

Germans and *politsais* (local police) robbed the ghetto Jews of their belongings. As can be inferred from Fishkina's account, Mayor Nedelko imposed a "contribution" of gold and

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valuables on the ghetto Jews. Raising the contribution proved difficult, and many Jews were killed during the course of its collection. Nedelko may also have tried to extort money from the Jews for protecting them from mass killing. In any case, it is clear that the population, Jewish and non-Jewish, had some knowledge of the forthcoming liquidation of the ghetto.

The ghetto was liquidated on February 28, 1942.[3] On the morning of this sunny but very frosty day, the local police, headed by the deputy commander of the Belorussian police in Lepel', Pavel Sorokin, surrounded the ghetto and began to assemble it's inhabitants. Later the SS appeared. Some Jews were killed on the spot, which may mean that they put up some resistance. The rest, who, despite the heavy frost, were dressed only in light clothing, were taken in trucks to the killing site: pits near the village of Chernoruch'e, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) south of the town. The initiator of the killing was Obersturmbannführer Wilhelm Wiebens, the head of Einsatzkommando 9. Immediately after the mass murders of Jews in Beshenkovichi and Chashniki, Wiebens turned to the Lepel' Kommandantur with a request to hand over the Jews of Lepel' to him for liquidation. The deputy commandant, Major Hirschberg, tried to object, claiming that he needed these Jews as manpower for constructing a major road (*Rollbahn*). As a result, two weeks later Wiebens's representative appeared in Lepel' once more with a new order, and the killing took place.[4] It is unclear what other units, apart from Wiebens's men, took part. Fishkina mentions also that *narodniki*, or men of the Russian National People's Army (RNNA), participated in the Aktion.

The Vitebsk Regional Commission for Assistance to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of victims as 1,000 or (another estimate) 980 people.[5] The trial of Einsatzkommando 9 (the main defendant being Wiebens) held in West Berlin in 1966 estimated the number of victims of the Lepel' ghetto at 1,100.[6]

In the village of Kamen', 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) northeast of Lepel', in 1926 there were 426 Jews living in the town (80 percent of the population). There was no formal ghetto in Kamen'. Jews were forbidden to leave the town but continued to live in their own houses. The wearing of yellow stars was introduced. Jews continued to perform agricultural labor at the local kolkhoz.

According to the ChGK, 158 Jews of Kamen' were killed on September 17, 1941. On the day before, the Nazis assembled all the Jews in a building where there had been a wool factory before the war. On September 17, all the male Jews of the town were loaded onto trucks and taken in a northwesterly direction to the cemetery of Borki to dig a mass grave, after which they were killed. Then the Nazis came to the town to take women and children to the massacre site. Before the women were taken to Borki, the teacher Dora Baselovich cried to the others: "Don't believe the Germans! They took the men not for working but for digging pits for us!" The women and children were killed at the same place.[7] According to the only survivor, Meise (Moisei) Aksentsov, a German officer from the local garrison informed Jews some days before the murder that they would be killed, but nobody ran from the town. On September 17, when he was brought with the other Jewish men of Kamen' to dig the mass grave, Aksentsov shouted, "Run away," attacked a nearby policeman, and hit him on the head with a shovel. The crowd of Jews scattered, but all were mowed down by machine-gunners except for Aksentsov himself, who ran in the direction of the nearby boggy lake, where he succeeded in hiding among the rushes. On this day his wife and four children were killed.[8]

In February 1942, 26 Jews of the village of Pyshno, 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Lepel', were transferred to Lepel' and shot there, together with the local Jews, on February 28.[9]

Elsewhere in the raion, the nine members of the Jewish Fishman and Klibanov families were killed in the Poliany sel'sovet, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) east of Lepel'. Six Jews were killed in the village of Zateklias'e, some 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) west of Lepel'. A one-year-old child of mixed parentage was killed in the area of the village Zabolot'e, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) southeast of Lepel'.

SOURCES In the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 35–40, 45–54) deal with the Holocaust in the Lepel' raion. The events in Lepel' were discussed at the trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 held in West Berlin in 1966, so a description can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 23 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Lepel' raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-104) and GAVO (2088-2-3). Copies can be found also in BA-L (ZStL, Ordn. 423, pp. 280–380) and in YVA (O-53/23). The only extant oral account of the events in Kamen' (although not by an eyewitness) can be found in YVA (O-3/4682).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-104.
2. Testimony of Roza Fishkina; see ibid. For Feigelman's account, see Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 46–48.
3. Both survivors, S. Feigelman and Roza Fishkina, name this day as the date of the last Aktion.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 23:517. This source erroneously dates the killing on April 28.
5. GARF, 7021-84-104; GAVO, 2088-2-3.
6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 23:517.
7. GAVO, 2088-2-3, pp. 192, 199; Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 35–40.
8. YVA, O-3/4682. Aksentsov died in 1955; his story was retold by his nephew Grigorii Raikhelson from Vitebsk, who claims that he heard this story from Aksentsov many times.
9. GAVO, 2088-2-3, p. 190.

LIADY

Pre-1941: Liady, town, Dubrovno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljady, Dubrowno Rayon, Rear Area,

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Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liady, Dobrouna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liady is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-northeast of Orsha. In 1939, 897 Jews lived in Liady, making up 39.2 percent of the population.

Liady was captured by the Germans on July 18, 1941. According to the survivor Vyacheslav (Betsalel) Tamarkin, an evacuation from the town, started by the local authorities on July 14, failed because the Germans advanced rapidly, and the evacuees found themselves caught in the Germans' rear area.[1]

Liady suffered greatly in the fighting, and most of its houses were destroyed. The Nazis resettled most of the Jews into a special quarter of the town (a form of "open ghetto"), which was not fenced in; the houses of the area were crammed full of people. A Jewish Council was established. The mayor of the volost' (administrative district) of Liady was Ostapenko.

The occupiers did not disband the "Jewish" kolkhoz, and in the words of Tamarkin, a survivor and a former kolkhoznik, "[f]ormer members of the kolkhoz 'Nayer Lebn' toiled now as slaves for the [German] police chief."[2] Moreover, the Nazis did not force the Jewish kolkhozniks to wear the patch in the form of the Star of David on the chest and on the back, which they forced on the rest of the Liady Jews. Thus the Jewish kolkhozniks were perceived as "privileged" Jews, and it was rumored that all the Jews of Liady would be killed, but the agricultural workers would be spared.[3] Sometime later, at the end of the summer, however, the Jewish kolkhozniks were also resettled into the Jewish area of the town.

There was a flour mill in Liady, and the Germans let the old Jewish millers stay there. The millers, Bogorad and Minkin, were allowed to ask the Jewish Council for whatever number of Jewish workers they "needed" to load the flour for the Germans. Although the Jews were forbidden to mill rye for themselves, and the Belorussian police and *narodniki* (Russian National People's Army [RNNA] men) kept an eye on this, the mill workers managed to provide the Jews of Liady with grain.[4]

Later in the fall of 1941, the Germans drove groups of Jews, including former kolkhozniks, to forced labor: cobbling the main street of Liady with bricks. During this work, the Jews were forbidden to carry bricks in barrows; to work in gloves; to use such tools as picks, shovels, and crowbars; or even to stand up straight.[5]

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans carried out their first killing Aktion; the survivor Faina Kogan (née Velikovskaia) dates it on September 27, 1941. Some days prior to this, they caught several Jewish youths (Sara Malkina, Tanya Kalner, Isaak Kuznetsov, Izya Yukhvich, and three people who were not from Liady) who had left the ghetto and gone east—according to one version, to form a partisan unit, according to another, to cross the front line. The Germans gathered the young Jewish people of the town and abused them. They forced a group of young men to crawl along the main street without using their arms and legs. Another group was sent to a nearby hollow to dig a pit there. Then they gathered all the Jews of Liady at this hollow and brought the seven Jews who had been arrested and publicly shot them in the pit.

The next morning, the Germans once more assembled all the Jews at the local Jewish cemetery. Tamarkin writes:

> [T]he Nazis started sorting out people into women, men, and children. They separated the young boys from the girls, forming two columns, and brought them to the benches. They would put a girl on one bench and a boy on the other one; then they whipped them with rods. After the whipping they threw everyone into a barn. . . . The men of the punitive squad announced that they would free the youngsters if the Jews collected a certain amount of gold and silver valuables by the morning. They picked 29 "intellectuals" from the men's group, took them away and shot them behind the new Jewish cemetery.[6]

In March 1942 the local police and narodniki resettled the Jews of Liady into a school building that had been prepared in advance: the windows were boarded up with planks, and the building was surrounded with barbed wire; in the corners of this fence, watchtowers were erected. The prisoners of this new "ghetto" received neither food nor water; according to an eyewitness, the people were crammed together so densely inside the building that it was impossible to lie down. Sometimes the Nazis took some people from the ghetto for work; this allowed the Jews to get some food. Typhus epidemics broke out in the ghetto, and many prisoners died.[7]

At the end of March, it was rumored in the ghetto that the Germans had driven local peasants to deepen antitank ditches on the eastern, Russian side of the Mereia River. This rumor compelled some people to flee the ghetto. On April 2, 1942, the Jews of the Liady ghetto were brought across the Mereia to the Russian side and shot there.[8]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 1,860 Jews were killed in Liady; this is probably an exaggeration, even taking into account that some Jews were brought to Liady or came there by themselves from nearby villages and that some Jewish refugees from Poland remained in the town under the occupation.

The village of Baevo is situated 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) southeast of Dubrovno, or 13 kilometers (8.1 miles) south of Liady at the border with Russia. No ghetto was established there; the local Jews were mainly agricultural workers. In early October 1941 a "punitive squad" arrived in Baevo from Gorki (Mogilev oblast'). The squad assembled all the Jews from the village, escorted them to the Mereia River (the border with Russia), and shot them in an antitank ditch near the village of Pakhomovo.[9] According to the ChGK, 115 Jews were killed here. The ChGK compiled a list of 34 Jewish households annihilated by the Nazis in Baevo.

A mixed Russian-Jewish family, the Bruevs, was hidden in the village. In March 1942, the Jewish mother and her three daughters of mixed parentage were transferred to the ghetto

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of Liady; the Russian father was left behind. Remarkably, the latter, Boris Mefodievich Bruev, managed to ransom his daughters from the Liady police and bring them back to Baevo. In another mixed family, the punitive squad murdered the Jewish mother in October 1941, but her fair-haired children were spared. In March 1942 they were also transferred to Liady.[10]

In Rossasno, the Jews were first assembled in the building of a local school, which was guarded by the indigenous police. On April 2, 1942, they were brought in horse-drawn sledges to Liady and killed together with the local Jews.[11] According to the records compiled by the ChGK, 74 Jews were killed.

SOURCES The book of memoirs by V.L. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne* (Moscow, 1998), deals with the Holocaust in Liady. A short essay by Gennadii Vinnitsa, "Liadniaskoe getto," appeared in *Evrei Belarusi: Istoriia i kul'tura* 1 (1997): 128–133. In the book by the same author, G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 16–31) deal with the Holocaust in the Dubrovno raion.

German documentation concerning Liady may be found in BA-MA (RH 26-707/15). In the 1980s, an amateur historian, a school principal from Liady named Lev Erenburg, collected witness accounts and newspaper clippings pertaining to the Holocaust in Liady. Parts of this archive were copied and brought to YVA (O-3/4670). The papers of Vyacheslav Tamarkin are located in USHMM (RG-10.094). Documents of the ChGK can be found in GARF (7021-84-6); a video testimony can be found at VHF.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, p. 62; see also YVA, O-3/4670.
2. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, p. 99.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. Ibid., p. 104.
5. Ibid., p. 102.
6. Ibid., pp. 113–114; see also YVA O-3/4670. According to Kogan (Velikovskaia), whose father Zalman Velikovskii was also among the "intellectuals" shot by the Nazis, they selected 27 people.
7. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, pp. 116–118.
8. GARF, 7021-84-6; *Krasnoarmeiskaia Pravda*, October 31, 1943.
9. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 16.
10. Ibid., pp. 16–17.
11. Ibid., p. 29. See also **Rossasno**.

LIOZNO

Pre-1941: Liozno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Liosno, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liozna, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liozno is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 711 Jews lived in the town, making up 17.3 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Liozno raion (without the town of Liozno) constituted 691 people, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Kolyshki, Babinovichi, and Dobromysli. Based on the Jewish population of these towns in 1930 (951 in Kolyshki, 262 in Babinovichi, and 204 in Dobromysli), there were probably around 420 Jews in Kolyshki, 115 in Babinovichi, and 85 in Dobromysli at the start of the war.

Liozno was captured by German units of the V Army Corps, 9th Infantry Army, on July 16, 1941; Dobromysli was the site of heavy fighting, and it was captured on July 19.

The Liosno Rayon became part of Rear Area, Army Group Center. An Ortskommandantur was established in Liozno, with Hildebrant as the commandant.[1] The chief of the local police in Liozno was Chepik, later Piskunov. Another officer of the local police, Konstantin Turkov, played an instrumental role in the murder of the Jews in Rayon Liosno, as did his subordinates Liarskii, Savitskii, Karavaev, Popov, Seleznev, and others. Some Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) witnesses describe Turkov as a sadist who boasted of killing 500 people with his own hands. The starosta (village elder) of Kolyshki was Roman Korotkii; a survivor characterizes

The Vinogradov family poses in a garden with Polina, the Jewish girl from Liozno whom they saved and adopted (after 1945). Mother Yuliana and daughter Iraida (later Savelieva) were recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 1997 by Yad Vashem.
USHMM WS #57695, COURTESY OF JFR

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him as a man with a measure of conscience who had some compassion for the Jews.

On December 5, 1941, the Soviet counteroffensive from Moscow began. In January 1942, the Soviet 4th Shock Army (under the command of Colonel General A. Eremenko) struck a blow at the junction of German Army Groups Center and North, one of the weakest points of the German front, aiming to recapture Vitebsk. After a number of successful advances, in the first days of February, units of the 4th Shock Army broke through to the approaches of Vitebsk and stopped 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) outside the city. A corridor (the so-called Surazh gate) emerged between Usviaty and Velizh, on the Belorussian-Russian border. On February 6, the Soviet 358th Infantry Division reached Ponizov'e (Russia), close to Liozno and Ianovichi. In February, a Soviet reconnaissance unit appeared in Kolyshki.[2] Some days later, in the course of their counteroffensive, the Germans regained Kolyshki and drove back the advanced Soviet units 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) away from Vitebsk.

Liozno is situated on the highway between Vitebsk and Smolensk; thus many Jewish refugees from Vitebsk, Minsk, Bobruisk, and Orsha were there when the Germans captured it. The refugees swelled the town's Jewish population. During the fighting, some of the town's dwellings were burned. The occupiers ordered Jews to wear armbands bearing a Star of David and resettled them into a ghetto. The ghetto consisted of 30 to 40 houses along one street; the survivor B. Chernyakov estimates its population at 600. In winter the situation in the ghetto deteriorated considerably. Chernyakov writes:

> The police burst into ghetto houses in the winter at any time of the day or night. They broke the windows, beat the Jews with sticks and whips, and chased them out into the freezing cold. Not a single pane remained in one of the houses where there had formerly been a cobbler's shop, even though 40 people lived in that house in –40° Centigrade [–40° Fahrenheit] weather. Infested with lice, the people slept on rotten, wormy straw. A typhoid [*sic.*, typhus] epidemic began. Several people died every day.

According to the same eyewitness, in the fall of 1941 the Germans arrested, abused, and shot six aged Jewish men.[3] In addition, sometime during the winter, Vulf Grinshtein, a Jew married to a non-Jew, was killed. The *politsai* (local policeman) Yevgenii Lyarskii came to Grinshtein's wife and demanded "gold and a gold watch." When she refused, Lyarskii threatened to kill her or her husband. Some days later, Lyarskii came into Grinshtein's house with several other policemen and once more demanded gold. When the Grinshteins refused, the policemen beat up Grinshtein and shot him.[4]

At the end of February 1942, at the request of the local Ortskommandantur, the ghetto in Liozno was liquidated. Some days before (various accounts date it on February 23, 24, or 27), a six-man German squad from Einsatzkommando 9, accompanied by a detachment of the Liozno auxiliary police headed by Turkov, appeared in the town. In the night, the town was surrounded by the police, some of whom assembled the ghetto Jews in a big barn on Komsomolskaia Street. During the night, 20 people froze to death in the barn. On February 24 (or 25 or 28), the police started moving the people from the barn to the Adamenki Ravine (2 or 3 kilometers [about 1.5 miles] northwest of Liozno) and shooting them there. The Jews of Liozno were killed together with the Jews of the surrounding villages. The killing was conducted mainly by the local police. Before the killing, the police ordered the Jews to undress. According to a situation report of Einsatzgruppe B, 361 people were killed at that time. After the liquidation of the Liozno Jews, their belongings were sold in a local shop to the non-Jewish population.[5]

Taking into account that some Liozno Jews were killed before the last Aktion and that, according to Chernyakov, the mortality from disease in the ghetto was high in the winter months, we can assume that many more than 361 Jews perished in Liozno. Chernyakov may be close to the real number of victims when he estimates that 600 Jews were concentrated in the Liozno ghetto and met their deaths in 1941–1942.

On February 25 or 27 (according to various sources), a police unit headed by Turkov appeared in Babinovichi (27 kilometers [16.8 miles] southwest of Liozno). The squad took "more than 20" Jews from the village and escorted them on horse sledges to Adamenki; however, the politsais shot most of them on the way. The list compiled by the ChGK gives 26 names of Jews killed; it is unclear whether the list is complete.[6]

The roughly 40 (36 according to the ChGK) Jews of the village of Dobromysli (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] southwest of Liozno) were assembled into one house and then shot at the end of February 1942 in the Adamenki Ravine by a Belorussian police unit that came from Liozno. See also **Kolyshki** for information on the fate of the Jews in that village.

Elsewhere in the Liozno raion, no fewer than 15 Jews were killed in the village of Ryzhiki, Babinovichi sel'sovet (26 kilometers [16 miles] southwest of Liozno); at least 9 Jews were killed in the Sutoki sel'sovet (8 kilometers [5 miles] southwest of Liozno); in the Zamsheno sel'sovet (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] north of Liozno), 6 Jews were killed, members of the Altman family. In Emelianovo, 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) north of Liozno, 20 people were killed in the winter of 1942; it is unclear whether they were Jews. There are some indications that in Veleshkovichi (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] north of Liozno, Zamsheno sel'sovet) a number of Jews were killed by local inhabitants or at least with their assistance.[7]

SOURCES The events in Liozno are mentioned in I. Ehrenburg and V. Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 240–241. On the military operations in this region during the winter of 1941–1942, see A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 434–440.

The documents of the ChGK for the Liozno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-8); relevant German documents can be found in BStU (ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI); and BA-MA (RW 46/499).

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NOTES

1. The ChGK documents identify it as OK I/991.
2. GARF, 7021-84-8.
3. B. Chernyakov's letter, in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 240.
4. GARF, 7021-84-8, witness Kulagina.
5. The majority of the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK date the Aktion on February 23–28. According to them, some of the Liozno Jews were killed on February 24 or 25, the others, on the following days; see ibid. Contrary to that, Einsatzgruppe B's Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht (BStU, ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI, pp. 176 ff.), as well as Chernyakov's letter, date the whole action on February 28.
6. GARF, 7021-84-8; Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 240.
7. Rumors about a killing of Jews in Veleshkovichi circulated in Vitebsk in 1941; see YVA, O-3/4720.

LIPEN'

Pre-1941: Lipen' (formerly Kholui), village, Osipovichi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lipen, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lipen', Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lipen' is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1926 census, Lipen' had a Jewish population of 441. By 1941, migration had slightly reduced that number.

Units of Army Group Center captured the village in early July 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, some of the Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. Slightly more than 200 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration appointed a village head and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from among local residents.

Soon after the occupation of Lipen', the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration of the Jews, who were made to wear yellow stars. They were also required to perform various kinds of forced labor. In August 1941, all the Jews in the village were moved into a ghetto consisting of several houses.

Descriptions of the ghetto by two Jewish survivors present certain inconsistencies. According to Vladimir Kasperskii, the ghetto was on one street that ran from the club to the river. It was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police.[1] Sarra Kossperskaia, on the other hand, who was married to a Russian with whom she continued to live, maintains that the whole village was a ghetto and that it was not fenced in. She states that there was no heat, little food, and no ration cards. There were also a few Jewish refugees in the ghetto from places farther to the west. Local policemen entered the ghetto and robbed the Jews.[2]

The ghetto in Lipen' existed for about two months. German forces liquidated the ghetto in October 1941 by shooting all the Jews, a total of more than 200 people. Some Jews tried to hide at the time of the roundup, but most were uncovered with the help of the local police. The Jews were shot close to the Svisloch' River.

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jews of Lipen' during the Holocaust include the following: 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), p. 734; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 304; "Lipen'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Lipen' can be found in these archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; RTKIDNI (69-9-14); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 24); and VHF (# 32020 and 44150).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 32020, testimony of Vladimir Kasperskii.
2. Ibid., # 44150, testimony of Sarra Kossperskaia.

LIUBAN'

Pre-1941: Liuban', town and raion center, Liuban' raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljuban, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liuban', raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liuban' is situated 152 kilometers (94 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 1,077. In addition, 214 Jews lived in the villages of the Liuban' raion.

Liuban' was occupied by units of the German army on July 8, 1941. On August 2, 1941, an unknown German military unit arrived in Liuban' and gathered the adult males of the town in the courtyard of the kolkhoz. The Germans then selected all the Jews, some 150 to 200 men, loaded them onto trucks, and drove them off in the direction of the village of Kostuki. Later that day, it became known that the Germans had shot the men in gravel pits between Kostuki and Dubniki, about 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Liuban'. Among those murdered were Giler Retschin, Alter Levin, and Aron Kustanovich. Following this first Aktion, many of the remaining Jewish men went into hiding.[1]

The head of the local police in Liuban' was Aleksandr Gidronovich. The Germans shot him in 1943, apparently for aiding the Soviet partisans.[2]

At the beginning of September 1941, the German authorities concentrated the Jews of Liuban' and the surrounding area into a ghetto on the west side of town. The ghetto was in a separate quarter behind the market square around Pervomaiskaia

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Street and was surrounded by barbed wire. About 1,000 people were confined within the ghetto. Each house contained three or four families. German soldiers from the Ortskommandantur and local policemen guarded the ghetto.[3] On German orders, all inhabitants of the ghetto had to wear a yellow star on the front and back of their clothing. Jews could not leave the ghetto without an escort, not even to buy food. Every day the Germans forced adult Jews to work cleaning the streets, repairing roads, digging military defenses, and performing other tasks. The German authorities also spread virulent propaganda against the Jews.

In the fall of 1941, German forces repeatedly entered the ghetto to conduct pogroms, beating Jews without reason and stealing their property. Germans from the local commandant's office demanded "contributions" in gold from the Jewish elder, Boris Molina, threatening to shoot the Jews if their demands were not met. On several occasions, gold was collected and handed in to the commandant's office. The Germans also arrested and shot some non-Jewish Soviet activists, as reported by a certain Mayevski, who was only wounded and managed to escape.[4]

On November 8, 1941, after an attack on Liuban' by Soviet partisans during the night of November 6–7 (in honor of the day of the October Revolution), the German garrison, reinforced by German troops from Urech'e, together with the local police arrested up to 50 Jewish men and shot them the same day. Among the innocent people murdered in this reprisal Aktion were Josef Levin, Samuel Gurevich, David Epstein, and Hayim Lvovitsh.[5]

Fanya Lvovitsh described the desperate predicament of those who remained just prior to the liquidation of the ghetto: "Escaping from Liuban' was impossible. First, there was nowhere to run to. Jews had no safe haven. Second, for every Jew who escaped they murdered 100 others."[6]

At the beginning of December 1941, a German punitive unit consisting of more than 100 SS men arrived in Liuban'. It was rumored that they came from Glusk, where they had just killed all the Jews. For three days, together with soldiers of the commandant's office, they plundered the ghetto, beating the Jews and demanding their valuables. Then on December 4, 1941, the German forces surrounded the ghetto, together with the local police, and began to drive all the ghetto inmates out onto Pervomaiskaia Street.

Survivors of the massacre, Mot Kustanovich and part of his family, managed to hide in a bunker they had prepared. During the remainder of the day and the next two days, they heard shots from rifles and machine pistols, as well as victims pleading for their lives. More than 1,000 residents of the ghetto, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were murdered on December 4. Most were escorted out of town in a large column and were murdered near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS) on the edge of town. The graves were dug and filled in by local residents, who saw children's clothing strewn by the wayside on the road back to town. Over the following days Jews uncovered in hiding were either shot inside the ghetto or taken to the mill by the peat marsh on the west of town and murdered there. The Kustanovich family is known to have hidden successfully until the night of December 9–10, when they fled under cover of darkness to join the Soviet partisans.[7]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Slutsk, N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), contains some information regarding the Jewish community of Liuban', including a letter by Fanya [Lvovitsh] concerning the events of the Holocaust. Information regarding memorial sites in the town can be found in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 70.

Information on the destruction of the Jews of Liuban' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/II 202 AR-Z 56/75); and GARF (7021-87-5).

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NOTES

1. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 28–31, statement of Mot S. Kustanovich on May 5, 1969, pp. 32–35, and statement of Nikolay Lagun on May 8, 1969. Chinitz and Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, pp. 456–457, Fanya [Lvovitsh], "A letter from Lyuban" (translated from Yiddish by Paul Pascal), gives the figure of 200 for this first Aktion.
2. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–27, statement by Makar Suchan on April 29, 1969. Suchan served in the local police from the end of November 1941 to the summer of 1944.
3. On August 9, 1941, the Ortskommandantur in Liuban' was OK I/685 (BA-MA, RH/26/221-17), but especially during the initial German advance, the military commandant's offices changed location quite frequently.
4. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–44.
5. Ibid.; Fanya [Lvovitsh] ("A letter from Lyuban"), who lost her father in this Aktion, dates it on November 8.
6. Fanya [Lvovitsh], "A letter from Lyuban."
7. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–44.

MAR'INA GORKA

Pre-1941: Mar'ina Gorka, town and center, Pukhovichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Marjina Gorka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mar'ina Horka, center, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mar'ina Gorka is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 786 Jews living in Mar'ina Gorka.

Mar'ina Gorka was occupied by units of the German army at the beginning of July 1941. As the Red Army was retreating, local inhabitants killed 11 Soviet soldiers. Sometime in August 1941, about 70 or 80 inhabitants of Mar'ina Gorka (mostly Jewish men) were arrested and taken to the police courtyard where they were held captive and systematically abused for one week. The Germans cut off their beards, cut stars into their heads, forced them to crawl, and beat them with rifle butts, whips, and sticks. Among those held was a

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Jew named Isaak Fried, who with the others was forced to eat grass and jump from a roof. After about a week, the captives were driven to the cemetery and shot.[1]

At the end of August or in early September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mar'ina Gorka in the area of Gorky Street, May 1 Street, and Soviet Street. Some 600 people were confined within the ghetto, mainly women, children, and the elderly. The local population was forbidden to enter the ghetto, and Jews were forbidden all contact with their former neighbors.[2]

In the second half of September 1941, Gendarmerie Wachtmeister Bruno Mittmann drove to Mar'ina Gorka from Minsk together with some 20 Gendarmes and 27 Schutzpolizei (Schupo) to carry out an Aktion against the local Jewish population. In charge of the Aktion was SS-Brigadeführer Carl Zenner, as well as Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla. The Aktion had been ordered personally by the newly appointed Generalkommissar in Weissruthenien, Wilhelm Kube.[3]

Early in the morning, the Germans and local policemen surrounded the ghetto and forced the Jews to assemble on Lenin Square. The people were beaten severely, and children cried and screamed; those who could not walk were dragged along by the others. The Jews were then loaded onto trucks and conveyed to the Blon' Collective Farm just north of Mar'ina Gorka. One woman, Goda Kogan, called out to a non-Jewish friend as she was driven away: "Live well! We won't see each other again!" Another Jewish woman sprang from the moving truck into the river and was shot by the German guards.[4]

At Blon', the Jews were made to undress in a pigsty and then taken up the hill of Popova Gorka in groups of 10 to be shot with machine guns. The Jews from the nearby Pukhovichi ghetto were also escorted to Blon' on foot that day and were shot together with those from Mar'ina Gorka. Children were thrown into the grave and buried alive. According to one account, some women were raped before they were shot. The shootings lasted nearly all day. The Germans attempted to drown out the noise of the shooting by running tractor engines.

The Rayon mayor, Leonid Derban, was present at the killing site. Clothing and other valuables taken from the victims were loaded onto trucks and taken to Mar'ina Gorka. These items were subsequently sold at the communal shop or stolen by the police. Some 67 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were also taken to the killing site on trucks later in the day, and the Germans shot them in a separate mass grave next to the Jews.[5]

The German Einsatzgruppen report states that the Aktion against the Jews in Mar'ina Gorka "became necessary because the Jews were sabotaging all the instructions issued by the occupying authorities. The work assigned to them was done with great reluctance. Nine hundred and ninety-six Jewish men and women were given 'special treatment' in order to break this spirit of resistance."[6] Of these, probably some 500 came from the Mar'ina Gorka ghetto and the rest from nearby Pukhovichi. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report estimates 970 bodies in one grave and 67 in another nearby.[7]

Bruno Mittmann (born 1901) was tried in Minsk in 1946 for the murder of the Jews in Mar'ina Gorka and Pukhovichi, among other crimes. The Soviet authorities sentenced him to death and hanged him.[8] Local policeman Nikifor L. Moshenok was convicted in 1946 for service in the German police. In his interrogations, he admitted guarding the Jews during their roundup and execution but denied having personally taken part in the shooting.[9] In the records examined for this entry, no mention of Jewish survivors could be found.

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Mar'ina Gorka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); GARF (7021-87-12); NARA; NARB; USHMM (e.g., RG-53.002M, reel 12); and YVA.

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1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Olga Androsik, on March 25, 1968, and Sinaida Bartasevich, on December 18, 1945.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 132–133: Bruno Mittmann at the Minsk trial in January 1946 dated the Aktion on September 28, 1941; Dok. Bd. I, p. 120, Nina Sinoveyna, a local inhabitant of Mar'ina Gorka, dated it on September 24. The ChGK report of September 28, 1944 (USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 [GAMINO, 15-3-457]), gives the date of September 17, 1941; USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. The reason for this intervention by Kube may be related to a previous Einsatzgruppen report about the Jews of the Marina Borka [*sic*] district fleeing to the woods, joining with the partisans and plundering the area; see Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.
4. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 87–94, statements of Sinaida Bartasevich and Valentina Cherepko in December 1945.
5. Ibid., Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny and Sinaida K. Bartasevich in September 1944.
6. USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.
7. USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 (GAMINO), 15-3-457. The report includes a sketch of the grave site near Blon'.
8. Records from the Minsk trial can be found in USHMM, RG-06.025 (Selected Records of the FSB concerning war crimes investigations and trials in the Soviet Union).
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, p. 126, statement of Nikifor L. Moshenok, July 11, 1946.

MOGILEV

Pre-1941: Mogilev, city, raion, and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mogilew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mahiliou, raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Mogilev is located about 200 kilometers (124 miles) east of Minsk. According to the census of 1939, Mogilev's 19,715 Jews made up 19.8 percent of the city's population.

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The German invasion of the Soviet Union prompted the evacuation to the east of a considerable number of Jews and the conscription of part of the male Jewish population into the Red Army. The exact number of Jews remaining in Mogilev at the start of the occupation is not known.

Units of the Wehrmacht entered Mogilev on July 26, 1941. Occupied Mogilev was at first located in Panzer Group 2's zone of operations and then came under Rear Area, Army Group Center. Authority in the city was divided between the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/292 under Major Krantz) and the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 191 under Oberst Jatschwitz), with the former subordinated to the latter. Later, they were replaced by Ortskommandantur I/843 (1942–1943), Ortskommandantur I/906 (1943), and Feldkommandantur 813 (April 1942–1943).

In the very first days of the occupation, the Germans imposed a number of restrictions on the Jews in Mogilev, including a curfew, markings on their clothes, and forced labor. The creation of a Judenrat by the Nazis further isolated the Jews.

In early August 1941 the Germans registered the city's Jewish population, which, according to the witness testimony of N.G. Sorkin, documented 14,000 Jewish residents.[1] The Judenrat was forced to take an active part in implementing this measure. The occupiers then used this information to prepare the lists of persons for execution.

The Jews were divided into three categories. In the first group were those considered capable of heading up a resistance movement or becoming active participants in the anti-Fascist struggle. They were executed first, with 80 Jews being killed in August 1941 by Einsatzkommando 8 under Dr. Otto Bradfisch.[2] Among the victims were party workers Astrov and Khavkin and business manager Rozenberg.

The second category included the bulk of the Jewish population, which initially had been subjected to confinement in an isolated area. On August 13, 1941, a notice appeared, signed by the head of the city authority, Felitsin: "By order of the Herr Kommandant of the city of Mogilev, all persons of Jewish nationality, both genders, are to leave the city limits within 24 hours and relocate to the Ghetto zone. All persons failing to comply with the stated order in the stated period of time will be forcibly moved by the police and the property of those people will be confiscated."[3]

Jewish women carrying bundles walk towards an assembly point in Mogilev, 1941.
USHMM WS #68378, COURTESY OF GFH

Mogilev's Jews, or a great many of them, were herded into the ghetto on Grazhdanskaia Street in the Podnikol'e quarter. Jews from Kniazhitsy and the Vorotyn' area were also relocated here.[4] In September 1941, the ghetto was moved to the bank of the Dubrovenka River, with borders running from Bykhovskii Market to Vilenskaia Street (later Lazarenko Street). Mayor Felitsin selected the territory for the ghetto. A small number of Jews left Mogilev upon hearing of the relocation to the ghetto.

Bada Iudina went to Mstislavl', where she soon found herself among prisoners of the ghetto there. To save herself, she claimed to be a Belarussian woman and was sent to work in Germany.[5] A student from the Mogilev Pedagogical Institute, Inessa Parkhovnikova, set out for the village of Polykovichi, where she hid with a friend's family.

Confinement to the ghetto was accompanied by the killing of Jews as well. People were shot on the doorstep of their own homes. According to a German Security Police report, "[I]n Mogilev, the Jews also tried to sabotage their resettlement into the ghetto. One hundred and thirteen Jews were liquidated."[6]

Between 40 and 60 people were forced into each house in the ghetto on the Dubrovenka. Foodstuffs were not provided. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto. The ghetto was a "closed ghetto" and was guarded by the Feldgendarmerie and Belorussian policemen. All those who were capable of work were sent to do hard physical labor. Young people were regularly beaten, while old men were mocked and their beards and mustaches were shorn. The shooting was almost continuous. Accused of impertinent behavior, 337 Jewish women were executed.[7] Two Jews were killed because they were not wearing the yellow patch. Another 2 were shot as alleged agents of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). Three Jews were shot after being discovered with explosive material, and 4 for refusing to work. Eight Jews were accused of incitement and propaganda and then shot.

According to several sources, besides the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River, there were other places for concentrating Mogilev's Jews, which appeared in September–October 1941 somewhere on Vilenskaia Street and in an enclosed part of a field next to where the Hotel Mogilev stands today.[8] These should be classified as holding places for victims before execution. A longer period of confinement is connected with the Dimitrov Factory (Strommashina).

In October 1941, the occupiers carried out two Aktions aimed at the destruction of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River. The first mass killing took place on October 2 and 3, 1941. The executioners were from Einsatzkommando 8, Police Battalions 316 and 322, Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft

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Battalion 51, and a police detachment called "Waldenburg." In all, 2,073 Jews were shot. The first 65 Jews were killed right in the ghetto on October 2. The remaining 2,008 people were first driven into the Dimitrov Factory and then shot on October 3, 1941, in the Mashekovskii Jewish cemetery.[9]

The second Aktion was carried out on October 19, 1941. Einsatzkommando 8, Police Battalion 316, and Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft Battalion 51 all participated in the Aktion. This mass shooting, which claimed the lives of 3,726 Jews, took place predominantly in the villages of Kazimirovka and Novoe Pashkovo.[10] The annihilation of the ghetto inmates followed approximately the same scenario in both cases: "Fall of 1941. When it was already very cold, the Germans arrived in the ghetto in many vehicles, and began to force the Jews from their homes and load them onto the motor vehicles. Screams, noise, crying arose from the ghetto. Those who were not able to walk were shot on the spot. I saw this with my own eyes. All the vehicles were covered with a tarpaulin."[11] The exact date on which the 4,800 Jews reportedly murdered in Polykovichi took place remains unresolved.

In Mogilev, the Germans used "mobile gas chambers" or "gas vans" to kill some of their victims. This instrument of death looked like a large, black-colored enclosed truck. They killed people by feeding the vehicle's own exhaust fumes into the hermetically sealed chamber where the victims were held.[12]

After the liquidation of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River, remaining Jewish property there was plundered. The deserted homes were combed in the search for valuables, high-quality clothing, and household objects.

The destruction of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River marks the end of what is conventionally seen as the first phase in the history of the Holocaust in Mogilev. It should be noted that the second period is less clear and more problematic in terms of reconstructing the events. This second phase is connected to a large extent with the fate of the Jews relegated to the third category drawn up by the Nazis after the census. At issue here are the specialist workers and craftsmen whom the Nazis needed and therefore spared from liquidation until later. The saddlers, shoemakers, locksmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, tinsmiths, tanners, glaziers, and painters who were thus selected were confined on the premises of the Dimitrov Factory. At the end of September 1941, around 1,000 Jews were driven into the forced labor camp established there.[13]

At the beginning of its existence, the camp probably was filled only with Jews and was a kind of closed ghetto for hard labor, which also had its own 15-man Jewish police force. It was guarded externally by local police, and the Jews were forbidden to leave its premises. According to the testimony of L.M. Naimark, after the liquidation of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka, a considerable number of Jews were taken to the Dimitrov Factory and killed there.

Work for the camp's Jewish inmates consisted of hard physical tasks. These could have something or nothing at all to do with an inmate's vocation. The inhabitants of the forced labor camp were also fed poorly. Every Sunday, the Germans carried out a purge.[14] The corpses were buried in two pits, right where they were shot. A typhus epidemic also broke out as a result of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions.

According to Sorkin's testimony, the camp contained not only Jews. The ratio of Jews to non-Jews, however, has not been determined. After a visit by Heinrich Himmler on October 23, 1941, the camp was expanded. On the basis of witness testimony, it is estimated that the capacity of the camp was about 2,000 people, and during its existence between the fall of 1941 and the fall of 1943, up to 4,000 people probably passed through the camp, most of whom were killed.[15]

Sometimes contingents of Jews from elsewhere were sent to Mogilev. For example, approximately 400 Jews were brought to the camp from Słonim on May 26, 1942. Available testimony indicates that up to 4,000 Jews were liquidated in the camp in a single Aktion in 1942 (the exact date is not known).[16]

To cover up the evidence of their crimes, the Germans in the fall of 1943 exhumed their victims' remains from the mass graves in Polykovichi, Novoe Pashkovo, and Kazimirovka and burned them.

A small number of Jews survived. As for losses, the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) of October 8, 1944, gives an overall figure of 10,000 Jews murdered.[17] However, the aforementioned document says nothing of the shootings in the camp at the Dimitrov Factory. The total number of Jews who perished in Mogilev, therefore, may be as high as 14,000 people.

SOURCES One of the first attempts to describe the Holocaust in Mogilev was the essay by Ida Shenderovich, "Zabytoe getto," published in the collection *Historyia Mahiliou: Minulae i suchasnasts'* (Mogilev, 2003), pp. 92–101. Another key source of information is the detailed monograph by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), in which the author examines the murder of Mogilev's Jews, citing many archival collections. Other relevant publications include the following: Andrej Angrick et al., "'Da hätte man schon ein Tagebuch führen müssen.' Das Polizeibataillon 322 und die Judenmorde im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Mitte während des Sommers und Herbstes 1941," in Helge Grabitz et al., eds., *Die Normalität des Verbrechens. Festschrift für Wolfgang Scheffler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1994), pp. 32–85; *Pamiats': Mahiliou* (Minsk, 1998); Ida Markovich Shenderovich, *Martirolog: Spiski evreev, pogibshikh vo vremia vtoroi mirovoi voiny: Mogilev* (Mogilev: "Dzhoint," 2001); Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Shul'man, eds., *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk: Tonpik, 2004); and *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Lfd. Nr. 1044, pp. 284–286.

Relevant documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Mogilev during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L (e.g., B 162/3337); BA-MA (e.g., RH 26-286/10); BLH (video testimony of N.G. Sorkin); GAMO (260-1-15); GARF (7021-88-43); NARA; NARB (e.g.,

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570-1-1 and 4683-3- 943); PAGV; PAIMSh; RGVA; USHMM (e.g., RG-53.006M, RG-48.004M, and RG-53.002M); VHAP; VHF (e.g., # 31372 and 43212); and YVA.

Gennadii Vinnitsa
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BLH, video testimony of N.G. Sorkin.
2. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 3 (August 15–31, 1941), in Peter Klein et al., ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion, 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 159.
3. GAMO, 260-1-15, p. 14.
4. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 111, testimony of K.P. Bazylenko.
5. PAGV, testimony of B.G. Iudina.
6. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230.
7. Ibid.
8. Material in PAIMSh.
9. USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, KTB of Pol. Btn. 322, October 2–3, 1941, and report of 9. Company, Pol. Rgt. Mitte, October 15, 1941.
10. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941; and Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 7 (November 1–30, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 253.
11. TsAKGBRB, t. 1, gr. 7, op. 7, por. 4, arkh. no. 1277.
12. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 113, testimony of V.V. Kurochkin.
13. NARB, 570-1-1, p. 137 reverse; BA-MA, RH 26-286/10.
14. BLH, video testimony of N.G. Sorkin.
15. BA-L, B 162/3337 (202 AR-Z 52/59, vol. 4), p. 637.
16. Ibid., pp. 453, 634, 637, 641–642, as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 771–772.
17. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 120, ChGK report, October 8, 1944.

MSTISLAVL'

Pre-1941: Mstislavl', town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mstisslawl, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mstsislau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mstislavl' is located 80 kilometers (50 miles) east-northeast of Mogilev. In 1939, 2,067 Jews lived in Mstislavl' (19.7 percent of the population).

Soon after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, refugees from western Belorussia began arriving in Mstislavl'. No organized evacuation from the town was undertaken. Young adult males were mobilized into the Red Army. Most women, the elderly, and children were unable to escape on foot, and it was difficult to get a place on the few available trains. Many families decided not to leave their property behind unprotected. On July 14, 1941, the Germans entered Mstislavl'.

During the battles, some Jewish homes were burned, and people had to move to other houses. Soon after their arrival, the German forces arrested Communist activists, officials of the local administration, and some Jews. A local police force was established under the command of police chief Kureshev. The local police assisted the German authorities in controlling the Jews: all Jewish houses were marked with six-pointed stars, and all Jews were registered. Every day the Jews had to report to the marketplace to be assigned to forced labor; those unable to work were beaten. Compulsory labor tasks included the cleaning of cesspools and lavatories.

Probably in September 1941, Egon Noack, commander of Vorauskommando Moskau of Einsatzgruppe B, arrived in Mstislavl'; after consulting with the mayor and the head of the local Russian police, he ordered the creation of a ghetto in the "Sloboda" section of town. All Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto, while local Belorussians were evacuated from this area. During this visit, the Security Police under Noack ordered the collection of fur coats from the Jews, and after the ghetto was established, the German Security Police shot about 30 male Jews.[1]

Some testimonies, however, indicate that there was no formal ghetto in Mstislavl' and that the Jews were taken from their own houses to be shot. Only the Jews from the collective farm in Kazemirovka were taken to town the day before the mass shooting and were held on Leninskaia Street, which used to be the "Jewish street" before the war. At the beginning of the occupation, some Jews from the western part of town had also moved there after their houses burned. Therefore, it appears that the area around Leninskaia Street, which came to be heavily populated by Jews, was some form of "open ghetto" and apparently was not enclosed.[2]

On October 14, 1941, a punitive unit commanded by Field Marshal Krause and consisting of Germans and some Ukrainians arrived in Mstislavl'. Krause ordered an Aktion against the Jews to be carried out the next morning. At 7:00 A.M., the Jews were driven from their homes, and 30 older men were transported to the Leshenskii ditch, where the Germans shot them, leaving the bodies unburied. Young women were forced into shops and sexually abused; if they tried to defend themselves, they were shot on the square. The rest of the Jews were gathered in the yard of the pedagogic school. Among them were also Jews from Zarech'e, on the opposite bank of the Vikhra. In early October, the Germans had announced through loudspeakers that the Jews of Zarech'e should prepare for resettlement to Palestine. On October 15, 1941, the Germans and local residents escorted the Jews of Zarech'e to Mstislavl' in columns.

At the school, the guards took the Jews into classrooms, forced them to undress, took their valuables, and sent them back half-dressed to the yard. Among the Jews, rumors soon spread about the killings. At 3:00 P.M., the Jews (at least 700 people) were separated into two columns, one for men and one for women.[3] Then the Germans and local policemen escorted them out of town.

The Germans and local policemen escorted the Jews to the west of Mstislavl' to the Kagalny Ravine between the Zamkovaia and Troitskaia hillocks (near the Inovskii sel'sovet, 2 kilometers [1.2 miles] from town). First they selected 50

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Jews to dig the pits, then they killed them. Then the others were forced to undress completely and to lie down in the pits, where they were shot from behind in groups of 10.[4] Some witnesses claim that the local police conducted the shootings while the Germans guarded the site.

The schoolteacher Minkina begged to save the life of her six-year old son, whose father (Orlovski) was Russian. In reply, the Germans stabbed her child with a bayonet and threw him into the pit.[5] When the shooting was over, the local police checked the dead bodies, and recognizing that two women were still alive, they finished them off.[6]

The report of the Einsatzgruppen recorded that "900 Jews were executed in Mstislavl' as they had [allegedly] provided food, clothing, and shelter to partisans passing through the area."[7] Another source indicates that the Germans and their collaborators murdered some 700 citizens of Mstislavl' at the mass grave site, most of whom were Jews but including 35 Roma (Gypsies) and 168 Belorussians, shot there subsequently.[8]

Some Jews who had the opportunity to escape decided to die with their relatives. Rusya Zhits was hidden by her friend Nadezhda Lipitskaia, but when the shooting began, she gave herself up because she could not abandon her sick mother. Fanya Eselevich was not taken with the convoy because she was married to a Russian, and the Germans did not recognize her as being Jewish, but when she saw that her relatives, including her eight-month-old son, had been killed, she decided she had no reason to live.[9]

After the shootings, remaining Jewish property was looted. On December 18, 1941, Ortskommandantur I (V)/256 reported the transfer of jewelry and other valuables, which had been secured by the town administration as the property of Jews who had been "finished off" before the unit's arrival in Mstislavl'.[10]

Only a few Jews managed to escape the roundup on October 15. When the Germans and police came for the photographer Eselevich, he and his wife, with three daughters (Fania, Mina, and Khaia) and the grandchildren, were at home. Mina and Khaia managed to escape through the backyard of their neighbors Valentina and Ada Vasil'evy. The twin sisters Vasil'evy gave Mina and Khaya their birth certificates and smuggled them out of town at night. In the village of Kazimirovo, the Germans took the two refugee girls for Belorussians and sent them to Germany as forced laborers (Ostarbeiter). After the war, Mina lived in France, and Khaia returned to Belorussia.[11]

At the time of the mass shooting, Boris Mikhlin (13 years old) hid in the creek that led to the Vikhra River, and nobody found him. Liubov Basnoi was also rescued from the column of Jews.[12] A German looked at her and said: "You don't look like a Jew." She understood this as a sign and, without hesitating, escaped from the column and hid in the town. Ilya Josifovich Malkin lost his children in the massacre on October 15. He managed to escape on his own and joined the Soviet partisans. He survived until the liberation by the Red Army, swearing to avenge his family and bring Nazi criminals to justice. The partisan group "Kazankov" was established by Semen Leibovich Sheinin and Iakov Moiseevich Malkov, who escaped from the mass shootings at the very last moment.[13]

The town was liberated on September 29, 1943, by units of the 344th Rifle Division (Colonel Strakhov) and the 196th Tank Division (Lt. Colonel Dukhovny). No Jews were left in Mstislavl' on their arrival. The 49th Army conducted the first investigation into the murder of the Jews on October 4, 1943,[14] estimating that 1,300 people had been murdered, including children and adults. On November 1, 1943, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission found a concealed mass grave near Mstislavl'. In Kagal'nyi Rov, they discovered at least 20 pits full of bodies. After conducting a forensic examination and interviewing witnesses, they established the identities of about 650 people.[15]

SOURCES Witness testimonies and other information relating to the fate of the Jewish population of Mstislavl' under the German occupation can be found in the following publications: Vladimir Tsypin, *Evrei v Mstislavle* (Jerusalem, 2006); Y. Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Moscow: Tekst, 1993), pp. 274–275; F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetelśtva Krasnoy Armii* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Biblioteka Kholokosta, 1996), pp. 22–23; David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednye svidetely* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 243–244; and *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2002, and June 20, 2003.

Documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Mstislavl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/14); BA-L; GARF (7021-88-45 and 8114-1-966); NARB; SAPAMO; Sta. Kiel (2 JS 762/63); TsGAMORF; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky and Martin Dean
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. See Sta. Kiel, investigation of Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 4, p. 152, statement of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and vol. 1, pp. 48–49, statement of Klingelhöfer on July 1, 1947.
2. Vladimir Tsypin, *Evrei v Mstislavle* (Jerusalem, 2006), p. 199.
3. Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, pp. 274–275.
4. YVA, M-40/MAP/81.
5. GARF, 8114-1-966, p. 282.
6. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiut*, pp. 22–23.
7. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 7, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 252; see also BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.
8. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 264; Tsypin (*Evrei v Mstislavle*, p. 158), believes the figure of 900 victims is too low since other estimates of the number of victims in the ravine range from 1,400 to 2,000.
9. N.T. Lipitskaia, "Ya byla ochevidtsem massovogo rasstrela evreev," *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2002.
10. BA-BL, R 2104/14, pp. 512–514.

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11. M. Khutortsova, "Nezabyvaemoe," *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2003.
12. L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednie svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 243–244.
13. PALS, letter from Vladimir Tsypin in Iavnee, July 2, 2004.
14. TsGAMORF, Fond 49th Army-9733-120, p. 47.
15. *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii. Mstislavl'skii raion* (Minsk, 1999), pp. 467–472.

NAPRASNOVKA

Pre-1941: Naprasnovka, village, Gorki raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Naprassnowka, Rayon Gorki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Naprasnavka, Horki raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Naprasnovka is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north-northeast of Mogilev. In 1930, the Jewish population was 248.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the village in July 1941. Evidence regarding the treatment of the Jews under German occupation is sparse, but in the view of the Belarusian historian Marat Botvinnik, a form of ghetto or concentration camp was probably created for the Jews in Naprasnovka at some date before the mass shooting in March 1942. Prior to the killing Aktion, the German occupying forces imposed a "contribution" in gold and valuables on the Jews and beat them severely. According to the interrogations conducted by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission in December 1944, on March 22, 1942, German forces and local police killed 250 Jews, including many women, children, and elderly people. The victims were buried in eight pits in a wood 200 meters (219 yards) west of Naprasnovka.[1]

SOURCES Information on Naprasnovka can be found in the following publications: 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), p. 874; in Uladzimir M. Liushyts, *Ishlo u byassmertse Haradotskae Heta* (Orsha, 1995), pp. 7–8; and in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 297, 308.

Documentation on German crimes in Naprasnovka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-36, pp. 9–10); NARB (845-1-6, p. 55, and 861-1-9, p. 303); copies are also available at USHMM and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky and Martin Dean

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-88-36, pp. 9–10.

OBCHUGA

Pre-1941: Obchuga, town, Krupki raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obtschuga, Rayon Krupki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Abchuha, village Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Obchuga is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1923, there were 272 Jews, who mostly lived in the center of the town. Between the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the arrival of German forces in early July, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east.

Soon after the start of the German occupation, the German authorities imposed the wearing of a yellow Star of David on their clothes and an evening curfew on the Jewish population. The German military administration also ordered the recruitment of a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) and placed a man named Pogorelskii at its head. It is not clear exactly when the ghetto was established in Obchuga, but at some time before the summer of 1942 all the Jews were moved into 10 houses on Logovskaia Street. The area was enclosed by barbed wire, and the Germans placed a sign at the entrance of the ghetto that read: "Anyone entering will be shot; anyone bringing food will be shot."[1]

On May 5, 1942, Germans and local policemen surrounded the ghetto and shot most of the Jews (about 440 people). The few survivors of this Aktion were shot in June 1942.[2] Forces of the Red Army recaptured Obchuga from the Germans in June 1944. After the war, partly owing to the loss of its Jewish population, the Soviet authorities downgraded the town of Obchuga to the status of a village settlement.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Obchuga include the following: Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Listy istorii* (Vitebsk, 1999), pp. 169–175; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 685; and 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), p. 918. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229, implicate the head of the police in Borisov, David Egof, in the murder of the Jews of Obchuga, citing materials presented at his trial in 1947.

Additional documentation, including the statements of local witnesses, can be found in PAGV. There are statements by local witnesses from Obchuga in the records of the East German trial of Georg Frenzel conducted by Sta. Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz) in 1970. Some relevant information may also be found in the trial record of David Egof in AUKGBRBMO.

Martin Dean
trans. Adam Kahane

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Listy istorii*, pp. 169–171.
2. Ibid., pp. 172–173.

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OBOL'

Pre-1941: Obol', *village*, *Shumilino raion*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obol*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Obal'*, *Shumilina raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Obol' is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Polotsk. On the eve of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Obol' had a Jewish population of several dozen people.

German armed forces captured the village on July 8, 1941, about three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. About 10 or 15 Jews remained in the village at the onset of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration created a village authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents.

Soon after the occupation of Obol', the Ortskommandantur ordered the village authority to conduct the registration and marking of the Jews and required them to perform forced labor. In the fall of 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were placed in a ghetto, for which one small house was allocated. The ghetto was in existence for about seven months; during that time, several Jews died. On June 2, 1942, the Germans and local police liquidated the ghetto, shooting all six of its Jewish inmates at the cemetery.

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jews of Obol' during the Holocaust include the following: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 186, 196; and "Obol'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Obol' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-12); and GAVO.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

OBOL'TSY

Pre-1941: Obol'tsy, *village*, *Tolochin raion*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obolzy*, *Rayon Tolotschin*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Abol'tsy*, *Talachyn raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Obol'tsy is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) west-northwest of Orsha. In 1923 the Jewish population was 353 out of a total of 382 residents.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village in early July 1941. The Germans established a ghetto there on August 14. About 150 people (25 families) were moved into two single-story buildings of a school.[1] The ghetto was guarded by the local police; the chief of the guard unit was Pavel Kuntsevich.[2] The inmates wore armbands with a yellow star; forced labor was imposed. Boris Etin became the Jewish elder.

According to survivors' accounts, Jewish youth from Obol'tsy collected arms abandoned by the retreating Soviet forces. On March 5, 1942, news of the murder of the Jews in Smoliany, Orsha raion, reached the ghetto. The survivor Anna Iofik recollects: "The decision to flee came immediately. We waited until midnight. Then some 60 Jews, headed by Semion Iakovlevich Iofik [the pre-war chairman of a Jewish kolkhoz in Obol'tsy], escaped from the school and suggested to the local policeman Linich that he let us go, and when we had reached the forest, he should shoot over our heads. Otherwise, Semion Iakovlevich said, we will use our weapons against you. Iakov Iofik and Aron Levin had rifles."[3] Leonid Kogan, 16 years old, even succeeded in getting his 4-year-old sister Raisa out of the ghetto.

The number of 60 escapees, as well as certain other details of these accounts, may be an exaggeration, but the fact is that a number of young Jews from Obol'tsy later fought in Soviet partisan units, including the Zaslonov brigade.

The ghetto was liquidated on June 4, 1942; the Aktion began at 5:00 or 6:00 A.M. The remaining approximately 100 Jews of Obol'tsy were shot in a pit close to the site of the ghetto.[4] The list of victims compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) contains 37 names.[5]

SOURCES Publications regarding the ghetto in Obol'tsy include the books by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 126–128; and *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 27–29. The ghetto is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 165.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Obol'tsy can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-14, pp. 28–29); RTKIDNI (69-1-1067); and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-14, pp. 28–29; Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, pp. 27–29.
2. RTKIDNI, 69-1-1067, testimony of the partisan Sonia Amburg.
3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 127.
4. RTKIDNI, 69-1-1067, Sonia Amburg.
5. GARF, 7021-84-14.

ORSHA

Pre-1941: Orsha, *city and raion center*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Orscha*, *Rayon center*, *Rear Area*, *Army*

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Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Orsha, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

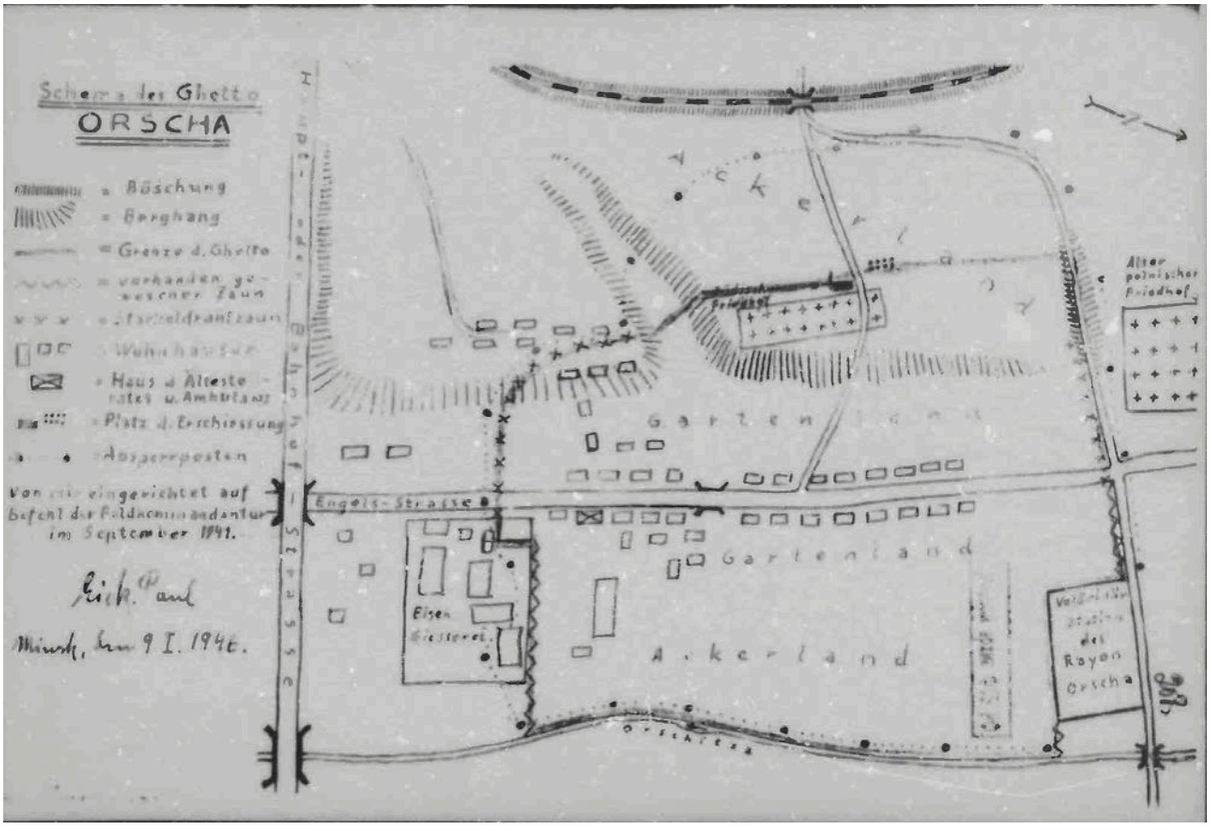
Orsha is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) south-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, 7,992 Jews lived in the city of Orsha (21.3 percent of the total), and 589 Jews (3.6 percent of the total) lived in the neighboring district of Orshanskii zheleznodorozhnyi poselok (Orsha Railway Settlement, in the census of 1939 referred to as Orshanskii zh.d.). After 1938, in the Orsha raion, there were also the towns of Kopys', Orekhi-Vydritsa (now Orekhovsk, 123 Jews, or 3.35 percent of the total population in 1939); and Baran'. The rest of the Jewish population of the Orsha raion (excluding the towns of Orsha, Baran', and Kopys') included 627 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Smoliany (950 Jews lived here in 1926) and Osintorf. After the war, the borders of the Orsha raion were changed, and Osintorf was included in the Dubrovno raion. (See also **Baran'**; **Dubrovno**; **Kopys'**; and **Smoliany**.)

Before World War II, Orsha was one of the most important railway junctions in the western part of the Soviet Union. The Germans bombed Orsha on the first day of the invasion, June 22, 1941, and a further heavy bombing raid followed on the night of June 24–25, when the city center was severely damaged. This event impelled many Jews to leave Orsha, which, with its railway tracks, depots, and industrial plants, seemed to be a dangerous place.

Orsha was captured by units of the German 2nd Panzer Group in the course of the Smolensk operation between July 10 and July 20, after heavy fighting.

Ortskommandantur I/906 was initially responsible for Orsha's administration. From August 1941 onward, Orsha was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The area was in the realm of the 286th Security Division, with its headquarters based in Orsha. The city was under the control of Feldkommandantur 683, and of Ortskommandantur I/842, subordinated to it.

A key role in the genocide of Orsha's Jews was played by the commandant of Ortskommandantur I/842, Baron von Ascheberg, and his deputy, Paul Karl Eick, who appeared in the city at the end of July. Eick was attached to the Ortskommandantur as an officer for special tasks and was subordinated directly to the 286th Security Division. Before his arrival, the Ortskommandantur had registered the Jewish population and ordered the Jews to wear a black armband with a yellow star on it. Some witnesses recollect that, apart from this, the Orsha Jews wore star-shaped patches on their backs. A witness at the Minsk trial in 1946 related that the "[Belo-]russian population was allowed to remain outdoors until 7:00 P.M, the Jews, until



Sketch map of the Orsha ghetto, January 9, 1946, prepared for the Minsk trial by Paul Eick, who in September 1941 built the ghetto "on the order of the Field Commandant's Office."
USHMM RG-06.025*03, MICROFICHE 13, FILES 514–517

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6:00 P.M. Food was scarce, and when it was sold at the market, according to a commandant's order, two separate queues were formed: one for the [Belo]russian population and one for the Jewish population. Food products were allotted to the Jewish population only if something remained after the [Belo-]russian population had finished their purchases."[1] It is not clear whether the Judenrat in Orsha was formed before Eick's arrival or after it (witness accounts diverge on this point). The chairman of the Jewish Council was Kazhdan, a former bookkeeper. Only one survivor refers to a Jewish police force, which helped to guard the ghetto in Orsha.[2]

Upon his arrival, Eick imposed a "contribution" on the Jews, amounting to 150,000 rubles. According to Eick's testimony at the Minsk trial, the Jews were able to pay 125,000 rubles in valuables and cash, of which the cash was left for Orsha's city authority, and the valuables (silver and gold, according to the testimonies at the Minsk trial) were transferred to the Reichsbank in Berlin.[3] Forced labor was imposed on the Jews; it consisted mainly of clearing the city of the ruins left after the bombings.

In early September, Eick, following a decision made at a meeting in the office of the Ortskommandantur, established a ghetto. It consisted of 39 houses on Engels Street (also known previously as Gorodnianskaia),[4] where about 2,000 people were to be concentrated. The Jews were given three days to move into the ghetto. On one side, the ghetto was bordered by the Orshitsa River, and on the other sides it was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. The ghetto also bordered the Krasnyi Borets ("Red Fighter") Iron Foundry. The Jewish cemetery was included in the ghetto area.[5]

The ghetto inmates were crammed together under severely overcrowded conditions; in some houses, according to one survivor's account, they even divided rooms with planks horizontally, thus creating more space for sleeping.[6] The Germans provided inadequate food (a witness at the Minsk trial speaks of 10 to 15 grams (0.4 to 0.6 ounce) of flour and some potato per person per day). Typhus epidemics broke out in the ghetto.[7] According to witnesses, some younger Jews managed to leave the ghetto and exchanged various possessions for food with the local non-Jewish population. Despite the barbed-wire fence, ghetto inmates suffered from intrusions by people whom the witnesses at the Minsk trial called "German soldiers." Most probably they were locals, perhaps men of the local police. Whoever they were, the intruders robbed Jews of their belongings and sometimes raped women. Ghetto inmates tried to complain about this to Eick, but to no effect.

The first mass shooting of Jews in Orsha was carried out by Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Dr. Alfred Filbert) of Einsatzgruppe B, in August 1941. In this month, a group of Jews, 43 people, were killed.[8] A large mass shooting of Jews in Orsha took place in September 1941 when Einsatzkommando 8 (commanded by Dr. Otto Bradfisch) and part of Einsatzgruppe B, on its way to Mogilev, shot an unknown number of Jews of both genders.[9]

The liquidation of the Orsha ghetto was carried out by the forces of the local SD with the participation of the Ortskommandantur, primarily von Ascheberg and Eick. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), it took place on November 27, 1941. In the evening of November 26, the ghetto was surrounded by members of the Feldgendarmerie, commanded by Eick. The mass shooting began at 7:00 A.M. The Jews were brought from the ghetto in groups to the Jewish cemetery, where Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had dug pits. The victims were ordered to undress and made to lie down in the pits; then they were shot with automatic rifles. In this one-day Aktion, 1,873 people were murdered.[10]

In April 1942, several Jewish families, 53 people in total, were murdered. It is unclear whether these were "specialists" or Jews discovered in the countryside.

In September 1943, the Nazis attempted to erase the traces of the mass murder. Using a labor force of Soviet POWs, they exhumed and burned the bodies of those who had been killed in 1941–1942; the operation continued for five days. Nevertheless, in 1944 the ChGK was able to estimate that the total number of bodies buried in Orsha was 6,000 (not all of them were Jews).

The town of Orekhi-Vydritsa is located about 20 kilometers (12 miles) north of Orsha. According to the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in December 1941, 7 Jewish men were brought to the nearby village of Briukhovo and killed there. The rest of the Jews, mainly women and children, were killed in April 1943. Estimates by witnesses of the number of Jews killed during the last Aktion range from 30 to 50. Such a late (for eastern Belorussia) killing of Jews appears unusual; it may actually have occurred in 1942. The list of victims prepared by the ChGK contains 14 names, 6 of which sound Russian, and suggesting, perhaps, that the victims may have been Jews passing as "Aryans."

Elsewhere in the Orsha raion, a Jew named Finkelshtein, who had worked as a driver in a local kolkhoz, and his two sons were killed in the village of Krashino (about 10 kilometers [6.2 miles] southeast of Orsha). Fourteen Jews were killed in the Krasnyi Bereg kolkhoz in a northern suburb of Orsha. Three Jews, the Vingrover family, were killed in the village of Mezhevo and nine in the village of Shemberevo (5 and 13 kilometers [3.1 and 8.1 miles] northwest of Orsha, respectively). A Jewish blacksmith was killed in the village of Ozerok (22 kilometers [13.7 miles] from Orsha along the Lepel' railway). A Jewish woman married to a Belorussian was killed in the Tuminichi sel'sovet (about 15 kilometers [9.3 miles] west-southwest of Orsha). A Jewish woman was killed in the village of Solov'e (5 kilometers [3.1 miles] northeast of Orsha).

SOURCES The events in Orsha are described in the trial of Nazi war criminals held in Minsk in January 1946; the proceedings of the trial were published as *Sudebnyi protsess po delu o zlodeianiiakh, sovershennykh nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami v Belorusskoi SSR (15–29 ianvaria 1946 goda)* (Minsk, 1947). With some precautions, the information found in this book can be useful. In the book by a local historian from Orsha, Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), considerable attention is devoted to the Holocaust in the city. There is also a short survivor testimony published in Rima Dulkiniene

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and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 81–82.

Christian Gerlach concludes that there were one or two massacres perpetrated by Einsatzkommando 8 in Orsha, with 600 to 800 Jews killed in each of them; in one of the massacres, he suggests that as many as 3,000 Jews may have been killed. See Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 600.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews in the Orsha raion during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216); BA-MA (RH 26-221/17a, and 17b; and RH 26-286/3); GARF (7021-84-10); RGVA (500-1-770); USHMM (RG-06.025*03); and YVA (e.g., O-3/11082, O-3/4617, and O-3/4618).

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NOTES

1. *Sudebnyi protsess*, p. 169, testimony of Gladkov.
2. YVA, O-3/11082, testimony of Zinaida Suvorov [*sic*]. Given the considerable age of the witness at the time (1999), it should be construed carefully.
3. USHMM, RG-06.025*03, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 13, files 514–517, interrogations of Paul Eick (born April 24, 1897) from December 1945.
4. The eyewitnesses at the Minsk trial mention only "20 to 25 houses" in the ghetto. However, 39 buildings can be counted on the ghetto sketch that Eick drew for the Minsk trial, including one long barrackslike building. See Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 66–69.
5. Ibid. Eick's sketch of the ghetto bears an explanatory legend, "Von mir eingerichtet auf Befehl der Feldkommandantur im September 1941," signed "Paul Eick."
6. YVA, O-3/11082, testimony of Zinaida Suvorov.
7. An eyewitness, Basia Pikman, wrote to Ilya Ehrenburg: "Twenty old Jewish carpenters . . . gathered at the home of Eli Gofshtein on Pushkin Street, poured kerosene on the house, and burned themselves alive." See Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 205. The story told by Pikman evokes doubts. The eyewitnesses at the Minsk trial in 1946 did not mention this extraordinary incident. Further, why was it that fire did not lead to a greater fire in the surrounding area? And what a dreadful method for a group suicide. Perhaps Pikman, who was not a local inhabitant (she had come to Orsha from Minsk), retold some gossip, which possibly distorted a real tragic event.
8. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 67, August 29, 1941. "In Orsha, 43 Jews were found, some of whom were actively spreading atrocity stories, while others acted as snipers. Among them there were two Party officials." Most probably, all were shot, although the report does not state this directly.
9. Neither the published protocols of the Minsk trial nor the documents of the ChGK in 1944 mention this mass shooting. The murder (or two murders) is (are) discussed in the trial of members of Einsatzkommando 8 held in Munich in 1961. The verdict estimates the number of those killed at 600 in one Aktion and 200 in the other; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), 17:677.
10. According to the eyewitness Skakun, a former official of the city authority (*uprava*), this was the number of food ration cards he was ordered to remove from the uprava's card file; see *Sudebnyi protsess*, p. 168.

OSIPOVICHI

Pre-1941: Osipovichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ossipowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Asipovichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Osipovichi is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,694 Jews living in Osipovichi (12.3 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on June 30, 1941, just over one week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, the Germans bombed the town, and a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. Around 1,200 to 1,300 Jews remained in Osipovichi at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town, setting up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. Immediately after the town's occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the town administration to register and mark the entire Jewish population and imposed a program of forced labor on the Jews. At the end of July or at the start of August 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 carried out the first Aktion in the town. A group of Jews was shot as Soviet activists.[1]

In August or September 1941, a ghetto was created in the town.[2] It included the following streets from Rosa Luxemburg to Vera Khoruzhaia: Kommunisticheskaia, Chumakova, Oktiabr'skaia, Gorky, Raboche-Krest'ianskaia, Polevaia, Kalinin, and Serov; and these streets in their entirety: Karl Liebknecht, Krasnoarmeiskaia Sotsialisticheskaia, Revoliutsionnaia, Karl Marx, Promyshlennaia, and Protasevichskaia. Jews who lived in the northern part of town and in other places were resettled into this area, on Oktiabr'skaia and Promyshlennaia (now Golanta) Streets. Non-Jewish inhabitants were not evicted from their homes. The Jews living in the ghetto were still able to exchange possessions for food. A ration card system was introduced in the town, and a daily ration of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread was issued to each Jewish cardholder. On the left side of the chest and on the back, Jews were required to wear large circular yellow patches. They were forbidden to go to public places such as the markets and the movie theater; to teach children in schools; to greet and engage in conversation with the Belorussian population; to walk on sidewalks; to go outside the boundaries of the ghetto; and to gather on the streets in groups of more than three persons. For failure to comply with any of these restrictions, there was only one punishment: death by shooting. Every morning all able-bodied Jews over the age of 14, including most women (only those with

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infants were exempted), were taken out of the ghetto to perform forced labor, tearing down ruined barracks and other buildings and working at the railroad station and other sites.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was organized in the ghetto. One of its three members was Afroim Khavkin, who before the war had been the chief accountant of the *voentorg* (military store). The members of the Judenrat were appointed by the German Ortskommandantur on the recommendation of the town's mayor, a man named Goranin. Before the war, Goranin had been a construction technician for Military Construction Administration no. 76 in Osipovichi. It is known that, as directed by the Ortskommandantur, the members of the Judenrat registered the Jewish population.[3]

On October 11, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in the town. A combined force of SS, Wehrmacht, and local police entered the ghetto and seized at least 300 Jewish men, women, and youths, all of working age. The Jews were brought to a barracks, where all their valuables were confiscated. Then they were shot by an execution squad made up of men from the 7th Company of the 339th Infantry Division, which was based in Osipovichi until November 1941.[4] The remaining women, children, and elderly were left in the ghetto. The ghetto was liquidated on February 5, 1942, when an SS detachment arrived and shot all the remaining Jews at the Jewish cemetery.[5]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Osipovichi during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yehuda Slutski, ed., *Bobruisk: Sefer zikaron le-kehilat*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Bobruisk in Israel and the USA, 1967); V. Zorin and G. Ershova, *Osipovichi: Istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk* (Minsk, 1972), p. 53; "Asipovichy," in *Pamiats': Belarus'. Respublikanskaia Kniha* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 1995), p. 391; V. Zaitseva and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin and Il'ia Al'tman, eds., *My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); 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), p. 946; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 311; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6:161.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Osipovichi can be found in the following archives: GAMO (852-1-1, p. 169); GARF (7021-82-5); NARB (845-1-60, p. 57); USHMM (RG-50.378*031); VHF (# 34546); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on the Aktions conducted at the end of July and in the first half of August 1941, in Johannes Hürter, "Auf dem Weg zur Militäropposition. Tresckow; Gersdorf, der Vernichtungskrieg und der Judenmord. Neue Dokumente über das Verhältnis der Heeresgruppe Mitte zur Einsatzgruppe B im Jahre 1941," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (2004): 560.

2. GAMO, 852-1-1, p. 169; NARB, 845-1-60, p. 57; "Asipovichy," in *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 391; and VHF, # 34546, testimony of Aleksandra Utevskaia (Otyevskaya).

3. Zaitseva and Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta"; and USHMM, RG-50.378*031, testimony of Aleksandra [Sara] Otyevskaya; as she was married to a non-Jewish man, Otyevskaya managed to avoid being registered.

4. Bezirksgericht Erfurt, verdict of December 13, 1962, against Werner Kurt Ha., in *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die ostdeutschen Verfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 1072, pp. 243–245. In October 1941, OK (I) 304 was the Ortskommandantur in Osipovichi.

5. Zaitseva and Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta"; USHMM, RG-50.378*031.

OSTROVNO

Pre-1941: Ostrovno, village, Beshenkovichi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostrowno, Rayon Beschenkowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Astrouna, Beshankovichy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ostrovno is located 20 kilometers (12 miles) northeast of Beshenkovichi. In 1939, fewer than 300 Jews lived in the village of Ostrovno.

The XXXIX Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group captured Ostrovno in early July 1941. Before their arrival, about half of the Jewish population of the village managed to evacuate or flee to the east. From August 1941 onward, the village came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center.

On July 19, 1941, the Germans ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Ostrovno. The ghetto consisted of 10 wooden houses on one side of the main street; it was not fenced. On the day of the resettlement, a young Jew who refused to move into the ghetto was shot and killed. On September 30, 1941, the Jews of Ostrovno were killed for "hostile behavior and insubordination to orders." Einsatzgruppe B, which reported this, indicated having shot 169 people. Immediately after the mass shooting, the Germans organized the sale of Jewish belongings to local peasants for food.[1] According to a survivor, after the liquidation of the ghetto, the authorities organized a feast in the town: "People drank [liquor], ate, danced and kissed one another."[2] The same survivor stated that Jewish/non-Jewish relations deteriorated under the occupation; for example, a Belorussian family denounced a Jew who came to them and asked to be hidden. She herself narrowly escaped being denounced by a former kolkhoz chairman in a nearby village, to which she fled after the mass shooting in Ostrovno.

SOURCES The book of memoirs by Raisa Ryzhik, *Spasi i pomilui: Ocherk moei zhizni* (Vitebsk, 1997), deals with the ghetto in Ostrovno and its annihilation. The existence of a ghetto in

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Ostrovno is mentioned also 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), p. 952.

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1). Relevant German documentation is located in BA-BL (R 58/217). In YVA can be found the witness statements consulted (O-3/4615-18).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124; see also YVA O-3/4615, O-3/4617, O-3/4618.
2. Ryzhik, *Spasi i pomilui*.

OSVEIA

Pre-1941: Osveia, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Osweja, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Groups North, then Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord/Mitte); post-1991: Asveia, Verkhniadzvinsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Osveia is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Polotsk. In 1939, 350 Jews lived in the town, making up 15.1 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Osveia raion (without the town of Osveia) was fewer than 100 people.

The Osveia raion, including the town of Osveia, was taken over by the forces of Army Group North (not Army Group Center, like the rest of the Vitebsk region). On July 5, 1941, the Red Army abandoned all the area west of the Sarianka River. The forces of the II Army Corps of the 16th Army took over the area to the north of the Zapadnaia Dvina bend, including the town of Osveia, mainly on July 12, 1941.

From August until December 1941, the Osveia raion was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group North; it was within the area controlled by the 281st Security Division, stationed mainly in Latvia. At the beginning of December 1941, the raion was transferred to the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, and became part of the realm of the 403rd Security Division.

At the start of the occupation, the German authorities did not resettle the Jews into a ghetto. They introduced the wearing of yellow Magen Davids (Jewish Stars) and forced labor, initially making the Jews clear the debris that remained after the heavy bombing and conduct repair work on the roads.[1]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in February or March 1942 the Germans assembled the Jews of Osveia in a "camp" (ghetto), and five days later they shot them in pits that had been dug in a town park. According to one survivor, a Belorussian policeman whose mother worked at the Kommandantur warned him and some other Jews about the impending Aktion, and several young people succeeded in fleeing from the ghetto.[2]

The witnesses interrogated by the ChGK give the number of Jews killed as 650, which seems to be an exaggeration. A list of the victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 149 Jews.[3] The book *Pamiats': Verkhniadzvinski raion*, volume 1, gives a different number of Jews killed in the Osveia park: 459. A list of the victims of the Osveia ghetto given in the book contains 178 names, "assembled from all extant documents";[4] 25 of them share the surname of Gelfand.

Elsewhere in the raion, no fewer than 37 Jews, members of the Karl Marx kolkhoz, were killed in Kokhanovichi, 16 kilometers (10 miles) south of Osveia (or 16 kilometers [10 miles] northeast of Drissa).[5]

SOURCES The ghetto in Osveia is mentioned in V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 99.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Osveia under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-92-218); and YVA (O-3/6907).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/6907.
2. Ibid.
3. GARF, 7021-92-218.
4. *Pamiats': Verkhniadzvinski raion* (Minsk, 1999), 1:326.
5. GARF, 7021-92-218.

OZARICHI

Pre-1941: Ozarichi, town, Domanovichi raion, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Osaritschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Azarychy, Kalinkavichy raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ozarichi is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) west of Gomel'. The 1939 census indicated that 1,059 Jews lived in Ozarichi, or 46.9 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the settlement in the second half of August 1941. In the weeks following the German invasion on June 22, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Probably around one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Ozarichi at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire course of the occupation, a German military administration was in charge of the settlement. The local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) created a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In the summer and fall of 1941, the German military administration imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ozarichi. Jews were forced to wear yellow patches in the shape of a star, they were obliged to perform forced labor, and they were forbidden to trade or speak with non-Jews.

By October 1941, the German authorities had established a ghetto on a part of one street in Ozarichi, which (according

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to historian Marat Botvinnik) was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews in the ghetto were unable to buy food and suffered from hunger. Belorussians sometimes came at night and brought food, such as potatoes or bread, for the Jews. Some Jews from other places were also incarcerated in the Ozarichi ghetto. Forced labor included cleaning the Germans' vehicles; if they were not spotless, some of the workers might be shot immediately. Some children from the ghetto were taken to a nearby hospital in order to give blood for use, presumably, by the German army. Jews in the ghetto tried to help each other as best they could, and some of those who died were buried secretly according to Jewish ritual.[1]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews suffered from the cold. By this time, Jews were aware of the mass shootings in other places, and some planned to escape. Jewish survivors recall that the local policemen were brutal, robbing them and beating anyone who tried to escape. The cruelest policeman was known as Senka. "He was ready to kill anybody for moonshine and tried to gain as much favor with the Germans as he could."[2] In February 1942, Abram Volfson and his sister fled the ghetto, encouraged by a resistance fighter named Taras, who came periodically to the ghetto. Efim Golod, who was nearly blown up by a mine when collecting weapons for the local police, managed to escape by running away as he was being escorted to the site of the mass shooting in March 1942.[3]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on March 3, 1942, when all the Jewish inmates were shot near the Jewish cemetery.[4] The shooting was apparently carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8. The precise number of Jewish victims is unknown, but it was probably several hundred. Based on the list of names prepared by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), at least 263 people were murdered.[5] In February 1942, there were also shootings of Jews in nearby villages. In the village of Davydovka, 74 Jews were shot, and 12 Jews were shot in the village of Semenovichi.[6] Another source indicates that some Jews from Ozarichi were among 133 Jews murdered in Karpilovka in late March or early April 1942 by members of Infantry Regiment 727, following an antipartisan sweep through the region.[7]

Estimates of the number of Jewish victims in Ozarichi may have been complicated by the existence of three Wehrmacht internment camps for evacuated civilians there in March 1944, in which the appalling conditions resulted in the rapid deaths of several thousand people, including many women and children.

SOURCES Information about the ghetto in Ozarichi can be found in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 258–261; V. Smoliar, "Zhizn' i smert' Beni Matiuka," *Mishpokha* (Minsk), no. 2 (1996): 79–80; 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), p. 958; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 220.

On the Wehrmacht camp established in 1944, see, for example, Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), pp. 247–257; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 111.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 26-707/5); GARF (7021-91-12); NARA; USHMM; and VHF (# 312 and 51237).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 312, testimony of Abram Volfson, and # 51237, testimony of Efim Golod.
2. "Efim Golod, Ozarichi Ghetto Prisoner," in Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 258–261.
3. VHF, # 312 and 51237.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 261; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, dates the ghetto liquidation in February 1942. At the end of October 1943, the corpses were burned. This source gives the figure of 6,000 Jews in the ghetto, which is clearly too high.
5. GARF, 7021-91-12, pp. 98–100.
6. Ibid., pp. 32–33 and reverse side.
7. BA-MA, RH 26-707/5.

PARICHI

Pre-1941: Parichi, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Paritschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Parychy, Svetlahorsk raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Parichi is located 115 kilometers (72 miles) west-northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, there were 1,881 Jews out of 3,736 inhabitants of Parichi (50.4 percent of the total) and another 1,750 Jews (3.29 percent of the rural population) living in the villages of the Parichi raion.

There was no organized evacuation from Parichi after the German invasion began on June 22, 1941. Attempting to leave the town on foot was a hazardous choice in view of the rapidly advancing German forces and the danger of punishment by the Soviet authorities. The only other option was to get a ride aboard a barge on the Berezina River, which would then proceed slowly down the Dnieper River towards Ukraine. Older people recalled the relatively good behavior of the Germans in 1918. Relying on this assessment, many people stayed in Parichi to protect their homes and property. It is estimated that more than half of the Jewish population remained in Parichi at the start of the German occupation.[1]

By June 30, 1941, German tanks had forced their way across the Berezina to the north, and on July 5 they entered

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Parichi for the first time. Initially, the German forces were thrown back by Soviet resistance on July 11, but on July 21 the Germans occupied the town. Resistance within the Parichi raion continued a few days longer; the 4th Soviet Army abandoned the line of the Berezina only on August 13, 1941.

By mid-August, the Parichi raion was completely occupied by German forces. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) assumed control over the local administration (in the fall of 1941, it was OK I(V)324). Parichi lay within the jurisdiction of the 203rd Security Division based in Bobruisk. Military commandant's offices were also established in the villages of Shatilki and Chernin. Officials of the Ortskommandantur in Parichi put those arrested into a local school building as a makeshift prison, and they requisitioned bread and other agricultural products for the German army.[2]

The mayor, Nekrashevich, was in charge of the local administration. The administration had separate departments for political affairs, agriculture, finance, commerce, industry, road construction and transportation, medicine, and veterinary matters. Yakov Mishutin headed the general administration in Parichi, while also taking charge of the department of commerce. The sel'sovets were transformed into military districts and governed by local village headmen (starshiny). Each headman had at his disposal a clerk and a police detachment of between 20 and 50 men. Village elders (starosty) were appointed in the villages, each with 2 to 5 policemen for assistance. Nekrashevich himself organized the police in Parichi, and in August 1941, there were 15 people who signed up as the first volunteers. Ivan Krik, a former accountant, became the chief of police. The policemen helped the Feldgendarmerie of the German army in searches for former Soviet activists, party workers, and members of the combat battalion. They also conducted the registration of the Jewish population.[3]

Among the policemen, there were former neighbors, acquaintances, and relatives of the Jews. These people did not always help the victims. Before he joined the police squad, for example, Ivan Ments killed his Jewish wife, Fridl Nisman, and their two children. Then there was the Jewish teacher Masha Papernaia and two of her children, who hid with relatives in the nearby village of Davydovka. She was denounced to the Germans by her own mother-in-law.[4]

Until September 1941, the Jews lived in their own homes and were required to perform labor, but there were no large-scale killings. According to the report of the investigative commission of the Red Army, "in order to separate the Jews from the rest of the population the Germans made them wear a six-pointed Star [of David]." At the end of September 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews to be resettled on Bobruiskaia Street, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by local policemen. Estimates of the number of Jews confined within the ghetto range from 1,100 to 1,500.[5]

Jews were taken out each day for forced labor, and when there was no work to be done, the authorities made them move sand around on the bank of the Berezina River. The Germans did not feed the Jews, and according to survivor accounts, famine was an even greater torment than fear, because one could never get used to starvation. People dreamed of being able to eat. The most valuable products were flour and fat. There were no livestock, poultry, and other domesticated animals in the ghetto. No one ate meat or fruit; occasionally there were some carrots, potatoes, or cabbages, which enabled the ghetto prisoners to cook vegetable soup. Bones were warmed up after they had been salvaged from the trash in the German mess hall, and Jews extracted any fat they could find to prepare a jellied broth, which they ate or used for barter.[6]

According to a report by Ortskommandantur I(V)324: "on October 18, 1941, a security command of the SD in Bobruisk appeared in Parichi and liquidated the Jews living here."[7] The German security forces appeared in the streets, armed with rifles and whips and accompanied by the local police. They rounded up all the Jews in the ghetto and assembled them under close guard at the former hotel, where the Ortskommandantur was based. The chief of the local police Krik directed his men to "fish out" the Jews.[8]

The prisoners were then loaded onto trucks and transported in groups to the vicinity of Bol'shaia Luzha, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Parichi between the villages of Vysokii Polk and Belitsa. Some of the Jewish men were ordered to dig a ditch. When they had finished, they had to undress and climb down into the mass grave, where they were shot. After them came a line of women, children, and the elderly. At first, the murderers lined the people up in rows in the ditch and shot them using automatic fire. Then they put them on the ground and shot them, finishing off the wounded with shovels. The mass shooting began at 7:00 A.M. and continued until the evening. The report of Einsatzgruppe B stated that a "special Aktion" was conducted against the Jews of Parichi, as they displayed a hostile attitude towards the Germans and had close links to the partisans. In the course of the Aktion, 1,013 male and female Jews were shot.[9]

The Germans spared the boot maker M.V. Kaplan and his family from the mass shooting, as he was a master craftsman. He spoke fluent German and thus also functioned as a translator. The Germans shot him and his family in 1943. All the belongings of the Jews were confiscated. The Feldgendarmerie and officials from the Ortskommandantur searched the empty houses of the Jews and collected some 7,000 rubles in cash and more than 18,000 rubles in bonds, which were to be forwarded on to the Reich Treasury War Booty Office in Berlin.[10] The department of commerce in the Parichi town administration assumed responsibility for the distribution of less valuable materials such as clothes, which were sold for the benefit of the Rayon Paritschi administration.[11]

In February and March 1942, the 40 men of the punitive detachment shot Jews in the various settlements of Rayon Paritschi, principally: in Kovchitsy (318 people), Shatilki (351 people), Pechishche (82 people), and Davydovtsy (129 people). The remaining possessions of these Jews were also looted.[12]

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In March 1944, the Germans attempted to cover up the crimes. They ordered the exhumation of the corpses, then poured tar and flammable material on them and burned them in bonfires.[13]

Only a handful of Parichi's Jews were able to survive the German occupation. On October 18, 1941, as the Jews were being transported to the killing site, the neighboring Belorussians began shouting that 12-year-old Boris Gorelik was Russian, because his father was married to a non-Jewish woman. Availing herself of the opportunity, Musia Papernaia, the grandmother of Boris, snatched her grandson from the line. He then ran into the forest.[14]

Also on that day, 11-year-old Emma Igol'nikova and her mother could find no room in an overcrowded truck. The policemen ordered them to wait for the next convoy. The mother helped her daughter climb over a fence. At that moment, a submachine gun round was fired, killing the mother. Emma ran away and hid in the village with friends of her parents until January 1942. Then she encountered partisans who were foraging, and she joined the partisan detachment.[15] In the Parichi raion, two families—those of N. Gaishun from the village of Kovchitsy and Mariia Chaplinskaia from Parichi—have been recognized by Yad Vashem for saving Jews.

Elka Steinbuk ended up in the last line of prisoners being taken to their deaths. At the pits, she was only lightly wounded in the arm and pretended to be dead. When the executioners left, she escaped from under the corpses and made her way to the hamlet of Sakirits. Then she lived with the peasants, passing as an "Aryan" until eventually she was denounced.[16]

The Soviet army liberated Parichi on June 26, 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) determined in April 1945 that during the occupation of Parichi and the Parichi raion (which included the towns Kopchitsy, Shatilki, Shchedrin, and Pechishche and the villages Krupki, Ala, Shupeika, and Malmony), there were 3,271 people murdered, including 1,728 women and 862 children.[17] In the ChGK documents, the nationality of the victims was not specified.

SOURCES Information and testimonies can be found in the following published sources: *Pamiat': Svetlogorskii raion—Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika* (Minsk, 2000); *Not to Be Forgotten: Eye-witness Accounts of the Holocaust from Melbourne Residents* (Melbourne: Association of Former Inmates of Nazi Concentration Camps and Ghettoes from the former Soviet Union, 2003); Leonid Smilovitsky, "Righteous Gentiles, the Partisans and Jewish Survival in Belorussia, 1941–1944," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11:3 (Winter 1997): 309; and David Meltser and Vladimir Levin eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996). There is also a "letter from Paritsh" to be found in the Bobruisk yizkor book, edited by Yehudah Slutski, *Bobroysk: Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Bobroysk u-venoteha* (Tel Aviv: Tarbut vehinukh, 1967), pp. 804–805.

Documentation on the extermination of Parichi's Jews under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (file 10503 of the accused Y.F. Mishutin); BA-BL (R 2104/25); GAGOMO (1809-4-6); NARB (4-29-113 and 845-1-60); TsAKGBRB (statement of A. Dolgitskii, April 10, 1945); TsGAMORF (233-2374-58); USHMM; and YVA (M-33/1151).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Not to Be Forgotten*, p. 106.
2. NARB, 4-29-113, pp. 758, 797, 801–802, 808; GAGOMO, 1809-4-6.
3. Statement of Aleksandr Dolgitskii (born 1898), April 10, 1945, in TsAKGBRB.
4. When the husband of Masha Papernaia returned from the front and realized what had happened, he killed his mother. The NKVD arrested Ivan Mikhailovich Ments on June 30, 1944; see TsGAMORF, 32-11302-244, p. 64 (copies of these documents can be found in USHMM, RG-22.008).
5. TsGAMORF, 233-2374-58, pp. 58–59, 172–174, and 32-11302-244, pp. 61–72, reports of the Red Army investigation into crimes committed by the Nazi German occupying forces in Parichi, June 28, 1944. See also information from files located in TsAKGBRB examined by Leonid Smilovitsky; one source dates the establishment of the ghetto at the beginning of October 1941.
6. Statements of the accused Yakov Frantsevich Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, pp. 9–14, 39.
7. BA-BL, R 2104/25, report of OK I(V)324 in Parichi, n.d.
8. YVA, M-33/1151, pp. 94–95; Slutski, *Bobroysk*, pp. 804–805.
9. USHMM, RG-30, Acc. 1999.A.0196, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941. Figures in the various ChGK reports vary. USHMM, RG-06.025*04 (FSB collection from Moscow), Military Tribunal Bobruisk, Case N-19095 against Alexander Edmund Conrady, vol. 3, box 43, 694 report for the town of Parichi, 1945, gives the figure of 872 victims of the Aktion on October 18. NARB, 845-1-60, p. 33, gives the figure of more than 1,700 victims in October 1941. See also statement of the accused Y.F. Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, pp. 9–14.
10. BA-BL, R 2104/25.
11. Statement of accused Y.F. Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, p. 39.
12. YVA, M-33/1151, p. 87.
13. NARB, 861-1-12, pp. 157–158; TsGAMORF, 32-11302-244, p. 62.
14. Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 247.
15. *Not to Be Forgotten*, p. 107.
16. Slutski, *Bobroysk*, pp. 804–805. According to the yizkor book, the woman was subsequently denounced and killed by the Germans. A similar story concerning a person named "Steinbuk" is mentioned also in the various ChGK reports. See NARB, 845-1-60, p. 33; and TsGAMORF, 233-2374-58, pp. 58–59.
17. From the ChGK SSR report on the victims of the German-Fascist aggressors in Parichi, April 10, 1945, YVA, M-33/1151, pp. 83–85.

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POLOTSK

Pre-1941: Polotsk, city and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Polozk, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Polatsk, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Polotsk is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) west-northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 6,464 Jews lived in the city (21.9 percent of the total). The Jewish population of the Polotsk raion (without the city of Polotsk) consisted of 621 people, who lived in the nearby "military settlement" Borovukha 1-ia (the First), in the village of Trudy, and in some other places. (See also **Borovukha 1-ia** and **Trudy**.)

After July 15, 1941, Polotsk and its raion found themselves in the Rear Area, 9th Army, administered by Ortskommandantur 930. Later in the summer of 1941, Polotsk came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Ortskommandantur 262 and, from the end of 1941, Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division were both based in the city. In July 1942, Feldkommandantur 815 was transferred to Vitebsk, and Polotsk became the site of the 201st Security Division's headquarters. There were Ortskommandanturen also in Dretun and Trudy.

The mayor of Polotsk was Kichko, and later Dmitrii Petrovskii; his deputy in charge of Rayon Polozk was Bubnov. The chief of police was Albert M. Abukhovich (or Obukhovich). The Belorussian police numbered 50 men, all of them volunteers. Numerous local policemen actively participated in the mass murder of Jews, among them Shastitko, N. Oguretskii, Avlasenko, V. Pravilo, and others.

Abram Sherman, a former carpenter, was appointed Jewish elder (starosta) in the city of Polotsk; the deputy elder, according to witnesses, was Apkin, a former bicycle repair mechanic. Sherman's main function was assigning ghetto inmates to forced labor; some witnesses describe him as a brutal man who punished those guilty of any "violation" with a lashing.

With the occupation came registration, markings, forced labor, and the killing of some Jews whom the Germans accused of being Communists.

The first ghetto was established on the initiative of the local Ortskommandantur in early August 1941. It was situated in the city center, not far from the railway station, and had a total area of some 135,000 square meters (161,459 square yards). The ghetto extended from Kommunisticheskaia Street in the south to Internatsional'naia Street (formerly Evreiskaia; the street does not exist now) in the north, and from Sakko i Vantsetti Street in the west to Gogolevskaia in the east, thus enclosing 13 blocks of buildings, although some of the houses were wrecked. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire but not guarded. Ten families lived in each house. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto. The entrance to the ghetto was from Gogolevskaia Street, where there was a sign saying "Ghetto." Non-Jews from this area were resettled in former Jewish apartments. During the resettlement of the Jews to the ghetto, the Nazis confiscated valuables and other belongings; many Jews were beaten in the process.

In the middle of August, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Dr. Alfred Filbert) was sent to Polotsk,[1] and this unit carried out an Aktion. The victims were Jewish men (maybe also some women). According to a survivor, removing the men from the city did not greatly frighten the rest of the ghetto population; those who stayed in the ghetto believed the Germans' story that the men had been taken for forced labor: harvesting or something else. The number of victims and the date of the first Aktion remain unclear.[2]

Witnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention some Jews killed in the fall of 1941 on the outskirts of Polotsk. One witness mentions a killing of 22 to 25 Jews who lived in Zapolot'e (northwest of the city center, across the Polota River); other witnesses mention "around 25 Jews" killed, who lived on Lepel'skaia and Krasnoznamennaia Streets (south of the city center, on the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River). It is not clear whether these Jews were killed within the framework of the Aktion carried out in August or in a separate Aktion.

In mid-September the ghetto was transferred to a former brick factory in Lozovka (now a northern suburb of Polotsk).[3] This resettlement was accompanied by the confiscation of valuables and other belongings from the Jews. The new ghetto consisted of 10 barracks and maybe also some other premises. Some of the Jews had to live outdoors. The new ghetto was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police. Forced labor was imposed, and food was rationed, limited to 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person each day. Some young people managed to escape from the ghetto and exchange clothes, household utensils, and other items for food. A survivor recollects that sometimes Germans would come to the ghetto to rob Jews, even forcing women to strip naked to be searched. Some people died of starvation and disease. According to a non-Jewish witness, more than 500 corpses were removed from the ghetto and buried.[4]

On November 21, 1941, the majority of the Jews of Polotsk were shot in the area of a former firing range in the military settlement Borovukha 2-ia (the Second), close to Lozovka. According to the survivor Mikhail Minkovich, four pits had been prepared at this place beforehand; about 15 Germans and no fewer than 30 local police (*politsais*) participated in the murder of 2,300 Jews. Before the shooting, the victims were ordered to undress. Witnesses attest that the perpetrators tossed small children alive into the pits. Some Jews succeeded in fleeing from the killing site; only 2 of them survived until the end of the war.

Some relatively small-scale murders of Jews in Polotsk must have taken place in December 1941. Forces of Einsatzgruppe B killed, most probably, more than 200 Jews "for sabotaging German orders."[5]

On February 3, 1942, the last 615 Jews of Polotsk were killed. The killing site is described by the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK as "in Lozovka, in a grove near the railway

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crossing." The perpetrators were most probably members of Einsatzkommando 9, with some participation by men of the 201st Security Brigade.[6] According to the ChGK, three "specialists," among them a tailor, were spared for the time being. Some individual Jews, most probably including the specialists, were killed after February 1942.

The extant data do not permit an exact determination of the number of Jews who were killed in Polotsk by the Nazis. The ChGK's witnesses estimate the number of Jews killed at between 2,500 and 8,000. Some Jews fled the city or were drafted into the Red Army; others took refuge there. For these reasons, there may have been as many as 7,000 or 8,000 Jews in the city when the Germans arrived. Nonetheless, Minkovich's estimate that 2,300 people were killed by the Nazis in Borovukha 2-ia during the great Aktion of November 1941 seems reliable. By adding to this 250 people killed in December 1941, 615 people killed on February 3, and then 500 people who, according to a witness, died in the second ghetto and were buried, we obtain a total number of victims of the second ghetto: 3,665. To this must be added an uncertain number of Jewish men (and maybe some women) killed by the Nazis in August 1941; taking into account that in other ghettos of the area the number of victims of the "men's" Aktion generally was no more than one quarter of the entire Jewish population, a maximum estimate for the number of victims probably lies in the range of 4,800 to 4,900. By adding the victims of individual killings in 1941 and "specialists" killed in 1942, we can say that probably around 5,000 Jews in total perished in Polotsk under the German occupation.[7]

Elsewhere in the Polotsk raion, in the Domniki sel'sovet, to the east of Polotsk, 4 Jews were killed in Kotliany, and 8 Jews in another village. According to witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in the village of Zamozh'e (20 kilometers [12.4 miles] east of Polotsk), of the same sel'sovet, three Jewish families, 17 people, refugees from Polotsk, lived in the bathhouse during the winter of 1941–1942. Sometime in the winter, a German unit arrived from Polotsk, beat the Jews, and then burned them in the same house. According to the account, the Jews who rushed to the windows to get out of the burning house were met with bullets and killed. According to other witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in March 1942, on the order of the local Kommandant named Schulz, 21 Jews of the village of Kazimirovo (22 kilometers [13.7 miles] northeast of Polotsk), Iurovichi sel'sovet, 4 Jews from Iurovichi, 3 Jews from the nearby village of Sitenets, and probably some more Jews who were found in the territory of the sel'sovet were assembled and locked up in a barn in Kazimirovo. Then the Germans put them in trucks, brought them to a nearby forest, and shot them there. According to another source, the murder took place on February 13 or 16, 1941, and 70 Jews were killed.[8] In Bel'skii sel'sovet, 8 Jews were killed in the sovkhoz "Pobeda" (later Sel'tso-Beloe, to the northwest of Polotsk) in December 1941 by a squad that arrived from Borovukha 1-ia. Four Jews were killed in Zales'e, east-southeast of Polotsk, and 14 Jews in Novye Goriany, 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) southeast along the Vitebsk highway.

SOURCES The testimony of an unknown witness regarding the Polotsk ghetto is published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 285–287. Other relevant publications include *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumentalnaia khronika Polatska* (Minsk, 2002).

Documents on the Polotsk ghetto and events in the Polotsk raion under German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-MA (WF-01/13302, F 42358, F 56828); GARF (7021-92-220 and 221); LG-Be (3 PKs 1/62 [case against Dr. Filbert], vol. 22); NARB (846-1-64 and 861-1-13); USHMM; and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 90.
2. Depositions of the survivor Mikhail Minkovich; see GARF, 7021-92-220, pp. 115–116; see also Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287.
3. Dates given by witnesses vary; see GARF, 7021-92-220.
4. *Pamiats'*, pp. 411–412; see also GARF, 7021-92-220; Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287; and E.G. Ioffe et al., eds., *Kholokost v Belarusi 1941-1944: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2002), pp. 231–238.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM no. 149 (December 22, 1941), mentions "special Aktions" carried out in Polotsk and three villages of the area in which 286 Jews were killed.
6. BA-MA (BarchP)F 42358, pp. 142, 145, KTB 201. Sich. Brigade, reports of February 3 and 10, 1942, as cited by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 684.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287, give the figure of around 5,000 Jews in the first ghetto.
8. Interrogation conducted by the ChGK; see GARF, 7021-92-221. For another version of the events in the Iurovichi sel'sovet, see YVA, O-33/270.

PROPOISK (SLAVGOROD)

Pre-1941: Propoisk, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Propoisk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); 1945: renamed Slavgorod; post-1991: Slauharad, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Propoisk is located about 112 kilometers (70 miles) north of Gomel'. According to the 1939 census, 1,038 Jews were living in Propoisk (22 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on July 30, 1941, approximately five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were

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called up to the Red Army. Around 150 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the entire occupation, the town was controlled by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The Ortskommandantur set up a town authority and a police force consisting of local residents.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the town authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform various kinds of heavy labor.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7b arrived in the town and carried out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. The Security Police officers arrested 19 Jews accused of being "instigators and Communist agitators" and shot them.[2]

In August 1941, an open ghetto was established in the town. German security forces and local police collaborators liquidated the ghetto in November 1941. First, on November 5, the Germans gathered all the Jewish men, took them out of town, and shot them. Then on November 14, they assembled all the Jewish women, on the pretense that they would harvest potatoes, but again they shot them all, close to the pit in which the men were buried. After this, only the children remained in the ghetto. On November 28, 1941, a woman warned the remaining children that the execution squad was on its way, but most were unable to escape or hide. Policemen rounded up the children and threw them onto a truck. Reportedly the children were then drowned in the lake.[3] One source estimates the total number of Jewish victims in November as 117.[4] The killings were apparently carried out by the SD, probably assisted by men of the 1st Company, 317th Police Battalion, which was stationed in Propoisk from November 1941 to March 1942.[5]

During the roundup, 11-year-old Vladimir Smolitskii managed to hide and subsequently survived by wandering among the villages, where various people gave him temporary food and shelter, probably assisted by the circumstance that he did not appear to be Jewish. In the fall of 1943, he was liberated by the Red Army, and despite his youth, he became the "son of a field-engineer battalion," serving as a messenger with the troops in Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.[6]

SOURCES Publications on the ghetto in Propoisk include the following: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 244–245; *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 466; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 293, 304–305, and 312.

Relevant archival documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-532, pp. 4–6); and SHLA (Abt. 352 Lübeck Nr. 1.645, pp. 44–56).

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NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.

2. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on police actions from August 24 to 30, 1941. Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, Zentralarchiv, ZUV 9, vol. 31, p. 47.

3. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 244–245.

4. *Pamiats' Belarus'*, p. 466. GARF, 7021-88-532, pp. 4–6, gives the number of 115 Jews shot, including women, the elderly, and children.

5. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 698, citing SHLA, Abt. 352 Lübeck Nr. 1.645, pp. 44–56, statement of J.B.

6. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 244–245.

PUKHOVICHI

Pre-1941: Pukhovichi, town, Pukhovichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Puchowitschi, Rayon Marina Gorka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pukhavichy, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pukhovichi is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 976 Jews living in the Pukhovichi raion (without the raion center, Mar'ina Gorka), most of them in Pukhovichi. A number of Jews worked on two kolkhozy, one Jewish and the other mixed, not far from Pukhovichi.

Pukhovichi was occupied by units of German Army Group Center at the beginning of July 1941. The head of the local police in Pukhovichi was Alexander Goncharik. During the second half of August 1941, a German punitive unit arrived in Pukhovichi. On instructions from the Rayon mayor, Derban, and with the aid of the local police, the German unit rounded up more than 90 Jewish men. These men were interrogated by the Germans in turn and beaten cruelly before being sent back to the group. They were then loaded onto trucks and transported to a site behind the Jewish cemetery in Pukhovichi, where they all were shot. Two Russian women who had worked for the Soviet administration were shot together with the Jews.[1]

At the end of August or in early September 1941, the Germans assembled all the Jews of Pukhovichi in the courtyard of a barracks and told them they were going to be sent to Palestine. In preparation for this they had to move into the former postal service sanatorium, which formed a makeshift ghetto.

In the second half of September 1941, Gendarmerie Wachtmeister Bruno Mittmann drove to the area of Mar'ina Gorka and Pukhovichi from Minsk together with some 20 Gendarmes and 27 men of the Schutzpolizei to carry out an Aktion against the local Jewish population. In charge of the Aktion was SS-Brigadeführer Zenner, as well as Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla. The Aktion was carried out on orders

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issued by the newly appointed Generalkommissar in Weissruthenien, Wilhelm Kube.[2]

In Pukhovichi, the Rayon mayor, Derban, instructed the local police to surround the Jewish "ghetto," as a German police unit had arrived. Among the local police who participated in the Aktion were the leader Goncharik, Alexander Mayevskiy, and Fedor Mayko. The Jews were instructed to put on their best clothes and to take their most valuable belongings with them. When the column was ready, the Germans and their collaborators escorted the Jews to the Blon' kolkhoz near Mar'ina Gorka.

At Blon', the Jews were made to undress in a pigsty and then taken up the hill of Popova Gorka in groups of 10 to be shot by German police with machine guns. The Jews from the nearby Mar'ina Gorka ghetto were also taken on foot to Blon' on the same day and were shot together with those from Pukhovichi. Children were thrown into the grave and buried alive. According to one account, some women were raped before they were shot. The shootings lasted nearly all day, and the Germans tried to drown out the noise from the local inhabitants by running tractor engines.[3]

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Pukhovichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); GARF (7021-87-12); NARA; and USHMM.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny, Anna Biryukova, and Nadezhda I. Syrez, September 1944.

2. Ibid., ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 132–133: Bruno Mittmann at the Minsk trial in January 1946 dated the Aktion on September 28, 1941; Dok. Bd. I, p. 120, Nina Sinoveyna, a local inhabitant of Mar'ina Gorka, dated it on September 24; the ChGK report of September 28, 1944 (USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 [GAMINO, 15-3-457]), gives the date of September 17, 1941. Also see USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. The reason for this intervention by Kube may be related to a previous Einsatzgruppen report about the Jews of the Marina Borka [*sic*] district fleeing to the woods, joining with the partisans, and plundering the area; see Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.

3. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny, Anna Biryukova, and Nadezhda I. Syrez, September 1944.

RIASNO

Pre-1941: Riasno, village, Dribin raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rjassno, Rayon Dribin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rasna, Drybin raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Riasno is located about 55 kilometers (34 miles) east-northeast of Mogilev. According to figures from the 1939 census, there were approximately 350 Jews living in Riasno.

The village was occupied on July 14, 1941, about three weeks after the German attack on the USSR on June 22. At that time, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army. Many Jewish refugees also arrived and settled in the village, adding to the population. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents, including Fedor Hot'man and Fedor Terent'ev.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Riasno. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor without pay, were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and were subjected to systematic beatings and robbery by the local police.

In September 1941, the German authorities established some form of ghetto for the Jews in the center of the village. According to historian Marat Botvinnik, it existed for about six months. The ghetto was liquidated on March 3, 1942, when a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 from Krichev numbering 30 or 40 men arrived in Riasno. With the help of the local police, they collected the entire Jewish population (men, women, children, and old people) and escorted them to a killing site about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) to the east of Riasno. Here the Germans ordered the Jews to remove their clothes down to their underwear. Then the Jews were ordered to get into the prepared ditches, and the Germans and their collaborators shot them with machine guns. At least 410 persons, including Jews from the village and Jewish refugees, were murdered.[2] On March 18, 1942, Landesschützen Battalion 285, which formed the Ortskommandantur in Riasno, reported that money had been found in the clothes of Jews who had been "liquidated" (*erledigt*) that month by a German punitive unit assisted by the local police.[3]

In April 1942, only a few weeks after the liquidation of the ghetto, the mayor of Mogilev sent several hundred civilian evacuees who had just arrived from the Russian town of Gzhatsk from Mogilev to Riasno, where they were accommodated in the former ghetto.[4]

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Riasno can be found in the following publication: "Rasnianski sel'sovet," in *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 430. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), names Riasno as a ghetto on page 291.

Documents about the extermination of the Jews in Riasno on the basis of Soviet official commissions, German documents, and the testimonies of witnesses can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216-220, R 2104/28); GARF (7021-88-37); NARB (861-1-9); TsGAMORF (Fond 49th Army, opis' 9733, delo 120, p. 46); USHMM; and YVA.

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1. USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-9, p. 166.

2. TsGAMORF, Fond 49th Army, opis' 9733, delo 120, p. 46; GARF, 7021-88-37, pp. 1–2, and 7; and NARB, 861-1-9, p. 163, all give the figure of about 600 Jewish victims. See also BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 194, April 21, 1942.

3. BA-BL, R 2104/28, report of Landesschützen Battaillon 285, March 18, 1942.

4. Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 194, citing Mikhail Badaev, ed., *Pamiat' khranit vse*, (Smolensk: "Smiadyn," 1995), pp. 81–82 (testimony of Anna Ivanova, 16 years old in 1942).

ROGACHEV

Pre-1941: Rogachev, city and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rogatschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rahachou, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rogachev is located 121 kilometers (76 miles) north-northwest of Gomel.' In 1939, the Jewish population was 4,601 (30.3 percent of the total).

Shortly after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, a great many refugees started to arrive in Rogachev from Minsk, Bobruisk, and other places in western Belorussia. As the tide of refugees increased, schools and other buildings were taken over to accommodate them. Some refugees continued moving east across the Dnieper River, but many remained in Rogachev. Fewer than half of the Jews managed to leave, either as members of labor collectives of enterprises and organizations or on their own initiative by foot in the direction of Gomel' before Soviet forces destroyed the bridges across the Dnieper.[1]

German forces entered Rogachev on July 3, but resistance continued. Rogachev finally surrendered on August 19, 1941, as Army Group Center swung south towards Gomel' and Kiev, outflanking the city.

The territory of the Rogachev raion was administered by the German Rear Area, Army Group Center. In Rogachev, a local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) and a field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 528 (V)) were established. In the building of the former Machine Tractor Station (MTS), an office of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP-724) was established, and units of the military Feldgendarmerie and the Security Police and SD all operated in the city. According to Soviet sources, in the Rogachev raion, Major Marlo and his deputy, Major Diller, were in charge of the Feldkommandantur; Captain Zipke headed the agricultural commandant's office (Landwirtschaftsführer); Oberleutnant Rudolf headed the Ortskommandantur; Oberleutnant Mentrop (or Matron) was the head of the Security Police (Gestapo) branch; Kresse headed the punitive squad; and Lobikov became head of the local Belorussian police. The German authorities established camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) at Gadilovichi and Dvorets near Rogachev, as well as in Novyi and Staryi Dovsk, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the northeast.[2]

The first victims of the Nazis were Soviet activists and Jews. German security forces conducted mass shootings near the timber mill, in the basements, and around the building of the central warehouse in Rogachev. Among those shot were Pribylskii, the former chairman of the timber mill executive committee; Frumenkov, a member of the raion party executive committee (*raiispolkom*); and Admiralov, the kolkhoz chairman.[3]

Initially, under the German occupation the Jews continued to live in their own homes. They were not permitted to go out into public spaces, walk along the main streets of the city, or engage in relations with non-Jews. In September 1941, the Nazis introduced measures for their complete isolation from the Belorussians and Russians. On September 9, the Rogachev administration began implementing an order for the resettlement of the Jews into the building of the city's heating and power plant. Then the process of selection began. Able-bodied men were taken away to a labor camp and quartered in the basement of a former military warehouse. In the course of the resettlement, Jews had to leave behind all their belongings at their old place of residence, leave their doors unlocked, and leave the keys in a visible place. The police watchmen guarded the ghetto around the clock. They used rubber batons to beat prisoners for their own "amusement." Since the Germans did not entirely trust the local police in Rogachev, only those men were armed who were given the task of guarding the Jews.[4] The Germans led away groups of Jews to perform the most grueling and dirty labor, using methods that amounted to torture. The Jews had to clear stone and brick rubble and carry sand and water without proper tools. Often the labor was very degrading. They made women and young teenage girls clean up feces with their hands in lavatories that were designated "Only for Germans." There were many similar incidents.[5]

To survive, Jews had to rely on their own modest reserves of food, barter, or gain the assistance of the local Belorussians. The Belorussians provided some buckwheat, frozen turnips, cabbage, and a small amount of bread. As a rule, the local residents helped out their "own" Jews free of charge. Those who were married to Belorussians or Jews from nearby villages were assisted by former neighbors and fellow villagers. These more integrated Jews were only a small minority of those in the ghetto. Most Jews had to barter goods for food, which was forbidden. They did so anyway, despite the risk to their lives. The barter trade required careful organization and mutual trust, and in many cases, Jews worked with local policemen who looked the other way. Escape from the ghetto was impossible. Sometimes the Belorussian policemen and the Germans would beat Jews they caught bartering, to teach them a lesson.[6]

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The first Aktion was organized by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Gomel', under the command of Wilhelm Schulz, on November 6, 1941. The chosen site for the mass shooting was a very large antitank ditch about 120 meters by 10 meters, and 5 meters deep (394 by 33 by 16 feet), behind the cardboard factory and the bread-making plant on the banks of the Drut' River.[7] The German Security Police and their helpers selected several hundred Jews from among ghetto inhabitants in Rogachev and drove them in groups towards the river in trucks, where they ordered them to undress. With the assistance of local policemen, the SS men lined up their victims at the bottom of the ravine in groups of 10, then shot them in the back of the head with their automatic weapons and rifles. They finished off the wounded with the butts of their firearms and with shovels. They seized young children by the legs, smashed their heads on the frozen ground, and threw them into the ditch. According to the German Einsatzgruppen report, 2,365 male and female Jews were murdered for their alleged support of the partisans in the course of an Aktion in Gomel', Rogachev, and Korma.[8]

The second Aktion was conducted on December 1, 1941. Under the guise of escorting them out for a work assignment, the Germans took 72 Jews from the ghetto and used them for clearing roads near the villages of Novyi and Staryi Krivsk. Afterwards they shot all of these people.

The third Aktion was carried out on January 1, 1942, at Starina, near the village of Khatovnia. The Germans shot 172 Jews there.

The fourth Aktion took place on February 12 (or according to another source, in March), 1942, in an antitank ditch 70 meters (230 feet) from the Drut' River. This time, the Jewish victims included the children from mixed marriages, who were gathered from the surrounding villages. They also included the Jewish special laborers who had been set apart during the first Aktion. According to witnesses, six Roma (Gypsy) families were shot together with the Jews.[9]

On December 27, 1941, 260 Jews from the village of Sverzhen', in the Rogachev raion, were shot.[10]

The Nazi German occupiers carried out the killings at a Russian cemetery that came to be called "the valley of death" (*dolina smerti*). Around 1,000 people were killed there. Later, 10 mass graves were unearthed; they were 3 meters in length, 6 meters in width, and 3 meters deep (almost 10 by 20 by 10 feet).

In the spring of 1942, the Drut' River flooded, and the water washed away the soil, revealing a few hundred Jewish corpses. According to the testimony of Nina Barantseva, several bodies were recognizable. There were some adults who held children in their arms as they died, not wanting to let them go. The German authorities ordered the local residents of Rogachev to rebury the exposed corpses.[11]

In November and December 1943, part of Sonderkommando 7a arrived in Rogachev to carry out Operation "Wettermeldung" ("Weather Report") under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Stertzinger. They removed 20 Soviet POWs from the SD prison in Rogachev for work as slave laborers to burn the corpses. The unit cordoned off the site of the Jewish graves so that no local residents could witness the events. They informed the POWs that they would be leaving for work in Germany, giving them vodka and cigarettes. Five of the men passed out from the stench of rotting corpses. The corpses were removed from the graves with iron hooks and placed in stacks, covered with tar, and cremated. The remaining ash was transported away in trucks.[12]

During the liquidation of the ghetto in Rogachev, some people managed to escape. Tat'iana Duktovskaia saved the life of Liuda Mazheiko. In May 1941, Tat'iana arrived in Rogachev from the city of Chita but did not manage to evacuate in time. After the liquidation of the ghetto, Liuda's father Vladimir spoke with 18-year-old Tat'iana and persuaded her to pass off his 5-year-old daughter as her own. The German authorities required a medical certificate, and a Doctor Zubets issued a statement saying that the time of "birth" could not be determined. For 3 years, Tat'iana hid Liuda in the countryside, moving her from one village to another.[13]

A German army officer took in eight-year-old Alevtina Igol'nikova, who lost both her parents in the fighting on July 3, 1941. For several months, he kept her in his home, then sent her away to be raised by a woman named Anastasia Tristenetskaia.[14]

On February 24, 1944, forces of the 1st Belorussian Front liberated Rogachev. In November 1944, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) ascertained that 3,700 people were murdered by the German occupants in Rogachev, and 6,353 perished in the raion. The surnames of 2,233 victims (about 35 percent) were established.[15]

The national affiliation of the victims could not be determined precisely by the commission. Overall, during the occupation the population of the Rogachev raion decreased from 57,115 in 1941 to 28,000 in 1944 (49 percent of the prewar population level).[16]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Rogachev under German occupation can be found in the following publications: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika Rogachevskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1994); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 408; *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 1963); and 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), p. 1086.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews in Rogachev can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (240); GAGO (1345-1-15); GARF (7021-85-217a, 218); NARB (4-33a-65; 861-1-6; 3500-2-38); TsAKGBRB; and YVA (M-33/477-478). Relevant German documentation can be found in BA-L; BA-MA; and NARA. There is also a letter received from Naftolia Farber dated May 5, 2002, in the personal archive of the author (PALS).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

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NOTES

1. PALS, letter of Naftolia Farber from Rekhovot, Israel, May 5, 2002.
2. AUKGBRBGO, 240.
3. GAGO, 1345-1-15, p. 2.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/21, Appendices to War Diary Ia, p. 317, FK 528 (V) in Rogachev, September 13, 1941.
5. TsAKGBRB.
6. GARF, 7021-85-217a, p. 2.
7. Ibid., 7021-85-218, p. 23.
8. NARA, T-175, roll 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 148, November 19, 1941; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), p. 679 (LG-Mü I, 22 Ks 1/61, verdict of July 21, 1961). NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 99–100, indicates that as many as 3,000 Jews were killed in Rogachev during the first 10 days of November.
9. YVA, M-33/477–478, p. 38.
10. *Pamiat'*, p. 171.
11. AUKGBRBGO. According to one published source, on November 28, 1943, in Rogachev the Germans set fire to 200 Jews in a shed. The nationality of those murdered is not known with certainty, but it is possible that all of them were Jews. See *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii*, p. 231.
12. Interrogation of SS-Rottenführer Erwin Hansen of Sk 7a, April 24, 1944, NARB, 3500-2-38, pp. 431–433.
13. In 1997, Tat'iana Dutovskaia received the title of "Righteous Among the Nations." See *Evreiskii kamerton*, October 5, 2004.
14. It is not explained whether the rescuer of Igol'nikova knew that she was Jewish. See Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 408.
15. YVA, M-33/477–478, p. 5.
16. GAOOGO, 144-155-6, p. 218.

ROSSASNO

Pre-1941: Rossasno, village, Dubrovno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Dubrowno, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rossasna, Dubrouna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rossasno is located a few kilometers to the northeast of Dubrovno on the southern bank of the Dnieper River. In 1939, the Jewish population of the Dubrovno raion (without the town of Dubrovno) consisted of 222 people, most of whom lived in the villages of Baevo and Rossasno. There were probably around 100 Jews living in Rossasno at the beginning of June 1941. Only part of the Jewish population remained in Rossasno at the start of the German occupation in mid-July 1941.

At first the German occupiers did not resettle the Jews into a ghetto, and the Jews continued to live in their own homes. They were forbidden to leave the limits of the village, and for this reason at least one person, a woman named Khaia, was shot by the local police in the village of Goncharovo.[1]

Approximately one month before the murder of the Jews of Rossasno, in early March 1942, the Jews were gathered together in the local school building, where they were held until the start of April. These were predominantly children, old people, and women. Few details are available about this confinement, but historian Gennadii Vinnitsa conjectures that the school served as a form of ghetto, as they were held there for almost one month and during that period they were guarded by the local police. Thus the ghetto served as a collection point until the Germans were ready to consign them to their deaths. On April 2, 1942, the inmates of the small ghetto in Rossasno were loaded onto sleighs and taken to Liady.[2] On that day, the Jews of the Liady ghetto together with those from Rossasno were brought across the Mereia River to the Russian side, where the Germans shot them and buried them in a mass grave.[3]

Information from the Zonal State Archive (ZGAGO) in Orsha reveals the names of 58 of the Jews from Rossasno who were murdered. It is likely that the number of Jews killed was higher than this. The *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* indicates that 74 Jews from Rossasno were murdered in total.

SOURCES A short section on the Rossasno ghetto, including the 58 victims' names, can be found in the work by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 28–31. Of use also is the entry for "Rossasno" in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:376–377.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 28–31.
2. Ibid.
3. GARF, 7021-84-6; and *Krasnoarmeiskaia Pravda*, October 31, 1943.

ROSSONY

Pre-1941: Rossony (until 1939, Stanislavovo), village and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rasony, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rossony is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Polotsk. According to the census of 1939, the Jewish population of the Rossony raion consisted of 419 people, 49 of whom lived in Rossony.

Units of the German XXIII Army Corps of the 9th Army, supported by the LVII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group, initially captured the Rossony raion. The western part of the raion (west of the line Iukhovichi-Kliastitsy) was taken by these two Army Corps on July 14, 1941. On July 15, the Germans advanced quickly to the east, overrunning Rossony, and by July 16, they were close to the shores of Lake Neshcherdo. By July 17 the entire raion was in German hands. From August 1941 onward, Rossony was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being situated on its western edge, near the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommis-

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sariat Weissruthenien). This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Rossony was under the control of Ortskommandantur 262.

In the fall of 1941, the local commandant in Rossony, Otto Lenz, ordered the Jews of the raion to be resettled to the village of Rossony, where a ghetto was established. The ghetto was fenced with barbed wire and guarded. A sign was erected near the ghetto gate, announcing that any inmate who crossed the fence and left the ghetto would be shot. The Nazis confiscated all the belongings of the ghetto Jews, including clothes and even food supplies. In 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Rossony ghetto inmates at 488. The inmates received no food, and many of them died before the ghetto was liquidated. In January 1942, the Germans and the local police escorted the Jews out of the village to the northeast, where they shot them near the Osinniki road, in three pits that had been dug beforehand. Before being murdered, the victims were instructed to undress. The mass grave remained open until April 1942, when it was closed on the orders of Mayor Iazutov.

The number of Jewish victims in Rossony named by the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK seems to be exaggerated, taking into consideration that the whole Jewish population of the raion prior to the war was only 419 people. It should be noted that the raion was situated close to the Polotsk fortified area (Polotskii ukrepraion), part of the pre-war fortifications of the old Soviet-Polish border line, and therefore it may have attracted dozens of refugees from western, formerly Polish, areas.

Jews of the Starye Dvory sel'sovet (later Krasnopol'e sel'sovet) were killed mainly by the German staff of the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Demekh that was situated 2 or 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) east of Krasnopol'e, on the northern side of the Drysa River, close to the camp. According to the depositions made for the ChGK in 1945, the men of the Demekh garrison were engaged in cleansing the vicinity of Jews; the Jews were first collected in the camp and then killed. For example, in August or September 1941, five Jewish families (about 15 people) from the village of Karpino, 2 to 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) north of Krasnopol'e, were shot near the Demekh camp. According to a witness interrogated by the ChGK, 12 Jews (four families) from the Krasnopol'e village were assembled in September 1941 under the pretext of their registration and the issuing of new personal documents, then murdered in the same place; according to another witness, 7 Jews from Krasnopol'e were killed near Demekh, and 2 others managed to flee; it is unclear whether this refers to one and the same Aktion or two different ones.

Elsewhere in the raion, 36 Jews from the Maxim Gorky kolkhoz (most probably the village of Albrekhtovo) were killed in the Albrekhtovo sel'sovet (later Biriuzovo sel'sovet).[1] Eight Jews from the village of Vladimirovka were shot near the road to Trodovichi (3 or 4 kilometers [about 2 miles] northwest of Krasnopol'e). On September 21, 1941, a squad of three German soldiers from the Krasnopol'e garrison arrived at the village of Shuliatino (later a part of the Amosenki village, 6 kilometers [4 miles] west of Krasnopol'e along the Rossony road). The squad arrested 6 Jewish peasants when they were working in the fields and shot them on the spot. According to a witness in the village of Berezovka near Krasnopol'e, partisans executed the starosta, who had denounced a local Jewish woman to the Germans. In January 1944, in the village of Shalashniki, Germans shot a Jew named Hirsh Gilevich.

SOURCES Information can be found in *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Rasonskaha raiona* (Minsk, 1994). The documents of the ChGK for the Rossony raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-222).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-222.

SENNO

Pre-1941: Senno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sianno, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Senno is located about 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, the last pre-war census recorded a total of 1,056 Jews living in the town, 24.5 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Senno raion (without the town of Senno) was 165. In 1939, there were 569 Jews living in the nearby raion center of Bogushevsk (32 kilometers, or 20 miles, east of Senno).

The XLVII Motorized Army Corps of the 2nd Panzer Group entered Senno on July 6, 1941. However, the battle for this town between the German motorized corps and the Soviet 14th and 18th Tank Divisions went on until the evening of July 8. Bogushevsk was taken on July 10, 1941; on July 14, it was in the operational area of the V Army Corps of the 9th Army.

From August 1941 onward, Senno was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. In 1941, the Senno raion was the realm of Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division. Later, until mid-February 1942, Senno was under the authority of Feldkommandantur 181 of the 286th Security Division, with Ortskommandantur 846 located in the town. From mid-February 1942, Senno was returned to the authority of Feldkommandantur 815.

In Senno, the Germans appointed former school principal Samuil Davidovich Svoiskii as the Jewish elder. The Germans resettled the Jews of Senno at least twice, most likely several times. At each new place the Jews were settled more densely, and the regime was stricter than at the previous one. For example, initially the Germans turned a blind eye to communication between Jews and non-Jews; later they punished such communication. In the fall of 1941, most probably in October, the Germans established a formal ghetto in the town's upper area, Golynka, mainly on Voroshilov Street. The Jews were

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crammed 45 to 50 people to a house; Belorussian policemen guarded the ghetto. According to a witness interviewed by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto Jews received 50 grams (less than 2 ounces) of bread per person per day.

On October 16, 12 Jews were shot for "showing up late for work." At the end of December 1941, the ghetto of Senno was liquidated. On December 29, a punitive squad appeared in Senno. The SS and the local police surrounded the ghetto. The next day the SS drove Jews from their houses and declared that they were to be moved to Orsha. Instead, the Jews were brought from Golynka to the village of Kozlovka, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) east of the town, on a hill, and ordered to dig pits. On the sunny and frosty day of December 30 (according to other accounts, December 31), all the Senno Jews were shot. The Aktion lasted from 8:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. that day. According to all accounts, the Belorussian police played a crucial role in the massacre.[1]

The ChGK documents vary in their estimates of the number of victims, ranging from 850 to 965. The inscription on the monument erected in Senno says there were 850 victims of the massacre.

Apart from the town of Senno, a Jewish family by the name of Bekker—11 people, among them six children—was killed in the village of Zabor'e, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of Senno.

The nearby raion center of Bogushevsk was the site of one of the earliest wholesale massacres of Jews in the Vitebsk area. Although witnesses date the Aktion differently,[2] the killing most probably took place in early September 1941.

According to both the ChGK and the witness Sofya M., the execution in Bogushevsk was a reprisal Aktion for an abortive attempt on the life of a German officer. Indeed, on September 4, 1941, a skirmish took place between partisans and the German garrison of Bogushevsk. Its details, minus the exaggerations made by Soviet official historiography, roughly correspond to the description made by both Sofya M. and the ChGK. According to these witnesses, an SS squad arrived in town following this skirmish and, with the assistance of the Belorussian police, assembled all the population of this small town in the square in front of the raion party committee (*raikom*) building. Then the Germans and *politsais* (local police) began to check the identification documents, sending the Russians and Belorussians to one side of the square, the Jews to the other side. According to the ChGK, they released the non-Jewish women and children and told the rest of the people that their fate would be decided by the Orsha commandant. The commandant arrived and ordered the shooting of all the Jews and several non-Jewish men. The people were machine-gunned on the spot; 20 non-Jewish men were ordered to bury the bodies.[3]

An inscription on the monument erected in Bogushevsk after the war states that 86 Jews were killed in the town on the day of the massacre. The ChGK documents give a different figure: 64 Jewish victims. The eyewitnesses in the town are divided between these estimates concerning the number of victims.

SOURCES For additional information, see Gennadii Vinnitsa's book *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Senno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-11); for the former Bogushevsk raion, in GARF (7021-84-2). Some information on the German authorities in this vicinity can be found in BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). Eyewitness accounts can be found in YVA (O-3/4683-89).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-11; YVA, O-3/4683-89.
2. The ChGK report of March 29, 1945, dated the mass murder of the Jews in Bogushevsk in October 1941; another ChGK document, dated June 26, 1944, gave a date of September 5, 1941; see *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vyp. 14 (Moscow, 1945), p. 42. According to the survivor Sofya M., the killing took place on August 9, 1941. The survivor describes the day as a warm one; she says that the Jews had not been registered, marked by patches, stripped of their property, or resettled up to that day. The Belorussian witnesses interviewed by Vinnitsa also point to August as the month of the mass murder; see Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 118–119.
3. GARF, 7021-84-2; YVA O-3/4689.

SHCHEDRIN

Pre-1941: Shchedrin (Yiddish: Seliba), town, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schtschedrin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shchadryn, Zhlobin raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shchedrin is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) west of Zhlobin. In 1926, there were 1,759 Jews living in Shchedrin.

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, most men of military age in Shchedrin were mobilized for service in the Red Army. As the town was some distance from the railroad, it did not suffer from aerial bombardment, and because there was no organized evacuation, only a small part of the population managed to leave the town. Those who left expected to return soon. A number of Communists and sel'sovet activists stayed behind to conduct underground work in Shchedrin.

German armed forces occupied Shchedrin in July 1941, and within 10 days a local police force was recruited, made up of Belorussians and Poles who were natives of Shchedrin and the neighboring villages. Adam Rudinskii became the town's mayor, and his deputy was a man named Kuchinskii. The senior police officials were Vladislav Semashko and Antanas Trizno. The local administration helped the Germans search for Communists and Jews and also registered the Jews.

Relations between the Jews and the Belorussians changed with the arrival of the Germans. The Jews lost their civil rights, and anyone could take their property with impunity. The keeper of the kolkhoz granary, a man named Rubinshtein, was shot for refusing to give a policeman his leather

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boots. Zimel' Kimmel'man, his wife Malka, and his young daughter were hidden in the village of Solotin in the home of a peasant they knew, a man named Anan, in return for a sum of money. Anan took the money, but then at night he informed the Germans, who shot the Jews.

The Jews, 1,560 in total, remained in their homes in Shchedrin until early August 1941, when the Germans forced them all to move onto two small streets, "Sair gas" and "Bod gas," where a ghetto was created. It was partially enclosed by barbed wire, and policemen were posted at the ghetto gates. The Germans appointed Antanas Trizno to be in charge of the ghetto. The Jews were strictly forbidden to go into the center of Shchedrin without special permission. When the blacksmith Berl inadvertently violated this ban, he was shot on the spot.[1] Several families had to share each apartment. There was no synagogue within the ghetto, so the Jews would gather to pray in their apartments.[2]

The most attractive girls were rounded up and taken to a brothel for the German soldiers. The Jews were ordered to wear yellow six-pointed stars on the front and back of their clothing. Not everyone had fabric of that color, and feverish searching began because the Nazis threatened to kill anyone who failed to comply with the order by a certain date. The police forced those who had committed offenses to eat sand.

The Jews had to organize their own supplies of food. They bartered with the local residents for potatoes and vegetables, and some received help from relatives and Belorussian neighbors. Each day, under escort, the Jews were led out of the ghetto to perform forced labor from dawn until dusk. They were made to work in workshops, in the gristmill, and in the sawmill; to clean cesspools and toilets; to repair roads; and to collect garbage. For performing work, a Jew received a daily ration of only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread, in contrast to 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of bread for a non-Jew, even though the output quota for Jews was three times greater.[3]

Jews were among the Nazis' first victims in Shchedrin, well before a large-scale Aktion took place. In July 1941, the Germans shot two men named Pishchalo and Khort, who had secretly taken cheese and dairy products from the Shchedrin creamery to the village of Shatilki, where there were still Soviet troops. Pishchalo was killed in the yard of the Kommandantur in Shchedrin, and he left behind five orphaned children. Khort was taken into a tea shop and severely lashed; then he was blindfolded and taken to the Jewish cemetery, where he was made to dig his own grave and then shot. After this, Trizno drove two Germans to the village of Uspalishche, where they murdered Khort's wife and raped his 15-year-old daughter Sasha. Sonia Asovskaia was hanged in the yard of the creamery just after her 5-year-old son was shot before her eyes. Permission to remove her body was denied for a long time, as the authorities wanted to remind the Jews daily of the severe punishments they faced. Before the arrival of fall in Shchedrin, 17 Communists had been shot.

The son of Boris Porton came to Shchedrin in the summer of 1941 on vacation from Vitebsk, where he was studying. He was among 11 Jewish men who were forced into a shop that sold kerosene and were beaten there. Porton's son and the shop manager, a man named Zverev, were the first to be handed spades and taken to the cemetery. When Boris Porton was told that his son had been taken away to be shot, he ran after them, crying, "Spare my son, kill me!" The Nazis killed Boris, and next they shot his son and Zverev.

Iosel' Samardin took two grandchildren to the village of Kitin, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Shchedrin, and asked friends to hide them. After the ghetto was established, the Germans announced that they would kill anyone found to be hiding Jews. Acting on a report to the authorities, the policeman Semashko discovered Samardin's grandchildren and shot them.[4]

In December 1941, there were rumors that a German punitive detachment would be sent to Shchedrin, and people began to go into hiding. The cobbler Wol'fson was found in a haystack and stabbed with bayonets. The pharmacy manager Arkadii Kheifets, who had leg problems, was taken to the fire station and harnessed to a wagon with a barrel of water. When Kheifets fainted, they sent for his wife Sonia. She grabbed a vial of liquid and ran to her husband. They both poisoned themselves and died on the spot.[5]

The Germans planned the destruction of the ghetto for March 8, 1942. In the days before the mass shooting, the police surrounded the ghetto and began to force the Jews out of the houses. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the prisoners were beaten with whips, people were screaming and sobbing, and parents shielded their children with their own bodies to protect them from the blows. The Jews were herded into groups, and then, under the guard of policemen on horseback and Germans on motorcycles, they were driven into the school building. Many mothers carried their children in their arms. The cemetery grounds were cordoned off, and no Belorussians were allowed to enter.[6] The chief of police, Mikhail Govor, and three Germans met the prisoners at the school gates and questioned them.[7]

Simultaneously, the German authorities mobilized peasants from the neighboring villages, who were ordered to dig a pit in the Jewish cemetery about 30 meters long and 5 meters wide (98 by 16 feet). On the morning of March 8, 1942, the Jews were taken in groups of 90 to 100 from the school to the cemetery, guarded by local policemen and four German soldiers.[8] They were led to the edge of the pit, then had to undress and lie facedown in the pit in groups of 10. A German officer then killed the people with a submachine gun, firing single shots. Policemen from Parichi also participated in shooting the Jews. The Aktion ended late in the evening.

Estimates of the total number of Jewish victims murdered in Shchedrin on March 8, 1942, range from around 1,000 up to 2,000.[9] Among the victims were a number of Jews brought to Shchedrin from neighboring villages and some refugees. After the mass shooting, the Nazis checked the registration lists of the Jews and found that 17 were missing, including Girsh and Tsilia Erenburg, Grigorii Ol'shanskii, and Sara Livshits. After two or three days, the German security forces that conducted the Aktion left Shchedrin and went to the village of Kitin. For a week, with local assistance, the police continued

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to hunt for escaped Jews in hiding. Tolik and Tsezik Kuchinskii rode on horseback from village to village, looking for Jews in exchange for a reward. The police arrested about 10 people, whom they killed in a common grave.[10] The Germans gave most of the Jews' clothing to Rudinskii, the town's mayor, who sold some of the things and distributed the rest to the local policemen.[11]

Not all of the survivors of the Aktion on March 8, 1942, escaped with their lives. Two Jewish girls froze to death near the village of Pekalichi, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Shchedrin, after local residents denied them shelter. Luba was caught by 20-year-old Pavlik Prokopovich, who had been a school classmate of hers in Shchedrin and who served in the local police in Parichi. Prokopovich also killed the physics teacher from his school, Isaak Galerkin. (After the arrival of the Red Army, Prokopovich was sentenced to 20 years in corrective labor camps.) Only a few Jews who escaped from the ghetto managed to join Soviet partisan units and take part in the resistance against the Germans.

Soviet forces recaptured Shchedrin in the second half of June 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) of the USSR uncovered, at a distance of 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Shchedrin, a mass burial site measuring 20 by 10 meters and 1.2 meters deep (66 by 33 by 4 feet). There they discovered 1,100 corpses, arranged haphazardly. On most of the victims, there was no clothing of any kind.[12] The ChGK established that in all more than 9,000 civilians, including more than 1,000 Jews, had died at the hands of the Nazis in Shchedrin and the surrounding villages during the years of German occupation.[13]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Shchedrin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 219, 232; 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), p. 1169; *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi. Homel'skaia voblasts'* (Minsk, 1986); Moisei Liakhovitskii, "Mestechku Shchedrin—100 let," *Rodnik* (Minsk), no. 25 (April 1993).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Shchedrin can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (813); NARB (12-1-4; 861-1-2; 845-1-60); TsAKGBRB; VHF (# 6936); YVA (M-33/1151, p. 103); and ZGAMO (463-3-8). In the personal archive of the author (PALS) are the letters sent by Nadezhda Khoroneko from Kiryat Ata (Israel) on September 12 and October 23, 2004.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. TsAKGBRB.
2. VHF, # 6936, testimony of Dora Polonskaya (born May 25, 1927).
3. TsAKGBRB.
4. See also PALS, letter of Nadezhda Khoroneko, September 12, 2004.
5. Ibid., October 23, 2004.
6. Testimony of Mikhail Kharitonovich Govor, April 9, 1945; see AUKGBRBGO, 813.
7. NARB, 861-1-2, pp. 93–95.
8. Ibid., 845-1-60, p. 33.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, states that there were 1,600 (or 2,000 victims). YVA, M-33/1151, p. 103, gives the figure of 1,100 corpses found in the mass grave.
10. YVA, M-33/1151, p. 104.
11. Testimony of Mikhail Fedorovich Govor, October 27, 1948; see AUKGBRBGO, 813, pp. 3, 35–36.
12. From a ChGK report for Shchedrin, July 30, 1944, YVA, M-33/1151, p. 103.
13. *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 267.

SHEPELEVICHI

Pre-1941: Shepelevichi, village, Krugloe raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schepelewitschi, Rayon Krutscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shapialevichy, Kruhlae raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shepelevichi is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Mogilev. German forces occupied the village on July 8, 1941, slightly more than two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During those two weeks a few of the Jews in the village managed to evacuate eastward. Several dozen Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

On their arrival, the Germans immediately appointed a local police force. Among the local inhabitants who served in the police were Semion Vladyko, Makar Golovkov, and a man named Petrok. The Jews were registered by the new authorities. The local policemen frequently entered Jewish homes and robbed the Jews of anything they wanted, threatening that they would shoot them. The Germans also imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to sew yellow stars on their clothes. They were forbidden to buy foodstuffs, use the sidewalks, or speak with Belorussians.[1]

Soon after the start of the occupation, the Germans arrested 3 Jewish men in Shepelevichi and shot them near the Mokrov cemetery, not far from Belynichi, after forcing them to dig their own graves. In mid-October, news arrived of the murder of 81 Jews in the nearby village of Es'mony, 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the south; the perpetrators may have used gas vans or may have shot their victims. The pretense for the killings may have been a report by Infantry Regiment 691 that the local Jews there were supporting the partisans.[2] Then on October 29, 1941, a truck with Gendarmes arrested the father and uncle of Honya Epshtein and shot them in the neighboring village of Stai. The German Gendarmes (probably Feldgendarmerie of the Wehrmacht) were assisted by the local police, who also took the clothes and boots of the victims.[3]

On November 15, 1941, all the Jews of Shepelevichi were driven out of their houses and escorted by local police carrying spades to a quarry about 500 meters (547 yards) outside the

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village. Here a military unit with machine guns was awaiting them. The Germans conducted a selection, according to principles that remained unclear. Then they shot about 30 or 40 people, including women, babies, old men, and teenage boys. The bodies were buried in a mass grave that had been prepared in advance. The screams of those who were shot could be heard some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away.[4]

After the shooting, the remaining Jews were put into several houses, in what Honya Epshtein has described as a small remnant ghetto. At first the ghetto was very overcrowded. Germans or policemen came regularly to the houses, however, to take people out and shoot them. On December 12, 1941, the few remaining Jews were transferred to the Krugloe ghetto, where they shared the fate of the other Jews gathered there, most of whom were shot in the first half of 1942, except for a few who managed to escape.[5]

According to one account in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 144 people from Shepelevichi were shot in 1941, including 57 women and 52 children. This account by Alexander Tikhonovich Dasevich does not mention whether all the victims were Jewish.[6]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Shepelevichi can be found in Honya Epshtein, "My Father's Boots," in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 295–298; and Ida. M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 108–111.

Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 108–109, testimony of Ivan Ivanovich Pliskach.
2. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 295; BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.
3. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 295–296; and Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, p. 111, testimony of Nadezhda Nikitovna Sharoiko (née Golubeva).
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 296; and Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 108–111, testimonies of Pliskach and Sharoiko.
5. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 296.
6. GARF, 7021-88-42, Akt no. 55, December 26, 1944, pp. 1 and reverse side.

SHKLOV

Pre-1941: Shklov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schklow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shklou, raen center, Mahiliov voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shklov is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 2,132 Jews lived in Shklov, comprising 26.7 percent of the total population. In addition, there were some 457 Jews living in the Shklov raion, most in the village of Starosel'e (about 200).

The German attack on the Soviet Union forced many Jews to evacuate to the east. In addition, some Jewish men were called up to the Red Army. Therefore, it is not known exactly how many Jews remained in Shklov under the German occupation.

Units of the German XLVI Panzer Corps, subordinated to Panzer Group 2, captured the town on July 11, 1941. The region of Shklov was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. The town was controlled by the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which reported to the 286th Security Division based in Orsha. According to one German report, about four fifths of Shklov was destroyed in the fighting, which together with the supposed threat of disease provided an incentive for relocating the Jews to ghettos.[1]

By the end of July 1941, the city council, consisting of eight local non-Jews, forced the Jewish population of Shklov and the towns of Zarech'e and Ryzhkovichi, located in the southern suburbs, into two ghettos.

The first was located in an area near the Orthodox church in Ryzhkovichi, which was fenced off by barbed wire and guarded by Belorussian policemen. Some Jews were able to remain in their own houses within this area,[2] but others had to sleep in the open. The Jews were able to leave the ghetto and trade their property for food. The German officers and soldiers, exploiting the absolute lawlessness, robbed the ghetto inhabitants, taking everything that was at all valuable. According to the testimony of B.M. Galperin, the Taruch family was thrown into a well, and one Jew, after having his gold teeth knocked out, was murdered.[3]

It appears that in August 1941 some of the Jews were herded into a second ghetto, this time a closed ghetto, located in Shklov on L'nozavodskaia Street. The inhabitants of the ghetto were forced to live in horribly cramped conditions. Each house held between 100 and 150 people. The ghetto inmates were not allowed to leave their houses after 6:00 P.M. The Jews were regularly beaten. In order to transmit its instructions to the Jews, the Germans created a Jewish Council (Judenrat), but very little is known about its activities in Shklov.

Galperin recalls "how they buried the wife of the Shklov rabbi. They allowed her to be buried at the cemetery and even provided a horse. I carried her torn jacket on the street and was horrified to see that it was covered in lice. My mother said quietly, 'My child, the lice ate her.'"[4]

From the first days of the occupation, the German forces spread their propaganda, which exploited and inflamed interethnic hatred. For example, they distributed leaflets proclaiming that the "the days of Judeo-Bolshevik commissars in Russia are over" and that "the biggest enemy of society are the kikes [Jews]." In Shklov a newspaper was published by Loshakov that included antisemitic articles.

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The first Aktion or mass shooting was conducted in Shklov at the beginning of August 1941, when Sonderkommando 7b of Einsatzgruppe B murdered 84 Jews. According to the Einsatzgruppen report, the victims "comprised 22 arsonists, 25 looters, 22 terrorists, 11 functionaries and franc-tireurs and 4 people who had spread malicious rumors."[5]

It is possible that this initial Aktion was a response to some actual displays of resistance, but it may also have been merely a pretext used by the Germans to justify their preemptive measures against the Jewish "intelligentsia." Participation in sabotage was the reason alleged for the shooting of 627 Jews living in "Schidow" (in or near Shklov) in October 1941, as well as the murder of 812 men and women (presumably in Shklov itself) by units of Einsatzkommando 8.[6] It is possible that the 627 Jews were the inhabitants of the Ryzhkovichi ghetto, and the 812 Jews were from the ghetto in Shklov.[7]

According to local testimony, in October 1941, the Germans transported the prisoners from the ghetto in Ryzhkovichi across the Dnieper River on boats to Zarech'e. In the center of the village, the Jews were forced to the ground and searched, with all their valuables being taken. Then they were organized into a column and were herded by German soldiers towards the village of Putniki.[8] The Jews were shot in an antitank ditch.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report dated December 18, 1944, mentions that near the village of Putniki, 2,700 people were executed or buried alive, but the report does not state whether those killed were all Jews.[9]

The inhabitants of the second ghetto, located in Shklov, were taken by the occupiers in motorized vehicles and driven to the ditches around the villages of Zarech'e and Ryzhkovichi. They were made to undress down to their underwear, forced to lie on the ground, and were shot. Many were beaten beforehand, and children were thrown into the ditch alive. The number of victims estimated by the ChGK is approximately 3,000 people.[10] In light of the pre-war Jewish population, however, it seems unlikely that the total number of Jewish victims in Shklov was much over 2,000.

According to the testimony of S.M. Petrovskoy, the Germans conducted the shootings in the autumn of 1941 and in December 1941. Furthermore, according to R.A. Sher, an eyewitness of the events, Rogner, senior lieutenant of the "secret police" (probably the Geheime Feldpolizei), played an active role in these executions, as did his assistants Julius Ewald and Obergefreiter Emil Eger.

Before the war, a Jewish cemetery was located in the village of Ryzhkovichi (in the southern suburb of Shklov), but during the war it was completely destroyed. The tombstones were leveled to the ground, and local citizens took the stones and bricks for their own building purposes.

Aleksandra Shuminaia and Liza Ratsevskaia both survived the war, serving in the "Chekist" partisan brigade. Tatiana Pushilina, who ran away during the shootings, became a fighter in the "Kerpicha" brigade. The Soviet partisans did not initially believe Iakov Shumin, who also fled from the site of the massacre, and he was forced to prove to them that he was not a traitor to his homeland.

In the village of Ganchvichi, Maria Dubovskaia protected Clara Altshuler, even against the wishes of her husband and son. For saving Asia Tzelinina and Anastasiia Dereviago, Nadezhda and Efim Shutikov were awarded the honor of "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem.[11]

According to the wishes of the relatives, in Shklov in 1955 the bodies of the murdered Jews were exhumed and moved to the Jewish cemetery in Ryzhkovichi, where a memorial was placed.[12]

On the Iskra kolkhoz, near Ryzhkovichi, the Germans herded 96 Jews into a large barn near the judicial hall. At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, they were shot. Among those murdered were 30 men, 40 women, and 26 children.[13]

Starosel'e is a village about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the northwest of Shklov. The exact date of the massacre of the village's Jewish population is not known. The few survivors state that it occurred in August or September 1941, while the memorial to the victims states that it occurred in 1942 (without a more specific date or month). The night before the killing, all the Jews were herded into a school. In the morning, the Jews were formed into a column and ordered to march to the Brinkov Forest, located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the village. There, in two predug ditches, the Jews were shot.[14] Approximately 200 people were killed. Maria and Iosef Tsukerman survived and later joined the partisans. Braina Surina also avoided being killed by crossing the front line into Soviet-controlled territory.

SOURCES The first article on the Holocaust in Shklov was published by the author: "Tragediia evreev Shklova," in *Evrei Belarusy. Istoriia i kul'tura*, vols. 3–4 (Minsk, 1998), pp. 128–136; some relevant information can also be found in the publication *Pamiats': Shklov raion* (Minsk, 1998).

Documents and other materials relating to the fate of Shklov's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/215); GARF (7021-88-50); PAGV; VHF (# 49152); USHMM; and YVA (O-3/4668 and M-31).

Gennadii Vinnitsa
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 36, July 28, 1941.
2. VHF, # 49152, testimony of Aleksandra Shumina.
3. Testimony of B.M. Galperin, in R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg.: Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal'perin, 1997), pp. 202–204.
4. Ibid.
5. BA-BL, R 58/215, EM no. 50, August 12, 1941; and Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 2, July 29 to August 14, 1941, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 137.
6. USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196, reel 234, EM no. 124, October 25, 1941; see also Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Die Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230, which mentions only the killing of 627 Jews.

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7. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 599, assumes that both these figures refer to the ghettos in Shklov and states that 1,459 [*sic*] Jews were killed there in October 1941: the correctly added total should be 1,439.
8. PAGV, testimony of Z.D. Surin.
9. GARF, 7021-88-50, p. 1.
10. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-88-522, pp. 4–5, gives the figure of 3,000 victims and dates the Aktion in September 1941.
11. See YVA, M-31.
12. YVA, O-3/4668, p. 1.
13. GARF, 7021-88-50, p. 1.
14. PAGV, testimony of Z.D. Surin.

SHUMILINO

Pre-1941: Shumilino, town and raion center, Sirotino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schumulino, Rayon Sirotino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shumilina, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shumilino is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 376 Jews lived in the town, making up 16.4 percent of the population.

German armed forces of the 3rd Panzer Group captured Shumilino on or about July 10, 1941. Shumilino was included within the Rear Area, Army Group Center, in the realm of the 403rd Security Division, and its Ortskommandantur 262 was established in Shumilino. Only a few Jewish families succeeded in fleeing the advancing German forces.

Jews were ordered to wear yellow patches on their clothes. The ghetto was established on Pionerskaia Street sometime in August 1941. A Jewish survivor recalls:

> During the first weeks [of the German occupation] nobody touched us. . . . After something like a month . . . they set aside about 10 houses inside the town limits, where there is a cemetery now, resettled the [Belo-]Russians out of the area, and drove all the town's Jews together into this place. So a ghetto appeared. It was surrounded with barbed wire. Old cans and bottles were hung on the wire, and if somebody touched it, they rang. A guard with a machine gun sat on a watchtower, and he opened fire on everybody who came close to the wire.[1]

Several Jewish families were settled into each house.

According to a commission report prepared by the Red Army, all the Jews of Shumilino were herded into a ghetto, which Russians were forbidden to enter and the Jews were forbidden to leave. The Jews were given nothing to eat. The Germans hanged the town elder and put a sign on his corpse, "This is how the Russian people treat saboteurs."[2]

There was, however, a natural exchange through the barbed wire: Jews exchanged their belongings and valuables for bread and potatoes. The guards—local police—turned a blind eye to the exchanges but demanded their share of the valuables and items bartered. Some children succeeded in crawling under the wire and went to the villages to barter. Forced labor at the local railway station was imposed on the Jews.[3] The survivor Yakov Magelnitzkii stated that there were Jewish policemen in the ghetto and that the Germans very rarely entered the ghetto.[4]

Forced labor was introduced for the Jewish men. According to the same witness, one day the men did not return from their work, so it was clear to the other ghetto inmates that they had been murdered by the Nazis.[5] In November 1941, rumors spread that all the Jews would be killed. It was probably the local policemen (*politsais*) who started these rumors. Two old men hanged themselves in the ghetto.

The ghetto was liquidated on November 19, 1941. Germans and local police took the Jews from the ghetto to the site of the former peat-cutting facility "Dobeevskii Mokh" and shot them there. The number of people killed is unclear.[6]

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report of March 12, 1945, states that 493 "Soviet citizens, predominantly from the Jewish population," were killed in the Sirotino raion.[7] It is estimated that probably around 300 Jews were killed in Shumilino.

Yakov Magelnitzkii managed to escape at the time of the liquidation and wandered from one hiding place to another; though local inhabitants were generally helpful, they would not allow him to stay for long periods. After staying for a while with the Pyatnitskoye family, he joined the Soviet partisans in the fall of 1942.[8]

SOURCES An essay on the events of 1941 in Shumilino by M. Mishin and A. Novich titled "Pravedniki mira" was published in *Mishpokha* 1 (1995); in an abridged form, the essay was included in the book on the non-Jewish rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust in the Vitebsk region by Arkadii Shulman and Mikhail Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voinoi* (Vitebsk, 1997). In the book by G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 171–176) are devoted to the events in Shumilino.

The documents of the ChGK for the Sirotino raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-12) and in NARB (861-1-4). The accounts of Yakov Mogelnitzkii can be found in YVA (O-3/7729) and in USHMM (RG-50.378 #007). A commission report prepared by the Red Army is located in TsGAMORF (336-5136-151, pp. 85–86).

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NOTES

1. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii, cited by Shulman and Ryvkin in *Porodnennye voinoi*, p. 33.
2. TsGAMORF, 336-5136-151, pp. 85–86.
3. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii; see also Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 172–174.
4. YVA, O-3/7729; see also the oral testimony by the same witness, USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.
5. YVA, O-3/7729; USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.
6. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 174–176.
7. GARF, 7021-84-12.
8. USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.

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SIROTINO

Pre-1941: Sirotino, village, Sirotino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Sirotino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sirotsina, Shumilina raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Sirotino is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the Sirotino raion (without the town of Shumilino) consisted of 332 people, the bulk of whom lived in Sirotino.

On June 28, 1941, the Germans bombed Sirotino from the air. Nevertheless, there was no mass evacuation from the town. Units of the German 18th Motorized Division, 3rd Panzer Group, captured Sirotino after heavy fighting on July 10, 1941, on their advance from Polotsk to Gorodok. The town and its area were defended by the 19th Army of the Soviet Western Front. In the severe fighting, much of the town was burned.

Sirotino was included in the Rear Area, Army Group Center; it was situated in the realm of the 403rd Security Division, and Ortskommandantur 262 was established in nearby Shumilino.

Under the German occupation, the former technician Borodulin became the head of the Sirotino Rayon, and the former bookkeeper Koroshkov became Sirotino's mayor.[1]

After taking over Sirotino, the Germans turned the local synagogue into a stable; they forced old Jews to burn the Torah scrolls and other religious literature in the presence of the rest of the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear round yellow patches on their clothes.[2] The Germans also introduced forced labor for Sirotino's Jews. Some Jewish men did roadwork, including repaving a central road with cobblestones. Those Jews who were members of the former Jewish kolkhoz continued to work in the fields.

In September 1941, the Germans conducted the first Aktion in Sirotino. A unit of Einsatzkommando 9 arrived, arrested about 30 or 40 males, taking many of them from their work in the fields, and informed them that they would be sent immediately to Vitebsk for forced labor. Then the SS and the indigenous police loaded the Jewish men into two or three trucks and transported them in the direction of Vitebsk. All these men were shot; according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the place of their murder was Gniloi Most, halfway between Sirotino and Shumilino.[3]

Most probably, it was after this first Aktion that a ghetto was established in Sirotino. The ghetto consisted of four or five ramshackle houses close to the Jewish cemetery. The Jews were densely packed into these houses. The ghetto was not surrounded with barbed wire.

The ghetto was liquidated late in the fall of 1941. On November 18, 1941 (the date is marked on the monument erected in Sirotino after the war), the Germans and indigenous police surrounded the ghetto and brought the Jews to the killing site, a ravine 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, and shot them there. Rumors that the Jews of Sirotino would be killed began to spread in advance. Some young people, among them Ester Lupilova, managed to leave the ghetto a few days before the Aktion. Some others, among them Grigorii Skoblov, fled on the day of the massacre. According to the ChGK, the number of Jews killed in Sirotino in the two Aktions was 178.[4]

As evident from the survivors' accounts, Jewish relations with non-Jews in wartime Sirotino were rather bad. The survivor Skoblov claims that "all the people in Sirotino were traitors," meaning that many local men volunteered to serve the Germans, and he ascribes that to the impact of collectivization: in 1930 the Jews had supported the kolkhoz, while the Belorussians had not. The survivor Lupilova, in her account, dwells on cases of robbery and abuse of Jews by local non-Jews.[5]

SOURCES Sirotino ghetto survivor Grigorii Skoblov published a short article titled "Zabyt' nel'zia" in *Mishpokha* 9 (2001). Another short article on the Holocaust in Sirotino by Klara Mindlina, "K istorii odnogo pamiatnika," was published in *Evrei Belarus* 1 (1997). Relevant information can also be found in the book by G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Sirotino raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-12) and in NARB (861-1-4). Survivor accounts can be found in YVA (O-3/4596 to O-3/4601).

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NOTES

1. Mindlina, "K istorii odnogo pamiatnika," p. 137.
2. Skoblov, "Zabyt' nel'zia."
3. YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4599. The Aktion is not mentioned in the Einsatzgruppen reports. Gniloi Most is mentioned as the place of the murder in the ChGK report; see GARF, 7021-84-12. No place with such a name can be found on a modern map. The same ChGK report dates the Aktion on September 24.
4. ChGK report of March 12, 1945, GARF, 7021-84-12. A similar estimate was given by Skoblov and other witnesses interviewed in 1985 (YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4598). The same Skoblov, in his essay "Zabyt' nel'zia," and Vinnitsa in *Gorech' i bol'* write about several hundred victims, an estimate that is probably too high.
5. YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4599. See also O-3/4596 (Beilinson).

SLAVNOE

Pre-1941: Slavnoe, village, Tolochin raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Slawnoje, Rayon Tolotschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Slaunae, Talachyn raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Slavnoe is a railway station located 65 kilometers (41 miles) southwest of Orsha. The census of 1939 does not give precise information for the Jewish population of Slavnoe, but there were about 200 Jewish inhabitants who resided in the village mainly on three "Jewish streets."[1]

The Germans bombed Slavnoe from the air during the first days of the invasion. According to a witness, Jews made an

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attempt to leave the town (they went, with horses and carts, in the direction of Krucha, to the southeast) but were intercepted by the Germans, who landed an airborne unit in their path. The Germans captured the town on July 6, 1941.

According to survivors, a ghetto was established on July 9, 1941, on Tolochinskaia Street. Its population was 143; the people were crammed together, with three families in each house. Jews were forced to wear armbands with a "yellow star." The ghetto was fenced on one side with barbed wire and was guarded by the indigenous police. All Jews aged 10 and older were made to perform forced labor: road construction, cleaning military barracks, and similar tasks. The survivor Vera Pogorelaia describes the forced labor: "Men were engaged in hard work. . . . Children collected pine and fir cones in the forest for them to be sent to Germany. The quota was high, so they worked from [morning] dark to [evening] dark. In winter people were sent to clear snow from the Moscow-Minsk railway."[2]

The Germans did not allot any food to the ghetto inmates. Some young people, however, managed to leave the guarded compound and exchange belongings for food. Sometimes Jewish refugees from other ghettos appeared in Slavnoe. An epidemic of typhus broke out in the ghetto. Reportedly Belorussian medical workers, at the risk of their lives, entered the ghetto in Slavnoe to treat people suffering from typhus.[3]

The ghetto of Slavnoe was liquidated on March 16, 1942. Pogorelaia recollects this day:

> On March 16, 1942, in the morning, I and some other girls washed the floor in the military barracks. As soon as we heard shots, we put on our coats and went outside. Right away we saw two trucks full of SS men beyond the railway; they went in the direction of the ghetto. The shots became more frequent. . . . When the rest of the soldiers entered the barracks, an elderly [German] soldier came close to us and said: "Run away from here. They are killing the Jews in Slavnoe."[4]

The ghetto's inmates were shot near the village of Gliniki, about 1 or 2 kilometers (about 1 mile) east of Slavnoe. Who the perpetrators were is not clear; witnesses call them Feldgendarmerie. Taking into account the date of the Aktion, most probably it was the same unit that carried out the murders in Tolochin; that is, it was a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 that came from Orsha. The monument erected on this site in 1959 mentions 106 victims. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jews killed in Slavnoe at 150; Pogorelaia stated the number was 143. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 118 names.

Some ghetto Jews succeeded in saving themselves from being killed, among them S. Shpunt, Moisei Gutkin, the sisters Lyubov' Belenkaia (née Fridliand) and Vera Fridliand (Pogorelaia), and some others. Many others who fled from the killing site were subsequently denounced by local peasants; for example, a neighbor denounced the two-year-old daughter of the survivor Lyubov' Belenkaia, hidden by a peasant woman, and the girl was killed immediately.

Slaveni is a village 14 kilometers (9 miles) west-southwest of Tolochin, or 6 kilometers (4 miles) northeast of Slavnoe. In this village, 120 Jews were killed on March 16, 1942 (the same day as in Slavnoe). The corpses were burned over several days. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 96 names.[5]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Slavnoe include the books by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 132–136; and *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 24–25. The ghetto is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 165, 183; and 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), p. 1198.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Slavnoe can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-14); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); YVA; and ZGAGO (162-7-7).

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NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 24.
2. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol*,' p. 132.
3. Ibid., p. 130.
4. Ibid., p. 136.
5. GARF, 7021-84-14.

SLOBODA

Pre-1941: Sloboda, *village*, *Beshenkovichi raion*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ssloboda*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Slabada*, *Beshankovichy raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Sloboda is located about 65 kilometers (41 miles) northwest of Vitebsk.

German forces occupied the village on July 6, 1941, about two weeks after the German attack on the USSR on June 22. In this period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were inducted into the Red Army. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and autumn of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Sloboda. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor; they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village; and they were subjected to systematic beating and robbery by the local police.

In early August 1941, all the Jews remaining in the village were forced to move into a few houses. Jews from neighboring villages—Bortniki, Sokorovo, and others—also were placed in this ghetto. The ghetto was in existence for more than a year, until October 1942, when it was liquidated by shooting

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all the Jews, some 350 in number, in two ditches in a nearby forest.

On the day of the liquidation, a few individuals were saved. Reportedly, the physician Zarogatskaia and Anna Gurevich hid Ivan and Anastasiia Zhernosek. Two children, a boy and a girl, also were hidden and saved from the violence, but their surnames are not known.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Sloboda can be found in the following publications: A. Shul'man, *Sto let spustia. Mesto ego uzhe ne uznaet ego . . .* (Vitebsk, 2008); and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 168, 188.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

SMOLIANY

Pre-1941: Smoliany, town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ssmoljani, Rayon Orscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Smaliany, Orsha raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Smoliany is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) west-northwest of Orsha. In 1926, 950 Jews lived in the town (52.8 percent of the total).

German forces of Army Group Center captured the town on July 9, 1941. At the start of the occupation, the Jews were permitted to remain in their own houses. It seems that the situation in Smoliany was less harsh than in Orsha. The eyewitness Zinaida Suvorov stated that she brought food from Smoliany to her relatives in the Orsha ghetto. Later some Jews managed to flee from Orsha and found refuge in Smoliany.[1]

The Germans established a ghetto in Smoliany, which consisted of some 30 houses on Shkol'naia Street, with the synagogue at the end of the street. According to one source, between 700 and 840 Jews resided there. The ghetto was not enclosed, and the Jews were still able to leave it to exchange their remaining possessions for food with local non-Jews. It would have been possible for many of the Jews to escape, but most did not want to abandon their families.[2] Some sources date the establishment of the ghetto in the fall of 1941, just before the first snow, and others in March 1942.[3] According to Sarra Leyenson, it was only sealed off just before the liquidation in early April 1942, when Jews were brought in from the surrounding villages.

Suvorov stated that one day before the mass shooting the Germans distributed some flour to the Jews "to bake matzot for Passover." They did it, most probably, to calm the Jews, because the Jews of Smoliany were well aware of the liquidation of the Orsha ghetto. Nobody had time to use this flour, because the next morning the Germans conducted a mass shooting of the local Jews.[4]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in Smoliany on April 5, 1942, on the second day of Passover. They prepared the ditches on the day before the Aktion in the forest at Gubinskaia Dacha, about 3 kilometers (2 miles) east of the town, using explosives. A force consisting of 15 Germans in uniform, four officers, and local police escorted the Jews to the ditch and shot them there.[5] A number of Jews tried to hide and escape, but most were found by the local police. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) laid the responsibility for the massacre on the local commandant Kregel, or Kroegel. The ChGK estimated the number of victims at 610 people. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 254 Jews.[6]

SOURCES In the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), there is a short section on the Smoliany ghetto (pp. 51–53). The Smoliany ghetto is also mentioned in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 177; 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), p. 1204; and Leonid Smilovitsky, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 282.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Smoliany under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); VHF (# 14353 and 35029); and YVA (e.g., O-3/11082).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/11082.
2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, pp. 51–53.
3. Vinnitsa, ibid., dates it on March 9, 1942; VHF, # 35029, testimony of Sarra Leyenson (born 1915), dates it in the fall of 1941.
4. YVA, O-3/11082.
5. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, pp. 51–53.
6. GARF, 7021-84-10.

STARYE DOROGI

Pre-1941: Starye Dorogi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Staryje Dorogi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Staryia Darohi, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Starye Dorogi is located 107 kilometers (67 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,085 Jews living there, representing 28.6 percent of the population.[1]

In the summer of 1941, slightly more than 1,000 Jews were living in Starye Dorogi. The populace largely believed the official propaganda claiming that in the event of war the enemy would be defeated on foreign territory. According to the testimony of Liubov' Bukengol'ts, the residents heard about the approaching war, but only the arrival of refugees from Poland put them on guard.[2] The declaration of war was not followed by an organized evacuation. All men of military age were called up to the Red Army, and their families were left to survive on their own. Part of the population tried to flee the

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town independently, while another part remained, not suspecting the danger that threatened. Those who decided not to leave were motivated chiefly by a desire not to be parted from their property, concerns about health or old age, and the expectation of a rapid victory by the Red Army.

Those who managed to get to the nearest railroad station, just outside of Starye Dorogi in the direction of Osipovichi, before June 26, 1941, succeeded in escaping. They were among the refugees sent to Central Asia, the Urals, and Siberia. Other Jews left on foot or used motorized or horse-drawn transport (carts). Mania Ansolis was saved because she was studying at the Belorussian State University in Minsk and was unable to return to her parents in Starye Dorogi. She walked to Gomel' and from there traveled to Kirgizia. Elena Kuptsova, with her mother and grandmother, walked to Rogachev and from there traveled by various means to Syzran' in the Kuibyshev oblast'. Basia Dubina traveled to her mother in Starye Dorogi from Moscow in December 1940, on maternity leave. On May 19, 1941, she gave birth to a son. On June 24, with her baby in her arms, and together with her parents and relatives of her husband, she set out for Bobruisk. The family managed to board a train only in Orsha, and from there they were evacuated to Kazakhstan. Some Jews found that they were encircled and were forced to return home.[3]

Starye Dorogi was captured by the Germans on June 28, 1941. German authority was exercised by a series of local military commandants. In October 1941, units of the 1st Battalion, Infantry Regiment 691, were quartered in the town, which at that time was in the operational area of the 339th Infantry Division.[4] A local police force was established during the summer, based in the building of the former militia district branch on Pervomaiskaia Street. Among those recruited were people who were dissatisfied with the Soviet authorities. The head of the police was a man named Subtsel'nyi.

The ghetto was established on the grounds of the former Jewish school on Kirov Street. Along with the school, several houses were fenced in and guarded. There were approximately 750 people in the ghetto. The Jews were ordered to wear yellow armbands and forbidden to interact with non-Jewish Belorussians or Russians.[5]

With the arrival of the Germans, the attitude of local inhabitants of Starye Dorogi towards the Jews changed. Some no longer hid their antisemitism and stole from the Jews, while others felt sorry for them and even attempted to help them. The Nazis cruelly persecuted anyone attempting to help or rescue the Jews. Doctor Shapelko concealed two Jewish women in the hospital, but when it became known, the women were shot and the doctor was hanged. The agronomist Kunbin and Anna Koroleva were killed for concealing Jews and supporting the partisans.[6]

Before the mass slaughter, there were only individual murders of Jews, Komsomol members, and Soviet activists in Starye Dorogi.[7] Among the first victims were Dr. Livshits and his sons. According to the testimony of the prisoner of war Sipnov (a Russian), who had escaped from Starye Dorogi, a group of Jews, including women and children, were driven into the river by the Nazis, who cried out, "Swim, you dirty kikes!" But when they tried to reach the other side of the river, the Germans opened fire. No one returned from the river alive.[8] Scores of Jews in Starye Dorogi were shot on August 6, 1941.[9]

A major Aktion was carried out in Starye Dorogi on January 19, 1942. A punitive detachment, with police assistance, drove the remaining Jews from the ghetto along the Bobruisk-Slutsk highway to a sand quarry near Kasharka. The victims were made to undress in the bitter cold and then were shot at a previously prepared site. On the same day, Jewish families and individuals were shot in the nearby villages of Verkhutino, Gorki, Paskova Gorka, and Iazyl', in the Starye Dorogi raion.[10] A German report in early February stated that as of February 1, 1942, there were still 239 Jews in Rayon Staryje Dorogi, but it is not clear if this reflected the number still alive before or after the above-mentioned Aktions.[11]

The survivors from Starye Dorogi consisted only of a few dozen young Jews, who managed for a variety of reasons to escape the town before the liquidation of the ghetto and joined the partisans.[12] Among those joining the partisans was Samuil Gol'dberg. He was accepted into the Kirov detachment on the recommendation of Aleksei Ivanov, who had been a doctor before the war, a native of Podares'e in the Starye Dorogi raion, and a former lodger of Gol'dberg's.[13]

Starye Dorogi was liberated on June 28, 1944. A number of Jews returned to the town from their places of evacuation. It was decided to put them into surviving houses and return to them any belongings they could prove had been theirs.

SOURCES Some relevant information can be found in the local history volume *Pamiat': Starodorozhskii raion. Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belarusi* (Minsk, 1998). Personal accounts of local inhabitants can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 268–269. Additional details can be found in the journal *Evreiskii mir*, no. 718 (August 13, 1998). The ghetto in Starye Dorogi is mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 80.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA; GARF (7021-82-8 and 8114-1-961); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 24). In addition, a number of letters from the personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS) were used, including those from Liubov' Bukengol'ts, Starye Dorogi, January 13, 2000; Mania Ansolis, Ashdod, Israel, March 23, 2001; Nikolai Blumenshtein, Starye Dorogi, January 27, 2001; Elena Kuptsova, Haifa, Israel, August 22, 2002; and Basia Dubina, Tel Aviv, Israel, February 22, 2002.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Eliyana Adler

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem, 1998), p. 232.

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2. PALS, letter from Liubov' Bukengol'ts, January 13, 2000.
3. Ibid., letter from Mania Ansolis, March 23, 2001.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14 b.
5. PALS, letter from Nikolai Blumenshtein, January 27, 2001.
6. *Neizvestnaia "Chernaia kniga."* Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev, *1941–1944 gg.* (Moscow, 1993), p. 267.
7. PALS, letter from Nikolai Blumenshtein, January 27, 2001.
8. GARF, 8114-1-961, p. 328.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 80.
10. *Pamiat': Starodorozhskii raion*, p. 117.
11. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, FK 581 (Bobruisk)—Verwaltungsgruppe, situation report of February 10, 1942.
12. *Evreiskii mir*, no. 718 (August 13, 1998).
13. PALS, letter from Elena Kuptsova, August 22, 2002.

STRESHIN

Pre-1941: Streshin, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Streschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-2001: Streshyn, Zhlobin raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Streshin is located 105 kilometers (65 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population was 531, about one third of the total.

On the outbreak of war, men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army. Despite the absence of an organized evacuation, part of the population managed to leave Streshin in time. They embarked on boats and barges on the Dnieper or left on foot. On August 13, 1941, the 145th Infantry Division of the Red Army, which was defending Streshin, received the order to withdraw. The next day, the German XLIII Corps crossed the Dnieper and, not encountering serious resistance, pushed on towards Buda-Koshelevo and Uvarovichi.[1] German forces captured Streshin on August 14, 1941. The Germans established new organs of authority in the village. Verbitskii became mayor of the Rayon; his deputy was Migai. Vasilii Kashparov became chief of a new police force; his deputy was a man named Gerasimov. Among the policemen were Savelii Bodilovskii, Anton Kurganov, Grigorii Genov, Bodrunov, Drozdov, Foma Gritskov, and Ponomarev. These men volunteered for service, assisting the Germans to find Soviet activists and Communists, and they also organized the registration of the Jews in Streshin.[2]

In September 1941, the Germans and their Belorussian collaborators established a ghetto in Streshin, which initially contained some 480 Jews.[3] On the orders of the mayor Verbitskiy, the chief of police Kashparov assembled the Jews at a site on Kul'mashevka Street, which was closely guarded. The new local authorities forbade the inmates all contact with local Belorussians and made them wear a yellow cloth patch on the left side of the chest as a distinguishing mark. Leaving the area of Kul'mashevka Street, and especially the limits of Streshin, was strictly prohibited. Breaking the rules resulted in fines and exposure to further punishment. Chief Kashparov's deputy, Gerasimov, kept an eye on the inmates to spot any infraction of the restrictions placed on the Jews. The local authorities named Zalman Melamed as head of the ghetto. They required him to report daily to the police that all Jews were present. In February 1942, the police shot a Jewish woman who had left the limits of Streshin without permission. At about the same time, the police arrested a Jewish soldier who had been hiding behind the German lines. They killed him on the bank of the Dnieper.[4]

The ghetto had no major economic significance, and the Germans and their Belorussian collaborators paid no heed to the unsanitary conditions in which the inmates had to live. The occupiers' overriding goal was the concentration of the Jews and the prevention of escape before their extermination. The prisoners had to take care of their own subsistence. Forced labor tasks included collecting trash, clearing obstructions, loading and unloading fuel, and performing other menial tasks. Kashparov himself beat those Jews who did not follow orders, and he instructed the Belorussian police to follow his example. In mid-September 1941, the police beat Berko Rabinovich, Yosel' Khasin, and Zil'bert for failing to remove firewood from the police quarters.[5] Some individual killings of Jews took place in the fall and winter of 1941. L.P. Khodorenko witnessed the shooting of two young children whose father, Klebanov, was serving in the Red Army.

According to a German report, on February 1, 1942, 394 Jews remained alive in the Streschin Rayon, presumably most, if not all, in the Streshin ghetto.[6] On March 30, 1942, the German authorities moved them all to Zhlobin, where they were housed on Tovarnaia Street and in the barracks of a poultry farm. On April 1, 1942, Kashparov, the mayor Verbitskii, and the latter's deputy, Migai, traveled to Zhlobin. The Zhlobin chief of police had requested that Kashparov personally witness the killing of "his Jews."

The mass killing Aktion began on April 14, 1942, in a field at the village of Lebedevka, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Zhlobin. At that same place, on April 12, the Nazis and their collaborators had already killed around 1,000 Jews from Zhlobin. On April 14, the police brought the Streshin Jews to two large pits dug at the site. The Zhlobin policemen were posted as guards. Soon several vehicles arrived, carrying about 8 or 10 Germans. Some 20 Jews—elderly men and women and children—were unloaded from the truck, and Kashparov checked them off a roster. The German translator ordered the Jews to undress and lie facedown on the ground. Then members of the German killing squad opened fire with submachine guns. The Germans threw the children into the grave still alive; people were screaming; mothers clung to their children and begged for mercy. A younger man, perhaps 25 years old, who had served in the Red Army and lived for a while behind German lines before his capture, managed to shout, "You will pay for spilling our blood! For all this you will answer with your own black blood!" Several times an enclosed, black gas van pulled up to the pit, and the police extracted Jewish corpses from inside. A German officer, noticing the "curiosity" of the Belorussian police, explained that this was a special vehicle in which the victims were killed with carbon monoxide gas.[7]

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Among the victims were some half-Jews: Sonia Kalinovskaia-Pesina (born 1904) and her children; Raia Malashkova-Elkina (born 1919) and one child; Basia Rudnitskaia-Shapiro (born 1915) and two children; and Sara Makei-Nekhamkina and her two children. Having refused to leave the ghetto, Sara's non-Jewish husband, Nikola Makei (born 1908), died with her. The Germans also shot three young Babitskii children (two brothers and a sister), who had some Jewish grandparents.[8]

The Aktion lasted about five hours. Streshin chief of police Kashparov, mayor Verbitskii, and his deputy Migai all played an active role. Kashparov shot seven people with a revolver.[9] When the shooting was over, around 5:00 P.M., the large pit had been filled with bodies. According to eyewitnesses, this mass "was moaning and stirring." Nevertheless, the punitive authorities ordered it to be covered with earth. It is possible that Jews from the neighboring villages of Krasnii Bereg, Pirevichi, Staraia Rudnia, and Kazimirovo perished together with those from Streshin.[10] Gel'shtein, a teacher, somehow escaped the mass killing of April 14, 1942. When Commandant Horn became aware of this, he gave the order that Gel'shtein be found and shot, which was duly carried out.[11]

When the Germans had arrived in Streshin, Jewish property was considered "ownerless" and thus subject to plunder. Taking Jewish belongings was not considered a crime. At the beginning of 1942, Kashparov ordered the arrest of the Kaganovich family, whom the Germans sent to Zhlobin, where they were shot. The Streshin authorities gave the Kaganoviches' house and belongings to Degtyarev, a policeman related to Kashparov. The police tore down the Kaganovich house for firewood. Policeman Genov took for himself two beds, a sewing machine, and a bicycle. After the liquidation of the ghetto and the mass shooting, the remaining belongings of the Jews were auctioned off.[12]

Red Army troops of the 1st Belorussian Front liberated Streshin on November 21, 1943. A number of Nazi collaborators were arrested and brought to trial at the end of the occupation, among them Kashparov, Bodilovskii, Kurganov, and Genov.[13]

SOURCES Publications concerning the fate of the Jews of Streshin under German occupation include Izrail' Slavin, "Tragicheskaia arifmetika," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), February 15, 2001; 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), p. 1252; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 219.

Documentation on the Streshin ghetto and its liquidation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (file 234, vol. 6; and file 10560); BA-MA (RH 26-203/3); GAGOMO (1345-1-8); GARF (7021-85-41); NARB (861-1-6); and USHMM (RG-53.002M, reel 7).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. Statement of defendant Saveliy Kaspovich Bodilovskii, January 20, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, pp. 145–146.
3. GARF, 7021-85-41, pp. 2, 7; and NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 144, 381.
4. Statement of defendant Vasilii Evstratovich Kashparov, January 8, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 40.
5. Statement of witness Efim Ilarionovich Bodilovskii, December 13, 1943, ibid., p. 74.
6. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, FK 581—Verwaltungsgruppe-, Lagebericht, February 10, 1941.
7. Statement of defendant Vasilii Evstratovich Kashparov, January 22, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 58.
8. Slavin, "Tragicheskaia arifmetika."
9. In the Streshin raion in October 1943, partisans seized Verbitskii together with Migai and hanged them both (L.S.).
10. GAGOMO, 1345-1-8, p. 3; GARF, 7021-85-41, pp. 2, 7.
11. AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 311.
12. Ibid., p. 310.
13. The counterespionage unit SMERSH operating with the 170th Rechitska Infantry Division arrested Vasilii Kashparov, Savelii Bodilovskii, Anton Kurganov, and Grigorii Genov in early December 1943 upon the liberation of Streshin. The military field court of the 4th Infantry Division in open session sentenced Bodilovskii and Kurganov to 20 years' penal servitude; Kashparov and Genov, to death by hanging. The latter sentence was carried out on February 22, 1944, in Streshin. AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, pp. 316–318.

TAL'KA

Pre-1941: Tal'ka, *village*, *Pukhovichi raion*, *Minsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Talka*, *Rayon Marina Gorka*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte)*; *post-1991: Tal'ka*, *Pukhavichy raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Tal'ka is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 976 Jews living in the Pukhovichi raion (without the raion center, Mar'ina Gorka). Most of these Jews lived in Pukhovichi, but about 200 lived in Tal'ka, to the southeast, and a few more lived in other neighboring villages.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied the village in early July 1941. In early September, several hundred Jews from Tal'ka and the surrounding villages were concentrated in a former Soviet pioneer camp about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the village, forming a makeshift ghetto. Those who were too slow in moving into the ghetto were beaten. No food was provided to the Jews, and they were made to perform forced labor, such as road construction, tasks sometimes beyond their physical capacity. The local police who guarded the ghetto cursed the Jews. When Jewish elder Meyer Rabinovich protested about the treatment of his community, he was shot together with two other Jews.[1]

In mid-September 1941, units of the German Gendarmerie arrived in Tal'ka and together with the local police surrounded the ghetto. They escorted all the Jews into a forest about 500 meters (547 yards) away and shot them into a ditch in groups of about 15. Before the shooting, the German officer made a speech condemning the Jewish population and praising the German race.

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During the shooting, Raisa Surbayeva pleaded for the life of her infant, but a German Gendarme shot both her and her child. Another woman attempted to bribe the head of the local police, Kulobizian, with 300 rubles, but he took the money and shot her anyway. The property of the Jews was taken to Pukhovichi by the Gendarmerie, but the local police also stole part of it.[2]

According to a German Einsatzgruppen report, 222 Jews were "liquidated" in Tal'ka for "persistently spreading anti-German propaganda and terrorizing the local inhabitants with price gouging." From Tal'ka, the same German police force went on to carry out a similar mass shooting of the Jews from the neighboring Mar'ina Gorka and Pukhovichi ghettos.[3]

In the records examined for this article, no mention of Jewish survivors of Tal'ka could be found.

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Tal'ka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-L (ZStL, II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); and GARF (7021-87-12).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Semen Panschey and Kondrat Molchan in 1945; Dok. Bd. II, statement of Anna Koreny in September 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

TOLOCHIN

Pre-1941: Tolochin, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tolotschin, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Talachyn, Talachyn raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Tolochin is located about 94 kilometers (58 miles) south-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,292 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.2 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Tolochin raion (excluding the town of Tolochin) consisted of 978 people; they lived in the town of Kokhanovo (480 Jews in 1926; the 1939 census does not give the Jewish population of the town) as well as in the villages of Slaveni, Slavnoe, Obol'tsy, Drutsk, and several other places.

German forces of Army Group Center (18th Panzer Division of the XLVII Army Corps, Panzer Group 2) captured Tolochin on July 6–7, 1941. In the second half of July 1941, this area came under the control of the 286th Security Division; on July 18, Ortskommandantur II/650 assumed authority in Tolochin; it was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 683, stationed in Orsha.[1]

Only a few Jews succeeded in leaving the town before the Germans arrived.[2] The Germans established a ghetto in Tolochin in September or October 1941. According to historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, it consisted of 15 houses on Nikol'skaia Street and had 2,000 inmates. It was not fenced with barbed wire but was guarded by the local police. Jews were forced to wear a yellow patch in the shape of the Star of David on their clothes. The Jews were made to perform various forced labor tasks, including road construction. In October, 3 (or 4) men were hanged in the central square "for their refusal to report for work." A Jewish youth who pilfered a can of food from a starch mill was hanged from the gate of the factory.

There were some cases of people fleeing the ghetto. For example, the blond-haired Mariya Shapiro, assisted by a local policeman she knew, left the ghetto, went to Orsha, and with forged documents volunteered as an "eastern worker" (Ostarbeiter) and was sent to Germany.[3]

The ghetto was liquidated on March 12 (or 13), 1942.[4] Its inmates were killed near the town in the field of the kolkhoz Rekonstruktor (now Raitsy, a northwestern suburb of Tolochin).[5] According to witnesses, the victims were led to the pits in batches of 30 and killed there. A group of Jews tried to run away while being escorted to the killing site, and some were successful. However, a number of those who fled were found by the Nazis and killed the next day. The perpetrators were most probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B.[6]

The number of victims is not clear. The estimate of 2,000, made by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) and used also by Vinnitsa, seems too high. The town had only around 1,300 Jews before the war, and some of them were drafted into the Red Army or succeeded in evacuating. It seems unlikely that this unimportant railway station would have attracted many Jewish refugees coming from the west. Einsatzkommando 8 reported that it had murdered 1,551 Jews in March, and there is reason to assume that the victims were Jews from the Tolochin raion. Estimating the number of those killed in March 1942 in Slavnoe at 150, and in Slaveni at 120, one can infer that the number of Jewish victims in Tolochin was no greater than 1,280.

Drutsk is a village 8 kilometers (5 miles) southeast of Tolochin. The ChGK mentions six Jews (the Dardyk family) killed there. Documents and witness accounts give conflicting impressions of the relations between Jews and non-Jews in the area. After the liberation, an investigating commission set up by the Soviet authorities confiscated cows from local people who had "acquired them in an illegal way" during the occupation: had taken them from Jews.[7] This means that the robbery of Jewish property under German rule was rather widespread. However, despite some denunciations, other local Belorussians risked their lives to assist Jews.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Tolochin include the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 124–143, which deals with the Holocaust in Tolochin and the Tolochin raion.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Tolochin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-MA (RH 26-286/3); GARF (7021-84-14); NARA (T-177, reel 1141); NARB; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-286/3.
2. Shalom Cholawski, *Be-sufat ha-kilayon: Yahadut Beilorusiya ha-Mizrakhit be-Milkhemet ha-Olam ha-Shniya* (Jerusalem, 1988), p. 49.
3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 141–143; GARF, 7021-84-14.
4. GARF, 7021-84-14. NARA, T-177, reel 1141, fr. 478–479, Wi Kdo Orscha, Lagebericht Nr. 4, March 27, 1942, gives another date: March 15, 1942. It is the survivors who maintain that the date of the Aktion was March 12.
5. Information gathered from a personal conversation with Gennadii Vinnitsa.
6. The extant SS sources do not mention this Aktion in Tolochin. At this time, Einsatzkommando 8 was stationed in Mogilev with Teilkommandos in Borisov, Orsha, Gomel', and Bobruisk, while Einsatzkommando 9 was stationed in Vitebsk with Teilkommandos in Smolensk, Nevel', and Polotsk. Logistically, it was easier for a unit of Einsatzkommando 8 to reach Tolochin from Polotsk. Besides, only this command reported a large number of Jews killed in March 1942.
7. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 142.

TRUDY

Pre-1941: Trudy, village, Polotsk raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Polozk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Trudy is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Polotsk. In 1926, the Jewish population was 126 (out of a total of 1,463).

Nine Jewish families were living in the village prior to the war; and in the summer and fall of 1941, 46 refugees, most probably all of them Jewish, arrived in Trudy from Polotsk. The Germans occupied the village in July. The village was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which introduced forced labor for the Jews but did not provide them with any food. The military commandant recruited a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of volunteers recruited from the local population. Yuhan Ivanovich Leiburg (an Estonian) became the head of the police in Trudy, and his deputy was Stepan Lopukhov. The local police took an active part in the persecution and murder of the Jews.

In November 1941, the Germans established a kind of ghetto in three houses.[1] A non-Jewish witness Z. states that in November the mayor of the local *volostnaia uprava* (village authority), Kirill Kosoryga, and two leaders of the local police, Leiburg and Lopukhov, came to his house and demanded that he abandon it because Jews were to be settled there; 17 Jews were moved into Z.'s house. The witnesses interviewed by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) state that on February 4, 1942, the Germans (according to some accounts, local Kommandant Ernst Schuldes) assembled all the Jews in one house and demanded that they surrender all their valuables, promising that in return they would receive food—according to some accounts, that they would also be set free. The Jews gave up the valuables they had and received some bread from the Germans, but on February 6 they were assembled in this house again. A punitive squad, most probably not German but either local or manned by some other collaborators, arrived from Polotsk in the night, and its members got drunk in Trudy. The next morning they brought the Jews to the Riabinovka Forest, 700 meters (766 yards) south of the village of Zheltsy, and shot 76 Jews. Four non-Jews were murdered at the same time. The shooting Aktion lasted two or three hours, because the men of the squad were armed only with rifles. According to the witnesses, the perpetrators killed small children by hitting them with rifle butts or tossed them up and tried to hit them while in the air. In the evening of that day, the Germans sent local peasants to bury the bodies.[2]

In December 1943, the local Investigation Commission exhumed 60 corpses (of 80 buried) from the pit in the Riabinovka Forest, including the bodies of 19 children, 27 women, and 14 men.

SOURCES The existence of an informal ghetto in Trudy is mentioned in Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 101; and 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), p. 1336.

The documents of the ChGK for the Polotsk raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-221).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-92-221, p. 5, ChGK report for the Polotsk raion, April 15, 1945, testimony of Pavel Danilovich Shunevich.
2. Ibid.

UKHVALA

Pre-1941: Ukhvala, village, Krupki raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uchwala, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ukhvala, Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ukhvala is located 118 kilometers (73 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. German armed forces occupied Ukhvala in early July 1941, two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate eastward, and men of suitable age were inducted into the Red Army. About 200 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the occupation up until June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The German military administration

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formed a village authority and police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents.

In about mid-July 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in the village in which around 80 Jewish males were arrested and shot in the nearby forest. The women, children, and old people remaining in Ukhvala were forced to move into a ghetto, for which five houses were set aside; around 30 people lived in each house. All Jews from the age of seven up were required to wear a yellow armband. The women were forced to perform various types of work in support of the German garrison: they did the German soldiers' laundry, washed the floors in the school used to house the German garrison, and peeled potatoes for the German soldiers. The Jews themselves lived on rotten potatoes, bran, and grass. On May 4, 1942, the ghetto in the village was liquidated, and all the Jews were shot.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ukhvala can be found in the following publication: A. Shul'man, "Posledniaia obstanovka," in *Mesto ego uzhe ne uznaet ego . . .* (Vitebsk, 2008).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Ukhvala can be found in the following archives: GAMINO; and GARF (7021-87-7).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

ULLA

Pre-1941: Ulla, town, Beshenkovichi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Beschenkowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ula, Beshankovichy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ulla is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) west of Vitebsk. In 1939, Ulla had a Jewish population of 516 (20.4 percent of the total).

On July 5, 1941, units of the German XXXIX Army Corps, 3rd Panzer Group, captured Ulla. From August 1941 onward, Ulla came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. About half of the Jewish population managed to evacuate the town or flee to the east ahead of the advancing German forces. In the summer of 1941, the local German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) established a local administration in Ulla and organized an auxiliary police force of local inhabitants.

In December 1941, the German authorities resettled the remaining 200 or so Jews into a large administrative building (one witness calls it a *kazarma*—"military barracks"), establishing a "ghetto" in the town, which was fenced with barbed wire. The local Belorussian police guarded the building. Jews were permitted to leave the building to exchange their possessions for food as long as they returned by the evening.[1]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 204 (or 206, according to another document) Jews from Ulla were killed by the Nazis on January 17, 1942, at the area of a former "military settlement," half a kilometer (0.3 mile) southeast of Ulla. Non-Jewish witnesses interviewed by Gennadii Vinnitsa state that on the day of the mass murder the Germans forced those locals who had horse carts to bring old people from the ghetto to the place of the mass killing at the military settlement.[2]

According to the ChGK, no fewer than 70 Jews were killed at the Lenin kolkhoz of the Khotino sel'sovet (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] southwest of Ulla); 2 of those killed were young people (one of them, a student) who had come back from other places to see their parents over the summer.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Ulla can be found in the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 144–147. The existence of a ghetto in Ulla is also mentioned 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), p. 1360.

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1) and NARB (845-1-7).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 144–146.
2. GARF, 7021-84-1; another report, NARB, 845-1-7, p. 1, gives the figure of 350 victims, dating the shooting on December 5, 1941.

USHACHI

Pre-1941: Ushachi, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uschatschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ushachy, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ushachi is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west of Vitebsk. In 1939, 487 Jews lived in the town, making up 23.8 percent of the total population. The Jewish population of the Ushachi raion (without the town of Ushachi) constituted 306 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small town of Kublichi.

There was no organized evacuation from Ushachi because the town had no significant factories. Some Jews who held senior positions in the administration managed to flee, but the majority remained in the town. Ushachi did not suffer much damage from the fighting.

Ushachi was captured by units of the XXXIX Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group on July 3, 1941. On July 15, 1941, when the 3rd Panzer Group moved east, the area was occupied by the XX Corps of the 9th Army. From this time on, Rayon Uschatschi belonged to the Rear Area, 9th Army. Later in the summer of 1941, Ushachi came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being situated on its western edge, close to the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). There was a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Ushachi.

The Germans imposed forced labor on the Jews. For example, the Jews had to haul out the timber that remained in

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the Ushacha River, a tributary of the Zapadnaia Dvina, when timber rafting was stopped because of the war. Some work tasks were senseless and purely humiliating: for example, they forced girls to pull water in big barrels for the horses of the German cavalry. According to a witness, during the first days of the occupation the Germans pulled down a Lenin statue using a tractor, then forced Jewish youngsters to break up its pedestal with hammers.[1]

Eyewitnesses (non-Jewish) mention a certain Azril Nemtsov, who most probably was the Jewish elder in Ushachi. Before the war, Nemtsov was an employee (possibly a manager) of the Administration for Leather Procurement (Zagotkozh). According to Anna Shnitko, he had to collect gold and valuables from the Jews and was beaten for the small quantity of gold he was able to gather for the Germans.

A ghetto was established in Ushachi in October 1941 on Oktiabr'skaia Street. It was fenced with barbed wire, most probably in November 1941, and guarded by a sentinel. According to various witnesses, it consisted of 10 to 15 houses. Barter between Jews and non-Jews continued, at least in the initial stages of ghettoization. Non-Jewish witnesses attest that Belorussians came to the ghetto to exchange food for fabric and clothing; sometimes Jews also left the ghetto to conduct barter transactions.

In December 1941 or, more probably, in January 1942, the Nazis resettled Jews from nearby Usaia (29 kilometers [18 miles] east of Ushachi), from the Kublichi ghetto (18 kilometers [11.2 miles] to the west), and perhaps also from Bobynichi (17 kilometers [10.6 miles] northwest of Ushachi) into the ghetto of Ushachi.[2] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of people resettled at 500; this may be an exaggerated number.

Judging from the interviews with non-Jewish witnesses conducted in the 1980s, Jewish/non-Jewish relations under the German occupation were tense but not hostile. All the witnesses stated that they deplored the passivity and cowardice they saw in the Jews. Soon after the ghetto was established, the stove maker Mikhail Grokholskii came to the ghetto and told the Jews that things looked bad for them and advised them to flee to the forests. However, one Jew denounced Grokholskii to the Germans. As a result, Grokholskii, his denouncer, and two other Jews were arrested by the German police and interrogated; the two arrested Jews testified that it was not the stove maker Grokholskii who came to the ghetto, and Grokholskii was released.[3]

The Ushachi Jews in the ghetto were murdered on January 12, 1942. Two weeks prior to that, local residents were drafted to dig pits near the Russian Orthodox cemetery on Doletskaia Street, to the south of the town's center, ostensibly "for potatoes"; the labor took much time because the ground was frozen. Rumors circulated immediately that in fact the pits were "for the Jews." Panic spread in the ghetto, but a German officer who came to the ghetto succeeded in calming the Jews, saying that the pits were indeed for potatoes and that the Jews would be resettled to Polotsk. In any case, before the mass shooting took place, the people of Ushachi already had some foreknowledge of what was to come. In spite of this, very few Jews attempted to flee the ghetto. There are no records of Jews from the Ushachi ghetto having survived the war.

On the day of the ghetto liquidation, the Belorussian police went down the streets through which the Jews were to be led to the killing site and ordered all the residents to lock their doors and not to let in any Jews. The Jews were told that they would be moved to Polotsk. People took food and clothing with them, and while they were being formed into a column, four abreast, they remained relatively calm; some were even greeting Belorussian acquaintances who happened to pass by. The column was escorted mainly by the Belorussian police; only a few Germans were present. When the column turned south towards Doletskaia Street, the Jews realized where they were being led and, according to non-Jewish witnesses, began to throw their photographs, letters, clothing, valuables, and other things away on their way to the killing site.

According to the non-Jewish witnesses, the main perpetrators of the killing were indigenous local police (*politsais*). The victims were brought to the pits in groups of four; near the pits they were told to undress. Witnesses attest that many people were still alive when they were thrown into the pits.

According to Kublichi survivors Vera Gilman and Nikolai (Folya) Gilman, when they arrived in the Ushachi ghetto under guard, it was empty because all the Jews of Ushachi had been killed. The new arrivals found graffiti in Yiddish in one of the houses: "They are bringing us to be shot. If somebody survives, let him avenge us" (*Undz firt men shisn. Ver vet zikh rateven un bleibn lebn, nemt nekome far undz*). Old people put on their talles (prayer shawls) and prayed.

Some days later, the Jews of Kublichi were killed too. On the morning of the day when the Nazis began to drive the Kublichi Jews out of the Ushachi ghetto, somebody set the ghetto on fire. Some of the Kublichi Jews were killed on the spot; the rest were brought to the same pits where the Ushachi Jews were killed and were shot there.

After the ghetto liquidation, the Germans distributed the belongings of the Jews among the population. In addition, some local people dug up the mass graves looking for gold and valuables, sometimes also for clothing.[4]

The ChGK estimated the total number of Jews killed in Ushachi as 925 people. This number is almost certainly exaggerated, taking into account that there were only 893 Jews living in Ushachi and its raion in 1939.

SOURCES A relevant publication is Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 195.

The documents of the ChGK for the Ushachi raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-223). Eyewitness testimonies can be found in YVA (O-3/2244 and O-3/4708-17).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), p. 149.
2. See Ehrenburg's archive, YVA, P-21/II-44.

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3. Details of the incident with Grokholskii are given by his son, also a witness; see YVA, O-3/4710.

4. Accounts of non-Jewish witnesses: GARF, 7021-92-223; also YVA, O-3/4708–4714.

UVAROVICHI

Pre-1941: Uvarovichi, town, Buda-Koshelevo raion, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uwarowitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Uvaravichy, Buda-Kashaleva raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Uvarovichi is located some 26 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, there were 517 Jews living in the town (11.3 percent of the total population).

After military operations started in June 1941, all men of eligible age were called up to serve in the Red Army. In July 1941, a combat battalion of 588 men under the command of Klimenok was organized in Uvarovichi, which defended the town and punished deserters.[1] Uvarovichi was not located directly on the railroad and therefore was not subjected to German aerial bombardment. Many refugees who arrived in Uvarovichi from the former Polish areas and other western regions of Belorussia reported on the Nazi treatment of Jews. While some residents fled or were evacuated before the rapid German advance, others remained until it was too late, reassured by official Soviet propaganda asserting that the enemy would soon be defeated. Overall, less than half of the Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation, primarily families and the elderly who were unable to leave.

On August 16, 1941, German forces arrived in Uvarovichi and quickly organized a new local administration. Fedor Makarenko, an accountant under the Soviets, was appointed mayor of the town. He served in this position until November 1941, when he was replaced by Lev Revnovskii (mayor until September 1943). Makarenko remained as his deputy and simultaneously presided as a local judge. Makarenko and Revnovskii organized an administration with departments for agriculture, finance, public services and utilities, education, police, and other functions. They oversaw the administration of the agrarian communes and assisted in the appointment of village elders. Radchenko became the head of the Uvarovichi Rayon; Anton Dzvinskii, the chief of police; Leonid Antipov, the superintendent of police. Koksekov and Titorenko served as police detectives.[2]

An "open ghetto" existed in Uvarovichi by the fall of 1941. Jews were not permitted to leave their separate residential area, which was guarded by the local police. The Jews remained in their own homes and were prohibited from using the town's main street or having any contact with local non-Jews. They were required to perform forced labor as demanded by the German army and the local administration.

At the end of October 1941, the German military commandant in Gomel' issued instructions for all the Jews of Rayon Uwarowitschi to be rounded up by November 10, 1941. Revnovskii and Makarenko also signed this order and transmitted it to the headmen (elders) of the villages where the Jews were living. The Jews from the surrounding area were then all sent to Uvarovichi with their cattle and other property and were resettled on Naberezhnaia Street. Only the Jews from the village of Gut did not appear as instructed. Makarenko issued new orders for their transfer and gave them only 24 hours to comply. On the next day, 47 people, mostly women, the elderly, and children, were conveyed to Uvarovichi by wagon, with a police escort.[3] In total, 17 Jewish families (about 250 people) were brought to Uvarovichi.[4]

On November 15, 1941 (according to another source, on November 18), an SS punitive detachment under the command of four German officers arrived from Gomel' (probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8). With the help of the local police, German security forces assembled the Jews they could find in the former courthouse building. Then they escorted them in a column to a killing site prepared in advance. They selected a grain warehouse located on a kolkhoz not far from the cemetery on the outskirts of Uvarovichi (about 500 meters [547 yards] to the southwest of the town, near a windmill). There were three silage pits (*silosnye*) there, each 8 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 3 meters deep (26 by 13 by 10 feet). The Germans made the Jews kneel down under guard and then escorted them into the ditches in groups of five. The Jews were made to lay facedown, and the security forces then shot them in the back of the head.

Among those who actively participated in the mass murder were Hoffmann, the German agricultural commandant (Landwirtschaftsführer) in Uvarovichi, and his deputy, Drescher; the Sonderführer Steinmeyer and Ronfleisch [phonetic]; Anton Dzvinskii, the chief of the Uvarovichi district police; Grigorii Novikov and Mikhail Titorenko, the heads of the first and second police departments; Mayor Lev Revnovskii; the policemen Kirpichev, Zhurov, and Baranchukov; and Trusov, the headman (elder) of the village of Ivanovka. After the mass shooting, Makarenko handed over Jewish cattle and property to the Germans, who had collected all the personal belongings of those killed. The Germans took the most valuable items and then rewarded the local policemen from the spoils. Whatever remained after that, Mayor Revnovskii distributed among the local Belorussian population.[5]

On November 27, 1943, the 4th Infantry Division and the 231st Tank Unit of the 48th Army of the Belorussian Front liberated Uvarovichi. It was one of the first Belorussian settlements to be recaptured. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) arrived in Uvarovichi in February 1944. It ascertained that 633 residents of the Uvarovichi raion (including 290 people of the town itself) had been killed by the German occupying forces. The villages of Goleevka, Alekseevka, Zadorovka, Zesel'e, Klenovitsa, and Reshetniki were completely destroyed.[6] Between 1941 and 1943, the population of the Uvarovichi raion declined from 48,563 to 35,906 (74 percent of its pre-war level). The population of Uvarovichi itself fell from 3,887 to 2,544 (65.4 percent of the 1941 total).[7] The Soviet authorities arrested and tried several local collabora-

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tors, among them Fedor D. Makarenko, who was initially sentenced by a military tribunal to 15 years, which was subsequently commuted to 10.[8]

SOURCES There is a short article on Uvarovichi 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), p. 1368. The book *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995) contains information on Uvarovichi during World War II but mistakenly states that the mass shooting took place in 1942.

Archival sources on the events in Uvarovichi under the German occupation include the following: AUKGBRBGO; GAOOGO (144-5-6); and NARB (861-1-6).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90, report of the military branch of the Gomel' Oblast' Communist Party Committee (*obkom*) on the status of the national militia detachment of the oblast' on August 1, 1941.
2. AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 73.
3. Ibid., p. 29, witness testimony of Fyodor Alekseevich Drobyshevskii, October 26, 1945.
4. Ibid., p. 16, interrogation of accused Fedor Dmitrivich Makarenko, July 4, 1947.
5. AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 79.
6. NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 413–416.
7. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218, data on the population of the Gomel' oblast' on May 1, 1944.
8. See AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 118.

VETKA

Pre-1941: Vetka, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wetka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vetka, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Vetka is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) north-northeast of Gomel' on the Sozh River. In 1926, the Jewish population was 2,094 (35.5 percent), and in 1939, 944 (15.7 percent).

Following the German invasion on June 22, 1941, men of military age were mobilized into the Red Army. Vetka was some distance from the nearest railroad station and therefore was not subjected to aerial bombardment. Despite the absence of an organized evacuation, part of the population succeeded in fleeing. Some left on foot, taking with them the elderly and children on carts, hoping they would soon be able to return.

Vetka was occupied by German forces on August 18, 1941. Within 10 days, a local police force was established, commanded by Vasily Samsonov. In September 1941, on direct orders from the military commandant in Gomel', the local police registered the entire Jewish population. The Jews continued to live in their own houses.[1] According to the book *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, however, the German authorities ordered that the Jewish population of the entire Rayon be herded into Vetka (probably in September), establishing an open ghetto there that held more than 400 people. The Jews were ordered to stay within this residential area and were made to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David. Living conditions in the open ghetto were inhumane, and the Jews were regularly compelled to perform hard labor for 12 to 14 hours at a time.[2]

On December 1, 1941, six officers from the Gomel' Gestapo arrived in Vetka. They ordered the commandant in Vetka to assemble all the Jews regardless of age, gender, or health for a registration at 8:00 A.M. on December 2. Furthermore, it was stressed that those Jews who disobeyed the order would be shot on the spot. By 10:00 A.M. the following day, the registration of the Jews had been completed on the main square. The keys to every household were confiscated. Then the police searched the Jews' homes and brought out all those who had not registered. Subsequently, 360 Jews were herded into a stable and imprisoned there—among them were adolescent youths and infants in their mothers' arms. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the Jews screamed: "What are you going to kill us for?"[3]

The same day that the Jews were isolated, the theft of their belongings began. According to German instructions, all valuable items were taken from the Jews' homes, placed in eight trucks, and driven to Gomel'. On the evening of December 2, "Max," the officer in charge, ordered Samsonov, the commander of the police, to assemble all his men on December 3 to assist in the "resettlement" of the Jews.[4]

The first Aktion in Vetka took place in December 1941 on the orders of Kauman, the acting commandant of Rayon Wetka; Fritz Zhano, the police chief of Rayon Wetka; and Leutnant Max. On the morning of December 3, 1941, all the Jews were formed into a column and led 400 meters (437 yards) from the center of Vetka to a ditch on the southern edge of town close to a large grain elevator. Among the assembled Jews were many women, children, and the elderly. The policemen ordered groups of 10 people to lie down in the ditch. Three Germans standing on the edge of the ditch then shot them with automatic weapons. After the mass shooting, the policemen ordered local citizens to cover the bodies in the mass grave.[5] When the German murderers left, the former neighbors of the Jews—policemen, local citizens, and peasants from local villages—divided up whatever belongings remained.

The second Aktion took place in September 1942. Orders from Gomel' led to 61 Jews and Gypsies being shot about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside Vetka. According to the findings of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) of the Gomel' oblast', in total during the years of German occupation, the Nazis and their accomplices murdered 631 "peaceful citizens" in the Vetka raion.[6]

According to incomplete data, in the two main Aktions and in other killing operations, more than 500 Jews died; however, until recently only 217 surnames of the victims could be established, including those of 134 women (62 percent) and 69

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children (32 percent) of up to 15 years of age of both genders. Among the deceased, people aged between 50 and 60 years old made up 8.3 percent, and those older than 60 constituted 18.4 percent.[7]

Among the few Jews who were able to escape and avoid the shootings was Isaac Pevzner, who was not called up to the army, owing to his nearsightedness, and was unable to evacuate Vetka because of his elderly parents. During the two years of occupation, his wife, Anastasia Nabokina, hid Pevzner in Vetka (first in the cellar of their house and later in a ditch in the garden). Because she refused to betray the hiding place of her husband, their one-and-a-half-year-old daughter was killed in Anastasia's arms.[8]

Another known survivor was Elena Markovich-Shanovich. The Germans murdered her father David in the autumn of 1941. Elena's mother was told that David had committed the crimes of being born a Jew and of serving in the Red Army. Thanks to neighbors who decided to help her, the girl was saved. They drove her to the town of Soboli, and when the Germans arrived there, they took her to another town from which Elena ran into the woods and joined the partisans.[9]

The Survivors Registry of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has information on more than 15 survivors from Vetka. Of these Isaak Gutin (born 1924) and Semin Starin (born 1933) apparently remained in or around Vetka during the German occupation. Most of the others were evacuated to the east in time or were in other cities during the German occupation.[10]

Vetka was liberated on September 28, 1943. Some of the Jews (about 30 families) returned from their evacuation to the east, but most soon moved to Gomel'.

SOURCES Apart from general works on the Holocaust in Belarus, such as Marat Botvinnik's *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), there is also an article in Russian dealing specifically with the Jews of Vetka by David Fabrikant, "Jewish Vetka: History and Geography," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), September 6, 2001. The ghetto in Vetka is also mentioned in the local history volume: *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1 (Minsk: BelTA, 1997), p. 192; 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), p. 1390; and Marat Botvinnik, *Kholokost v knigakh "Pamiat'" Respubliki Belarus'* (Minsk: Kovcheg, 2008), pp. 83–84.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Vetka during World War II can be found in the following archives: AMVDGO (12-1/8-1, vol. 1); PALS; and YVA (M-33/461).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi: Homel'skaia voblasts'* (Minsk, 1985), p. 119.
2. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1, p. 192; see also Botvinnik, *Kholokost v knigakh "Pamiat'" Respubliki Belarus'*, pp. 83–84.
3. YVA, M-33/461, p. 3.
4. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1, p. 192.
5. PALS, information from the political committee of the Vetka raion, November 3, 1992.
6. AMVDGO, 12-1/8-1, vol. 1, p. 118.
7. Author's estimate based on materials in the book *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 2 (Minsk: BelTA, 1998), pp. 107–109.
8. Fabrikant, "Jewish Vetka: History and Geography."
9. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 2, p. 28.
10. See *Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 2000), vol. 3, p. 402, and vol. 4, p. 714. An updated electronic version of the Survivors Registry is available on the Web at www.ushmm.org.

VETRINO

Pre-1941: Vetrino, village and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wetrino, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vetryna, Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Vetrino is located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Polotsk. Neither the 1926 population census nor that of 1939 provided a separate listing for the population of the town of Vetrino. According to the census of 1926, 737 Jews lived in the Vetrino "agricultural raion" (not congruent with the Vetrino raion of 1938). According to the 1939 census, the Jewish population of the Vetrino raion was 395 people.

Before World War II, Vetrino (with its railway station on the Polotsk-Grodno line) was a border checkpoint on the frontier with Poland. The area was well fortified. These circumstances made Vetrino a point where many refugees from the "western regions," the areas annexed by the USSR from Poland in 1939, assembled. Judging from the partial list of victims compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in 1945, the town's Jewish population had almost doubled, owing to the influx of refugees from the western regions before the Wehrmacht captured Vetrino.

The western part of the Vetrino raion, including the village of Vetrino, was captured by the Germans in the course of their operation to seize Polotsk between July 6 and July 11, 1941; the village of Vetrino was taken over on July 11, 1941. It was the LVII Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group that captured the area: the same corps that entered Polotsk at this time. The eastern part of the raion was captured by July 15, after the fall of Vitebsk.

Vetrino was heavily bombed from the air, mainly on June 26 and 27, 1941. However, the evacuation of the population from Vetrino failed: most of those Jews who left the village were forced to return.

Like nearby Polotsk, the Vetrino raion was in the rear area of the German 9th Army; later in the summer of 1941 it came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. It was under the authority of the Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division.

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The ChGK names the German commandant of Vetrino as Geiger; according to this source, he was responsible for ordering the mass killing of the Jews in the village.

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans registered the Jews in Vetrino and confiscated their property, including food supplies. Forced labor was introduced for the Jews. Two weeks after the Germans arrived in Vetrino, the local mayor, Sinkevich, issued an order for the resettlement of the Jews to Polotsk. After staying in Polotsk for three days, the Jews from Vetrino were allowed to return to their homes. Most probably, the German authorities had planned to resettle the Vetrino Jews in the Polotsk ghetto, but they then abandoned this plan.

In September 1941, the Vetrino Jews were resettled into a ghetto in Vetrino, which consisted of three houses on Chkalova Street. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. Locals were prohibited from having any contacts with the Jews and from giving any parcels to them, on pain of death.

On January 11, 1942, a German punitive squad came from Polotsk in two cars. The Germans and the local police formed the ghetto Jews into a column of about 30 people, escorted them to a nearby boggy area, and shot them. The pits had been dug beforehand; the bodies were buried three days later. A group of 13 Jews (the Kantor and Rabinovich families, and two unmarried women) hid in a potato cellar. They were found after the massacre of the ghetto inmates, interned in a local prison, and some days later killed in a nearby forest. According to one account given to the ChGK, it was Mayor Petrov who found and interned them.[1]

In 1945, the ChGK opened the mass grave; 59 names are recorded on the list of those killed compiled by the commission, among them 14 children aged 1 to 14. Among the 59 Jews killed in 1941–1942 in Vetrino, 27 were refugees from the western regions.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-210; NARB, 3797-1-9.

VITEBSK

Pre-1941: Vitebsk, city, raion center, center of Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Witebsk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vitsebsk, raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Vitebsk is located 221 kilometers (137 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 37,095 Jews lived in the city, comprising 22.2 percent of the population. Between the census of 1939 and June 22, 1941, 3,820 Jewish refugees from Poland settled in the Vitebsk region, of whom, most probably, between 1,800 and 2,000 settled in the city of Vitebsk.[1] The Jewish population of the Vitebsk raion within its pre-war borders (without the city of Vitebsk) numbered 538.

Jews at forced labor pushing a German field kitchen in Vitebsk, 1941.
USHMM WS #25123, COURTESY OF YIVO

In early July 1941, with the approach of German forces, Soviet authorities began to evacuate the most important industrial enterprises along with their workers, including many Jews. Thousands of Jews left Vitebsk between June 22 and July 8; at the same time, many Jewish refugees from northwestern Belorussia entered the city, swelling its Jewish population; not all of them succeeded in continuing their trek eastward. According to eyewitness accounts, the number of Jewish refugees in Vitebsk under the German occupation was significant.

The city fell to units of German Panzer Group 3 on July 11, after two days of fighting, during which the city suffered considerable damage, partly because of large fires that the retreating Soviets set. Sonderkommando 7a of Einsatzgruppe B, which entered the city that month, reported that Vitebsk was much more devastated than even Minsk.

Vitebsk became the headquarters of the 9th Army, coming under the authority of its rear area command (Korück 582). From August 1941 onward, Vitebsk fell under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The 403rd Security Division had its headquarters there, along with those of its subordinate commands, Feldkommandantur 815 and Ortskommandantur 282.

The first mayor of Vitebsk was Vsevolod F. Rod'ko from western (formerly Polish) Belorussia, who had been known as a Belorussian nationalist leader in the interwar period. Lev G. Brandt, a local ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*), was appointed as his deputy. A Belorussian police force was formed, headed by P.A. Shostak, also from western Belorussia. Formally the police was subordinated to the *uprava* (local authority); in fact, it acted on the orders of the Feldgendarmerie.[2]

The German military authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Vitebsk; the Germans demanded that only local Jews, not refugees, should make up the council. It included D.S. Blen, a former director of the House of Children's Artistic Education; Kagan, a former schoolteacher of German;

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Leitman, a former bookkeeper in a chemical *artel*; Beizerman, a schoolteacher; and also V.T. Tsadikman, I.O. Glezerman, and D.Kh. Ginzburg.[3] With the assistance of the Jewish Council, the authorities registered the Jewish population. An announcement on July 17 stated that the registration of the Jews would be conducted on July 18–20; those liable for registration included not only Jews but also *Mischlinge* (half-Jews) of the first and second degrees, as well as everybody cohabiting with a Jew.[4] The registration did not cause a panic among the Jews, but it took a long time; on July 26, Sonderkommando 7b reported that only 3,000 Jews had been registered. It is unclear how many Jews were registered in total; estimates vary from 10,000 to 16,000.

The Germans shot several groups of Jews between July and September 1941. On July 20, they ordered all Jewish men ages 15 to 50 to assemble at the Lenin Park. They formed the Jews into several rows, arbitrarily selected 30 men from each row, and then shot them as a punishment for the failure of some Jews to affix yellow badges to their clothes.[5] At the end of July, some Jews were shot publicly for "failure to report for work."[6] At about this time, the second Aktion took place: 300 Jewish men, mainly the younger and stronger ones, were taken for "hard labor" on the outskirts of Vitebsk; they were even given picks and shovels. All of them were shot in the vicinity of Mazurino and Ulanovichi (northern suburbs of Vitebsk); a notice posted by the commandant the next day informed people that they had been "executed" for committing arson in the city.[7] Witnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention a mass shooting of members of the Jewish intelligentsia near Tulovo on August 26, 1941. In early September, the military authorities permitted Einsatzkommando 9 to select 397 Jewish prisoners from the civilian internment camp (*Zivilgefangenenlager*) whom they regarded as terrorists, and the Einsatzkommando shot them. On September 4, Einsatzkommando 9 reported shooting 149 Jews from the "NKVD leadership, political functionaries, as well as persons evading forced labor."[8] There were also some other shootings of groups of Jews in this period, albeit on a smaller scale.

On July 25, the Feldkommandantur ordered the Jews to move to the right (in Vitebsk this means the western) bank of the Dvina by July 28. Soviet forces had blown up the bridge across the Dvina before their retreat, and the Germans prohibited the civil population from using the pontoon bridge they had constructed, so the only way to get across was by boat. Many of the locals who lived close to the river had boats; they offered to take Jews across the river in return for payment. Some Jews made primitive rafts.

The Germans turned the river crossing into a slaughter of the Jews. German soldiers in boats in the middle of the Dvina overturned boats and rafts that were carrying Jews and their belongings; Jews who could not swim were left to drown. Other soldiers, who remained on the right bank, did not let the Jews disembark onto the bank; some even shot at the boats. According to various estimates, some 200 to 300 Jews perished during the crossing.[9]

The Nazis established an area of Jewish residence in the northern part of the right bank along the Il'inskii Embankment (former Nizhne-Naberezhnaia). The city's inhabitants dubbed this area the "pale of Jewish settlement." This "pale" consisted of several sites of Jewish residence. Some of the city's Jews were crammed into a former vegetable store, others into the yeast plant, the former flyers' club, the tobacco factory, a house at 30 Komsomol'skaia Street, and other places.[10] This pale of settlement can be regarded as the first ghetto of Vitebsk. Einsatzkommando 9 (under Filbert), which entered Vitebsk either in the last days of July or on August 1–2, found the ghetto already in existence, "fenced and guarded by Jewish orderlies."

The second, much smaller "ghetto" was established at the metalworkers' club (Dom metallistov) and in the surrounding area. It was set up sometime in September; the exact date is unclear. On September 16, 1941, the uprava issued an order forbidding the citizens "of non-yid origin" (*nezhidovskogo proiskhozhdenia*) to remain in the ghetto area, as well as forbidding "all yids" to leave the ghetto area, which gives a rough indication of the date of the second resettlement. All the Jews from the previous ghetto area were crammed into the metalworkers' club. Because of the shortage of medical workers in Vitebsk (only 29 "Aryan" doctors remained in the city), some Jewish doctors were allowed to stay outside the ghetto fence.

The second ghetto was enclosed by the Il'inskii Embankment, Engels Street, Komsomol'skaia Street, and Kirov Street. At both corners of the embankment, barriers were established. The ghetto was fenced. There was a narrow passageway from the ghetto to the river near one of the barriers, and the inmates were able to collect water from the Dvina. The passageway was also fenced; later it was closed. The main entrance to the ghetto was on Engels Street. After the great fire, the right bank, where Jews had been made to resettle, was an area of scorched, charred ruins, according to an eyewitness; there were almost no buildings fit for habitation. People created makeshift dwellings from bricks, planks, and old beds. Having no firewood, the inmates broke window frames from wrecked houses and burned them for cooking and heating.[11]

In the period of existence of the larger ghetto, some Jews were made to perform forced labor, mainly clearing the city of ruins and rubble left after the fighting and the fire and performing services for the local garrison. Work columns were escorted in the morning across the pontoon bridge to their workplaces, and in the evening they were led back to the ghetto.

Neither in the first, larger ghetto nor at the metalworkers' club did the Germans provide the inmates with food, except on rare occasions. The Jews soon exhausted the food supplies they had brought with them; non-Jews came up to the ghetto fence and exchanged food for clothing. The rate of exchange was very unfavorable for the ghetto Jews, because famine prevailed throughout the city. There was no water supply in the second ghetto other than one pipe from which water poured constantly. There was a permanent queue of inmates at this

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pipe. All the witnesses attest that the mortality rate from starvation in the ghettos of Vitebsk was very high.

The number of Jews who perished from hunger and disease is not clear. Soviet witnesses who gave their testimony to the ChGK estimated the rate of "natural deaths" in the Vitebsk ghetto variously: from between 30 people a day in September to 70 people a day in early October, which adds up to between 1,100 and 2,600 deaths from September 1 to October 8. It was not until September that the deaths began in the ghetto of Vitebsk. Historian Christian Gerlach estimates the total number of deaths at between 5,000 and 10,000, which would mean that a majority of the Jews who remained in Vitebsk starved to death or perished from typhus, rather than being shot by Filbert's Einsatzkommando.

The Vitebsk ghetto was liquidated on October 8 and 10, 1941, under the pretext of the "danger of an epidemic" (*Seuchengefahr*). Einsatzkommando 9, quartered in Vitebsk at this time, with the assistance of the Belorussian police, brought the last Jews of the Vitebsk ghetto to the Tulovskii (Ilovskii) ravine near the village of Sebiakhi, east of Vitebsk, and shot them.

A survivor, a man of mixed Jewish-Belorussian parentage, says that when he came to the ghetto fence on October 10 to find his mother, the ghetto site was empty; all its inmates were gone.[12]

The number of Jews killed by Filbert's unit has been a matter of dispute. Ereignismeldung 124 of October 25, 1941, reports a figure of around 3,000 Jews killed; however, Ereignismeldung 148 of December 19, 1941, mentions 4,090 Jews killed in Vitebsk. Some scholars are inclined to think that these reports deal with two different mass murders—one in October, the other in December 1941—and therefore they add these numbers together (thus arriving at the estimate of 7,000 or even 8,000 victims). Christian Gerlach questions whether the Einsatzgruppen reports deal with one or two Aktions. Both reports mention the same Aktion on October 8 and 10, 1941; the second total simply is more accurate than the previous one. The witnesses who gave testimonies to the ChGK may have exaggerated the numbers of victims, but it is unlikely that they would completely forget the second mass shooting of Jews in Vitebsk. No survivors mention a second Aktion, either.

Mikhail Ryvkin and Arkadii Shulman interpret the accounts collected by the ChGK to mean that the mass murder continued until October 12, rather than until October 8. On the basis of several witness accounts, they maintain that some group shootings of Jews (and prisoners of war) also took place in Vitebsk during the second half of October. The number of victims in this subsequent October Aktion was 800.[13] According to Ryvkin and Shulman, in early November another relatively small group of Jews was shot.[14] The precise fate of the Vitebsk Jews in late 1941 is still a subject of debate among scholars.

The Jewish doctors and artisans who were left in the city were killed at about the same time. They may have been included in the report of December 19, 1941. Some Jews continued to live clandestinely in Vitebsk even after this; thus the list of prisoners arrested between July and September 1942 and detained in the city's SD prison contains more than 120 Jews.[15]

The number of Jews who perished in Vitebsk in 1941 may be estimated at between 6,500 and 13,000. The most probable estimate is 7,500, which constitutes 20 percent of the pre-war population of Vitebsk; this means that 80 percent of the Jews evacuated or fled from this industrial city. If there were indeed two separate mass shootings of Jews (probably separated by a very short interval, and they might have been conflated in the memories of the witnesses into a single event), the most probable estimate of the number of victims is 10,500.[16]

It is not clear in which villages of the Vitebsk raion Jews were killed. Some sel'sovets (Dolzha, Borovliany, Nikolaevo) are notable for the large number of people killed in them by the Nazis. It is unclear whether there were Jews among these victims.

Jewish/non-Jewish relations in Vitebsk in 1941 were not uniform. On the one hand, some survivors attest that in the first weeks of the occupation some "shady characters" were trying to break into their houses and rob Jewish belongings.[17] On the other hand, the partisan Yevdokiya Spiridonova in 1941 escorted many Jews from Vitebsk to a partisan base at the former peat-cutting facility "20 let Oktiabria" (20th Anniversary of the October Revolution), and from there they were taken across the front line to the Soviet side in 1942.[18]

SOURCES In the late 1940s, a short memoir by Iv. Ivanov (a pseudonym), "Iz nedavnego proshlogo: Vitebskoe getto," appeared in *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* [a leftist journal in Russian, which was published in New York and Paris] 32:1–3. An essay by Ph. Friedman, "Umkum fun vitebsker yidn," appeared in the collection *Vitebsk amol*, ed. I. Trunk (New York, 1956). A book of memoirs written by a wartime German soldier with leftist leanings, Paul Koerner-Schrader, *Ostlandreiter* ([East] Berlin: Dt. Militärverlag, 1961), devotes much attention to the ghetto of Vitebsk. The fictionalized story of the extermination of Vitebsk Jews, the novel by Aleksandr Tverskoi, *Turetskii marsh* (Moscow, 1983), must not be neglected, either, despite its numerous historical mistakes. A. Zeltser and D. Romanovsky have published an account of the fate of the Jews of Vitebsk in: *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 4 (1994): 198–228. This essay also includes published versions of some eyewitness accounts now located at Yad Vashem. See also "Skol'ko evreev pogiblo v promyshlennykh gorodakh Vostochnoi Belorussi v nachale nemetskoi okkupatsii (iiul'–dekabr' 1941 g.)?" *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta* 4:22 (2000): 151–172. In 2004, the book by Mikhail Ryvkin and Arkadii Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei: Tragediia Vitebskogo getto*, was published in Vitebsk. Despite its journalistic, nonacademic style, this book represents the first history of the Holocaust in the city. Christian Gerlach's *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999) also includes a detailed analysis of the murder of the Jews of the Vitebsk ghetto.

The documents of the ChGK for Vitebsk and the Vitebsk raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1, 3, 4). The trial against members of Einsatzkommando 9 that was held in

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Berlin in 1962–1963 dealt extensively with the events in Vitebsk and its vicinity; its materials can be found in the respective German regional archive; part of the material has been copied for the YVA and is deposited there as TR-10/388; the court decision can be found in the published collection *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 18 (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press: 1978) Lfd. Nr. 540. Relevant German documentation is deposited also in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg (BA-MA, RH 22, 23, and 26). At the Yad Vashem archives, not only witness statements (O-3/4124, O-3/4720–O-3/4722) but also copies of the German documentation from the Freiburg archives (see YVA, M.29.FR/215–M.29.FR/244 and others) can be found.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-21-2075.
2. N.I. Pakhomov, N.I. Dorofeenko, and N.V. Dorofeenko, *Vitebskoe podpol'e*, pp. 22–25.
3. Information from the Vitebsk Museum of Local Lore (VKM), as cited by Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 46–47.
4. Ibid., p. 48.
5. Ibid., pp. 55–56.
6. BA-BL, R58/215, EM no. 34, July 26, 1941.
7. Ivanov, "Iz nedavnego proshlogo," p. 27.
8. YVA, TR-10/388, p. 69.
9. GARF, 7021-84-3; YVA, O-3/4720.
10. YVA, TR-10/388, p. 46.
11. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 63–64.
12. Testimony of Georgiy Shantyr, Oral History Collection of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University in Jerusalem.
13. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 96–101.
14. Ibid., pp. 130–131.
15. Ibid., pp. 132–133.
16. For arguments in favor of the lower estimate, see Romanovsky, "Skol'ko evreev pogiblo," pp. 151–172.
17. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, p. 87.
18. Ibid., pp. 49–50.

VOLYNTSY

Pre-1941: Volyntsy, village, Drissa raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wolynzy, Rayon Drissa, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Valyntsy, Verkhniadzvinsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Volyntsy is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) northwest of Polotsk. On July 10, 1941, the German 14th Panzer Division of the newly formed 4th Panzer Army captured the villages of Volyntsy and Borkovichi. From August 1941 onward, the Drissa raion, including the village of Volyntsy, was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center.

In January 1942, the remaining 84 Jews in Volyntsy were assembled "behind a fence" (that is, in a ghetto surrounded with barbed wire). About one month later, a punitive squad of about 20 men arrived in Volyntsy from Drissa in two cars; they drove the Jews from the ghetto, forming them into a column, 4 abreast, and escorted them to a nearby forest, where a pit 8 meters by 2 meters (26 by 7 feet) had been dug beforehand, and shot them. Members of the local population could observe the massacre with their own eyes, as the killers conducted the Aktion close to the town's marketplace. After the massacre, the Germans sold part of the Jews' belongings to the locals and took away the most valuable objects.[1]

SOURCES According to Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 170, 189, the Aktion in Volyntsy took place on February 2, 1942. The mass shooting of the Jews of Volyntsy is also mentioned in *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 132.

The documents of the ChGK for the Drissa raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-215); USHMM; and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-215.

VORONICHI

Pre-1941: Voronichi, village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Woronitschi, Rayon Wetrino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Varonichy, Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Voronichi is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Polotsk. In 1920, there were 65 Jews living in the village out of a total population of 163.

Forces of German Army Group Center captured Voronichi during the first days of July 1941. It appears that very few Jews fled the village before their arrival. According to witness accounts collected for the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in early November 1941, an SS unit arrived in three cars. They arrested 6 Jewish men, told them to take shovels, and escorted them to the Ostivki Forest, where the SS told the Jews to undress and then shot them. A local policeman, Semen Rumakov, who took part in the Aktion, was rewarded with a coat that had belonged to one of the victims. At the end of November, the authorities, including the village elder (starosta) Konstantin Harbuk (or Gorbuk), assembled the Jews of Voronichi, 62 people in total, in a ghetto, which consisted of two houses and was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. During the ghetto's existence, some men came from time to time to Voronichi from the Vetrino authority; they interrogated Jews, beat them, and took their belongings. According to another account, before the ghetto was established, Harbuk regularly came to the Jewish houses and extorted valuables and good-quality belongings from them, promising that those who gave things to him would not be resettled to the ghetto in Polotsk.

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On January 16, 1942, a Belorussian police squad from Polotsk, 12 men, headed by two Germans, arrived from Bobynichi. Supported by Harbuk and the local policeman Rumakov, they began to assemble the Jews from the ghetto. Some Jews attempted to flee; they were shot at and wounded. The men of the squad beat the wounded with rifle butts. According to one account, they put out the eyes of 17-year-old Sonia Vaiman, who had attempted to flee, and then killed her. A Jewish woman, Malka Rubin, tried to hide with her 3-year-old son, but Harbuk found them. The rest of the Jews from the ghetto were led to an old cemetery and shot. In all, 62 people were killed on that day, among them 28 children ages 1 to 14 years. The men of the police squad collected the clothing of the victims.

A total of 68 Jews were killed in Voronichi.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210, p. 104).

Daniel Romanovsky

ZEMBIN

Pre-1941: Zembin, village, Borisov raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sembin, Rayon Borissow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zembin, Borisau raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zembin is located about 70 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1926, there were 838 Jews out of 1,199 inhabitants of the village (69.9 percent).

German armed forces occupied Zembin on June 30, 1941. With the exception of the Shifrin family (with many children), who traveled to the east a few days before the Germans arrived, most Jews found themselves under German occupation. Some families with more than 20 carts fled to the Berezina River but became encircled by the rapidly advancing German spearheads and were all forced to return to Zembin. Because there was shooting on the streets that night, some of the inhabitants decided to hide near the swamp, but two days later they also returned to the village. One week after the Germans arrived, the Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks on their chests and back: a yellow circle 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter. They were also forbidden to communicate with non-Jews.[1] A police force was formed in Zembin, headed by Vasiliy Kharitonovich (chief of police) and Feofil Kabakov, his deputy.[2]

In mid-July 1941, houses on Gatskaia and Rabochе-Krestianskaia Streets, not far from the Jewish cemetery, were enclosed with barbed wire, and a ghetto was formed. More than 900 people were confined in the ghetto. The Jews were compelled to perform a variety of jobs meticulously, without pay and without questioning the orders given to them. They were used for collecting garbage, cleaning the area, loading and unloading fuel, and doing other menial tasks. The Germans had no long-term plans for the ghetto in Zembin but simply used it as a place to gather and contain the Jews before exterminating them. In mid-August, the German authorities chose 18 of the strongest men to dig a pit 800 meters (about half a mile) outside Zembin at a place called Zagornoe, ostensibly as a dump for useless military equipment. The pit was 46 meters long and 3 meters wide (about 151 by 10 feet). This task took several days to complete; however, the earthen stairs leading down into the pits aroused suspicion.[3]

In the early morning of August 18, 1941, policemen Gnot and Golub went through the ghetto and declared that according to a German order all the Jews were to gather at the marketplace. This was done under the pretense of checking documents and resettling the people from Zembin. When the Jews had gathered at the predetermined place, Gendarmes with dogs encircled them. Policemen organized the prisoners into columns and led them into the forest. The guards demanded order and shouted and hit those who stepped out of line. Not far from the forest, behind which was the pit, the column stopped, and people were ordered to kneel; after that, they were permitted to sit down to "rest." At first, 20 of the healthiest men were led away. There were few men in the ghetto, because the majority had been mobilized into the Red Army. Shots were heard. Then one by one, groups of 15 to 20 people were taken away and led to the pit. A young teacher shouted: "Don't cry, these are fascists! Either way they will have to pay, our people will avenge us!" She was among the first killed. Families sat together in small groups, planning to die together. People were ordered to undress and lie down in the pit in line, then were shot. Among the victims was a cadet from the Military Aviation College who came to Zembin before the war to visit relatives.[4]

According to the testimony of Rema Asinovskaya-Khodasevich, people instinctively crept away from the edge of the field where they were sitting and waiting for execution, hoping to avoid being the next group selected to die. The German translator Lutske shouted: "Ten people! Not everyone will be killed, examinations are conducted there, don't panic!" A sick old man named Shenderov, who was brought with the help of his relatives, died from a heart attack due to anxiety before his turn came.[5]

Only two children, both Khasia Khodasevich's, were spared, supposedly because they came from a mixed marriage. Following her mother's advice, the elder child took her four-year-old brother by the hand and approached the German officer who was in charge of the execution. The girl said that she was in the crowd of Jews by accident. The officer consulted David Ehof, an ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) who was formerly a teacher of German in Zembin and later became the chief of police in Borisov, and demanded that he confirm what the child was saying. Ehof answered in the affirmative, and the children were sent to a car. One boy, a classmate of theirs, ran behind them and begged: "Remka, tell them that I'm your brother, that I'm Russian!" But he was seized and thrown into the pit. According to the testimony of Stanislav Turchinovich, afterwards the guards ordered local Belorussians to bury the corpses and fill in the grave. When

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the work was almost completed, an old Jewish woman who had been missed initially was brought in and executed. The pit was dug out again, and she was placed inside. The Belorussians feared that the Germans would kill them because they were witnesses, but the Germans let them go home.[6]

That day more than 750 people were murdered, including more than 250 children.[7] The Aktion was conducted by the chief of the Borisov SD, Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann, Gestapo men Berg and Walther, the commandant in Borisov, Scherer, and the commandant in Zembin, Ilek. The policemen Rabetski, Kursevich, Golub, Glot, Deshkovich, Orehov, and Kontur, as well as the Oniskevich brothers—who received copious amounts of alcohol—also took an active role in the massacre.[8]

In its own report, Einsatzgruppe B claimed that it had received "repeated complaints . . . that all the Jews there were working against German instructions" and that many had recently arrived from elsewhere. In postwar testimony, however, a member of the Einsatzgruppe, Willy Kremers, noted that in Zembin there were no attempts by the Jews to flee. Nevertheless, the Einsatzgruppe report concluded: "in order to prevent any further opposition, a number of Jews were rendered harmless."[9]

Zembin was liberated on June 30, 1944. In August, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Borisov raion was able to confirm the murder of only 5 Jews in Zembin: Gil and Liba Beneson, Meer and Haia Kats, and Fania Harik. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, through the efforts of the historical-educational society Svet Menory, 222 surnames of Jews who were killed in Zembin were established.

SOURCES The ghetto in Zembin is mentioned in Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); and David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005). The book by Aleksandr Rosenbloom, *Pamiat' na krovi* (Petah Tikvah, 1998), pp. 89–117, includes the family names of some of the Jews murdered in Zembin. Additonal information on the fate of the Jews of Zembin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A. Rosenbloom, *Sledy v trave zabveniia. Evrei v istorii Borisova* (Borisov, 1996); *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika Borisova i Borisovskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1997), pp. 421–431; *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi. Minskaia voblasts'*, vol. 1.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Zembin can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR-Z 184/67, Dok. Bd. I); TsAKGBRB; and YVA (M-33/422).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. *Pamiat'*, pp. 421–431.
2. YVA, M-33/422, p. 8.
3. *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi*, 1:70.
4. Rosenbloom, *Pamiat' na krovi*, p. 66.
5. Rosenbloom, *Sledy v trave zabveniia*, p. 34.
6. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 255.
7. *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 495, gives the figure of 760 victims; according to another source, YVA, M-33/422, p. 11, there were 927 people killed, including 255 children.
8. TsAKGBRB; on the Aktion in Zembin, see also the interrogation of David Ehof on March 7, 1947, BA-L, 202 AR-Z 184/67, Dok. Bd. I, p. 210.
9. Einsatzgruppe B, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht für 24-31.8.1941, cited by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999) p. 570; BA-L, 202 AR-Z 81/59 (investigation against Bradfisch et al.), Bd. III, statement of Willy Kremers on June 15, 1962. In this case, it seems that German reports of resistance were probably exaggerated to justify the brutal murder of women and children.

ZHLOBIN

Pre-1941: Zhlobin, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Shlobin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zhlobin, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zhlobin is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, 3,709 Jews (19.2 percent of the total) resided in Zhlobin.

When the war began, several hundred men eligible for military service were conscripted into the Red Army. Due to German air raids, few people managed to evacuate by train, but more than half of Zhlobin's Jews escaped on foot towards Gomel' before Soviet troops blew up the bridges over the Dnieper River on August 13, 1941.[1]

A combat detachment of 500 men, including many Jews, defended Zhlobin tenaciously. German forces captured the town on July 3, 1941, but were driven out again 10 days later by the Soviet 63rd Infantry Corps. Only on August 14, 1941, did the Germans secure Zhlobin.[2]

Under German occupation, the mayor was Nikolai Zabelin, and Ivan Dombrovskii volunteered to head the town guard, selecting his 30 subordinates. Chernousov was head of the town police; Turchanovich headed the Secret Field Police (GFP); Stolypko was head of the Political Section; and Kozhemiakin headed the Investigation Section. The Shlobin Rayon police was headed by Mikhail Kashin, who commanded 150 men.[3]

The murder of Jews in Zhlobin began in the late summer or fall of 1941. A detachment of Einsatzgruppe B shot 31 Jews in the town in September 1941, as alleged saboteurs or plunderers.[4]

At first the Jews lived in their own homes, but they were forbidden to go to public places, use the main streets in the town, and associate with non-Jews. Ol'ga Sorkina was arrested for speaking with Russians. In October 1941, two ghet-

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tos were set up on the southern outskirts of town. The first was in the dormitory of a school for training factory and mill workers. The second was in three converted huts on the other side of the railway and a hut near the bakery. The elder of the first ghetto was an old man named Zalman; the elder of the second ghetto was Bizur, assisted by a man named Samchen. Dombrovskii registered a total of 1,145 Jews. Adults able to work were used for forced labor.[5]

Jews from surrounding towns and villages also were brought to Zhlobin. Ermolenko, the assistant mayor of Zhlobin, ordered the Rayon police under Kashin to round up the 300 Jews of Karpilovka. Initially, the Jews could take their property with them (cattle, food, and clothing), but later the cattle were taken away. The local police guarded the ghetto around the clock, in shifts.[6]

The food that people brought with them, obtained by barter or given by Belorussians, was their only means of subsistence. Generally the local population helped, without payment, "their own" Jews who were married to Belorussians, and village Jews were helped by former neighbors, but people in these categories formed only a small part of the ghetto population. Most people had to rely on illegal barter, which required great organization and trust. Sometimes it was necessary to bribe the police to turn a blind eye.[7]

The guards beat the Jews with rubber batons. It was impossible to escape from the ghetto, and sometimes the Germans and policemen beat Jews for "amusement." During the night of December 31, 1941, and January 1, 1942, Kashin publicly shot two Jews, Ginzburg and Garelik, for attempting to escape.[8] On February 10, 1942, Feldkommandantur 581 in Bobruisk reported that 739 Jews were residing in the Shlobin Rayon.[9]

The plan to liquidate the ghetto of Zhlobin was kept secret. There were rumors about a mass shooting, but not everybody believed them. The evening before April 11, 1942, policeman Trofim Tomkov and police chief Kashin, on the pretext of road repair work, assembled about 40 men from the village of Lebedevka with shovels. But the peasants were sent into a field, to an old antitank ditch, and ordered to dig pits. On April 12, 1941, Kashin ordered Zhlobin policemen to go at 7:00 A.M. in trucks to the ghetto, where German forces were already at work.[10]

Germans and local police herded the Jews out of their houses, counted them, and then "loaded" them into 30 closed trucks, 40 persons per vehicle. The column left the town and came to a halt 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the village of Lebedevka. The Jews were herded out of the trucks and led to the killing site, the antitank ditch. Then 20 meters (66 feet) from the ditch, the Jews were ordered to undress. Some 20 policemen cordoned off the area, while the others forced the people to remove their clothing. The shooting was directed by the assistant mayor, Ermolenko, and the chief of police, Kashin. The first to be shot were the 30 most able-bodied Jewish men. The police brought the victims to the edge of the pit, where a plank lay. The adults had to stand on the plank, and Mikhailovskii hit them with a stick on the back of the neck; as each one fell forward, the other policemen opened fire with submachine guns. The last to be killed were small children.[11]

By 3:00 P.M. the massacre was over, and it was "suggested" that the peasants of Lebedevka cover the pit (containing around 800 corpses).[12]

The killing of the Jews of Zhlobin continued from April 12 to April 15, 1942. In the field between Zhlobin and Lebedevka, it is estimated that at least 1,200 people were shot, primarily elderly people, women, and children. According to the statement of Artem Vasil'chenkov, as the burial was in progress, a 10- to 12-year-old girl raised herself from the pit, resting on her arms, and screamed, "Finish me off or let me go!" A German noticed this, took his pistol from its holster, and killed the child with two shots. On April 14, 1942, the Jews of the village of Streshin (480 people) were killed at the same location.[13]

During the occupation, the Nazis and their collaborators killed more than 10 Jewish mothers with children from mixed marriages whose non-Jewish husbands were serving at the front. Nikolai Makei, a Belorussian, chose to die with his Jewish wife, Sara Nekhamkina, and their children, seven-year-old Vladimir and six-year-old Tamara. The Babitskii brothers and their young sister were killed, though their Jewish origin was three generations in the past.[14]

Quite probably, the pits near Lebedevka contain, along with the inmates of the Zhlobin and Streshin ghettos, some Jews from the neighboring villages of Krasnyi Bereg, Pirevichi, Dobrogoshcha, Staraia Rudnia, and Kazimirovo.

Few survived the liquidation of the Zhlobin ghetto. The witness Basia Palei (born 1906) was searching for food in the countryside during the shooting. When she returned, her husband and three children had been killed. El'ka Sorkina (born 1925) jumped from a truck on the way to the killing site, hid, and managed to find the partisans.[15] Aleksandra Kushner helped save Nadezhda Gorevaia and her son by her Jewish husband, who was in the Red Army. She hid them in her home and later helped them reach the partisans. Boris Glakovskii (born 1941) was saved by Tina Makovskaia and her mother, Aleksandra Reviakova. The father of Boris, Semen Isaakovich, a militia officer, perished in the defense of Zhlobin in 1941. Semen's wife, Tsilia Shaevna, and their four children (ages 1, 4, 6, and 10) were put into the ghetto. On April 12, 1942, during transport to the execution site, Tsilia managed to hand Boris to Tina, who saved him.[16]

On June 26, 1944, Zhlobin was liberated by troops of the 1st Belorussian Front. At the end of the occupation of Zhlobin, only about 20 percent of the pre-war population of 20,909 people remained.[17] Representatives of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), visiting Zhlobin, ascertained that a total of 3,091 people were murdered in Zhlobin and the Zhlobin raion by the Nazis, without specifying whether they were Jews or non-Jews. The ChGK established 548 names of the murdered Jews from Zhlobin.[18]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Zhlobin during the Holocaust can be found in

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these publications: *Pravedniki narodov mira v Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004); Izrail' Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), February 15, 2001; and *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Zhlobin can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (files 1354 and 5823); BA-MA (RH 26-203/3); GARF (7021-85-214, 413); NARB (4-33a-65; 845-1-55; 861-1-1, 6); and PALS.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki"; and PALS, letter from Moisei Dvorkin, October 16, 2004.
2. PALS, letter from Izrail' Slavin, September 23, 2004; and NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
3. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 120, Efim Barzens, July 14, 1944.
4. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 205, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppen no. 5, September 15–30, 1941.
5. AUKGBRBGO, file 1354, p. 28, Ivan Dombrovskii, April 4, 1944.
6. Ibid., file 5823, pp. 28, 312, Mikhail Kashin, August 1, 1945.
7. L. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii* (Tel Aviv, 2000), pp. 46–48.
8. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 252, Mikhail Kashin, August 1, 1945.
9. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, Lagebericht FK 581, February 10, 1942.
10. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 119, Mikhail Vasil'evich Mulev, July 14, 1944.
11. Ibid., p. 132, Stanislava Bronislavovna Rokhlina, August 23, 1944.
12. Ibid., p. 37, Ivan Evdokimovich Pashkovskii, October 31, 1944.
13. Ibid., p. 25, Artem Vasil'chenkov, December 5, 1944.
14. NARB, 861-1-6, p. 14.
15. Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki."
16. In 1996, Tina Makovskaia and Aleksandra Reviakova were posthumously awarded the title of "Righteous Among the Nations." See *Pravedniki narodov mira v Belarusi*, p. 52.
17. Gomel' oblast' population data, May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
18. NARB, 845-1-55, p. 46.

ZHURAVICHI

Pre-1941: Zhuravichi, village and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Shurawitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zhuravichy, Rohachou raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zhuravichi is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) north-northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population was 616, 25.7 percent of the total.

When hostilities began, all the males eligible for military service joined the Red Army. In late June 1941, a local combat battalion of 180 men was formed, commanded by a man named Gerasimov, which performed security tasks in Zhuravichi.[1] As Zhuravichi was not on the railroad, it did not suffer from aerial bombardment, nor did many refugees from places further west arrive there, who might spread news about the Nazis' treatment of the Jews. Soviet officials did not order an official evacuation, and only a small part of the Jewish population managed to leave the town in time. They left on foot, dragging along the elderly and children in carts, hoping for a speedy return.

German forces entered Zhuravichi on August 14, 1941, and the German military administration appointed new local officials during the first 10 days of the occupation. A man named Filipchenko became the Rayon head (Rayonchef). The first chief of police, Vakhnalev (September–December 1941), was later replaced by Grigorii Alesiuk (December 1941–February 1943), a former district militia officer in the Zhuravichi People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD).[2] A number of local residents were recruited to serve in the police.

In the summer of 1942, in connection with the strengthening of the partisan movement, Alesiuk called on the youth to join the Zhuravichi police, increasing police manpower from about 100 up to 500 men.[3]

Until September 1941, the Jews remained in their own homes. They were forbidden to appear in public places and to converse or trade with Belorussians and Russians. The Jews were required to perform forced labor for the German military authorities and the local administration.

A ghetto was set up in the town in September 1941. The Germans ordered Vakhnalev, assisted by the police force, to round up all the Jews of Zhuravichi and the village of Novye Zhuravichi,[4] a total of 170 people, and herd them into the garden of the kolkhoz named for the "Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution." They were quartered in six buildings, some of which had previously served as a school. The ghetto, which was guarded by local police, remained in existence for about four months. Food was scarce, the buildings were not heated, and no medical assistance was provided. The Jews presumed what their fate would likely be, but they did not escape because they were bound to each other by mutual responsibilities. The Germans appointed Jewish "elders," who maintained order, received demands for forced labor, and were made personally responsible for ensuring that no Jew escaped or hid.[5]

In the final days of December 1941, the German military administration (Ortskommandantur) in Zhuravichi ordered a pit to be prepared for the mass killing of the Jews. Alesiuk allocated 40 policemen, 10 of whom were sent to dig the pit, while the rest were posted in a circle around the ghetto as guards. The Jews were locked in the barn and kept there until the Germans arrived. Then 12 Germans, probably of the Security Police, drove up to the barn in a covered truck and began loading the prisoners for transport to the pit. They brought out 30 people at a time, loaded them in the truck, and drove them beyond the Zhuravichi hospital into a pine forest.

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Most of the victims were old people, women, and children. Among others, they included Iankel' Aleshinskii (70 years of age), his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law, and a man named Bogorad (38–40 years old) with his sister (26). Among the victims were also the kolkhoznik Mikhail Mazurov and the barber Moisei Starovoitov, who were both married to Russian women and had taken their surnames. Five or six trips in total were made that day. The doomed prisoners were led to the edge of the pit and shot with rifles and submachine guns in the presence of the policemen. The police buried the corpses. A number of local policemen assisted the Germans in carrying out the mass shooting of Jews in Zhuravichi.[6]

Alesiuk arranged for victims' belongings to be guarded, and two days later the Jewish possessions were taken to the Rayon authority. The best items were appropriated by the Germans, and the others were sold at a store, with the profits going into the coffers of the Rayon authority.[7]

Soviet forces liberated Zhuravichi on November 25, 1943. It was one of the first populated localities in Belorussia to be liberated. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which reached Zhuravichi in March 1944, determined that during the occupation of the town and the raion of the same name, the Nazis and their accomplices had killed 2,477 civilians, including 144 people in Zhuravichi itself. The population of the Zhuravichi raion decreased from 42,298 in May 1941 to 28,100 in May 1944: 66.4 percent of the pre-war level.[8] Some of the Nazis' accomplices, including G.V. Alesiuk, were arrested and tried.[9]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Zhuravichi during the Holocaust can be found in the following publication: 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).

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Zhuravichi and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in these archives: AUKGBRBGO (case 5745, trial of Alesiuk); GAOOGO (144-5-6, p. 218); and NARB (4-33a-65, p. 90).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90, Information from the Military Section of the Gomel' Okrug Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia about the personnel of the defense force detachments on August 1, 1941.
2. Grigorii Vasil'evich Alesiuk, born in 1895, worked in the militia from 1922 to 1941; in August 1941 he avoided evacuation and remained in occupied territory.
3. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, p. 52.
4. Novye Zhuravichi is a village 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the small town of Zhuravichi.
5. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, pp. 86–88.
6. Ibid., pp. 89–92. This file names many local policemen who participated in the Aktion against the Jews.
7. Ibid., p. 68.
8. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
9. Alesiuk was arrested on February 16, 1946, and held in Prison No. 1 in Gomel'. He was tried on April 27, 1946, in Zhuravichi, and the military tribunal of the MVD for the Gomel' oblast' sentenced Alesiuk to death by shooting. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, p. 113.

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EASTERN UKRAINE AND CRIMEA REGION

Two Jewish men are forced by German troops with the 6th Army to hang three other Jews in a village outside of Khar'kov. All five of the Jewish men were eventually hanged as suspected members of the resistance, 1942.
USHMM WS #67069, COURTESY OF YIVO

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EASTERN UKRAINE AND CRIMEA REGION

Pre-1941: eastern part of the Ukrainian SSR and Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941 1943: (Crimea occupied 1941–1944), initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then 1942–1943: Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B); 1943: eastern part of the Ukrainian SSR and Crimean ASSR (from 1945, Crimean oblast', RSFSR, from 1954, Ukrainian SSR); post-1991: eastern part of Ukraine and Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Between the fall of 1941 and the summer of 1942, the Germans established around 19 ghettos in the military-occupied territory of eastern Ukraine and Crimea; as many as 19,000 Jews may have been confined within these ghettos. Most of these ghettos existed for only a few weeks, prior to the rapid extermination of the Jewish population. With reference to the Soviet administrative divisions as of 1939, the ghettos were distributed as follows: six in the Chernigov oblast'; two in the Sumy oblast'; four in the Stalino oblast'; and three (possibly four) in the Khar'kov oblast'. In addition, there were four ghettos (or camps mainly for Jews) in German-occupied Crimea.

German forces penetrated into eastern Ukraine following the Battle of Kiev in August and September 1941, reaching, for example, the town of Priluki, Chernigov oblast', on September 18. German forces captured Belopol'e in the Sumy oblast' and Artemovsk in the Stalino oblast' on October 7 and 14, respectively. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Khar'kov on October 24, 1941. Kramatorsk and Stalino were also occupied in late October. The greater part of the Crimean peninsula was captured by units of the German 11th Army in the second half of October 1941.

Due to the passage of several months after the start of the invasion before these regions were occupied, a considerable portion of the Jewish population was evacuated or able to flee. German registration statistics for the number of Jews encountered have survived for several locations. For example, in Khar'kov, just over 10,000 Jews were registered from a 1939 Jewish population of 130,250. Even allowing for considerable underregistration, probably less than 10 percent of the Jewish population remained. In Dzhankoi, Crimea, on their arrival, the Germans discovered only 44 Jews out of a pre-war population of 1,397 (less than 4 percent). In some smaller locations, such as Voikovshtadt and Alushta in Crimea, or Shchors (Chernigov oblast'), about one third of the Jews came under German occupation. Regarding Yalta, on the southern tip of the Crimean peninsula, Soviet documentation indicates that at least 1,120 Jews were evacuated from the city in an organized fashion. However, other Jews fleeing before the German advance became trapped there, such that the number of Jews killed in Yalta probably exceeded 50 percent of the city's pre-war Jewish population of 2,109.[1]

The two largest ghettos established by the Germans in eastern Ukraine and Crimea were those in Khar'kov, holding about 10,000 Jews, and in Stalino, which held up to 3,000 Jews. Three other ghettos had populations in excess of 1,000: those in Priluki, Artemovsk, and Yalta. Of the remaining ghettos, only those in Dzhankoi, Enakievo, and Shchors had populations of around 500 Jews—all the others containing less than 150. The two ghettos in the Sumy oblast' and the two (or three) smaller ghettos in the Khar'kov oblast' all probably held less than 40 Jews each.

In many large cities of eastern Ukraine and Crimea, however, as well as in many towns in these regions, no ghettos were established. Instead, the remaining Jews were killed in mass-shooting Aktions or by other means without formal ghettoization. In Mariupol', for example, after introducing the wearing of the Star of David and establishing a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to register the Jews in mid-October 1941, the German authorities initiated the murder of 8,000 Jews on October 18. The Jews were assembled briefly in a barracks on the edge of town for a few days before being taken in groups to be shot and buried in an antitank ditch on the Maxim-Gorki Kolkhoz, a few kilometers outside the city. The mass shootings conducted here by Sonderkommando 10a of Einsatzgruppe D went on for several days, with most Jews being murdered on October 20–21.[2]

The Wehrmacht was responsible for imposing a series of anti-Jewish measures following its arrival in eastern Ukraine and Crimea. In addition to the registration of the Jews and the introduction of distinctive markers, Jews were also required to perform forced labor. In Yalta, Sonderkommando 11a was mainly responsible for introducing the anti-Jewish measures, including the formation of a Jewish Council and the introduction of a six-pointed star, to be worn by the Jews on their chests and backs. All money and valuables had to be surrendered to the Germans via the Jewish Council.[3]

The process of ghettoization is documented for only a few of the ghetto locations. In Khar'kov and Stalino the local Ukrainian administration played an active role in its implementation. According to the testimony of the deputy mayor, Eichmann, on orders from Einsatzkommando 6, the mayors of the city districts and the police chiefs in Stalino organized the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto.[4] In Khar'kov, probably prompted by Sonderkommando 4a under the command of Paul Blobel, the city administration issued a resolution on November 22 excluding Jews from working in public institutions and ordering that they be resettled into one district. The city administration also registered the Jews in early December, prior to their resettlement on December 16. The Wehrmacht commandant in the city signed the placards, which ordered the Jews to move into the ghetto or be shot.[5]

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A variety of different structures were used as ghetto sites. In Khar'kov, for example, the ghetto was established in the barracks of a factory district on the outskirts of town. In Yenakievo, four large barracks were also used for the ghetto. In Stalino, the ghetto was located in a settlement named "Belyi Kar'er" (White Pit) at a former quarry on the outskirts of the city. The cottages in this settlement were virtually destroyed before the Jews moved in. In Artemovsk, the Jews were confined within the cellars of the town's administrative headquarters. In Priluki, two school buildings were used for the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire.

Five open ghettos are known to have been established in Borzna, Gorodnia, Korop, Semenovka, and Shchors, all in the Chernigov oblast'. In Gorodnia, the ghetto was established several weeks after the town was first combed by a detachment of Sonderkommando 7b in late September 1941, which had resulted, according to an Einsatzgruppen report, in the shooting of 21 allegedly "thieving Jewish terrorists."[6] The "Jewish residential district" consisted of only one street and was liquidated in December after only about a month. In some of these open ghettos, individual specialist Jews, such as a dentist, were left alive for a while longer after the main shooting Aktion, as their services were still required. These open ghettos reflect a pattern similar to the open ghettos established by the military authorities further to the west, for example, in areas that were subsequently incorporated into Generalkommissariat Zhitomir.

Since most of the ghettos were improvised and several served primarily as holding pens until the Jews could be murdered, the living conditions were deplorable. A detailed description has been given by a survivor of the Khar'kov ghetto: "Hundreds of people were settled in barracks intended for 60 to 70 people. In the ghetto the Germans starved people and prevented them from going out to get water and food. At night people were prevented from going outside even for the needs of nature. Anyone spotted violating the established regime was immediately shot. Many people became sick and died. The corpses of the dead remained in the barracks."[7] The Jews were robbed and plundered by the German and Ukrainian police; and local people plundered their vacated apartments. Jews attempting to leave the ghetto were shot by men of the German police battalion on guard. The Khar'kov ghetto existed for only about three weeks before all the inmates were shot.[8]

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in these ghettos, as there is little to no information available on them. Such councils were definitely established, for example, in the ghettos in Priluki and Yalta. In Yalta, the Jewish Council was made responsible for organizing the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto and also organized workshops, a hospital, and a Jewish police force inside the ghetto.

The exploitation of forced labor was not a significant factor in the establishment of most of these ghettos, but it occurred in several, including the ghettos in Stalino and Dzhankoi. To the northwest of Khar'kov, in both Dmitrovka and Bogodukhov, small groups of Jews were confined within a single building and taken out daily to perform forced labor—in the case of Bogodukhov, for several months before the Germans shot them. There is a report of a third small ghetto, in Danilovka, not far from Bogodukhov, but it was not possible to locate this site with certainty using available maps.[9] In the open ghettos of the Chernigov oblast', forced labor for Jews was introduced prior to ghettoization and presumably continued up until just before the liquidation Aktions. The ghetto in Belopol'e, established in 1942 for the remaining Jews found there, was intended as a means to exploit them as forced laborers.[10]

There is little detailed evidence of organized resistance in these short-lived ghettos other than attempts to evade registration and ghettoization and some escape attempts that often cost Jews their lives. In the enclosed ghetto of Priluki, tunnels were dug to enable young Jews to sneak out and scavenge for food. Those who did escape successfully from the ghettos often received some assistance from, or managed to pass as, non-Jews. Those from mixed marriages had better chances for these reasons. Jews also had more success if they moved away from their former place of residence, to reduce the danger of their being recognized and denounced.

A few of the ghettos or camps in these regions also included some non-Jewish prisoners. In Dzhankoi, non-Jewish peasants who had assisted the Jews were confined with them. Available sources indicate that the ghetto or camp in Kramatorsk may also have contained non-Jews, either alongside the Jews or possibly after the Jews had been murdered. In Alushta, Crimea, Gypsies were confined with the Jews in a single building closely guarded by the Tartar militia.

Places of temporary confinement for Jews, or destruction ghettos, which existed for only a few days, were established at several locations in Crimea, most notably in Feodosiia and Evpatoriia. These locations have not been given separate entries in this volume because the Jews were confined for only a week or less.[11] For example, in Feodosiia, about 800 Jews were held in a prison "ghetto" for a few days as an integral part of the killing Aktion there in early December 1941.[12] In Evpatoriia, around 750 Jews were confined from November 21, 1941, in a former military school building. Exactly how long they were held there is uncertain. However, contemporary German documentation suggests it was only hours, or a few days, before the men of Sonderkommando 11a shot them all. The town was declared to be free of Jews by December 15.[13] In Simferopol', the Germans established a Judenrat and subjected the Jews to making large monetary contributions and forced labor, but no formal ghetto was established. From December 9, 1941, Sonderkommando 11b ordered the Krimchaks and Jews to assemble at several collection points; then they shot them successively over the following four days, implying some temporary confinement during the course of the Aktion. In the weeks that followed, additional Jews were found and shot, bringing the total number of Jews murdered in Simferopol' to around 10,000, in addition to 1,500 Krimchaks. The children of mixed marriages involving Jews were murdered here using a gas van in July 1942.[14]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the advance of the Red Army successfully liberated one ghetto in Crimea. After capturing the village of Voikovshtadt in November 1941, the German

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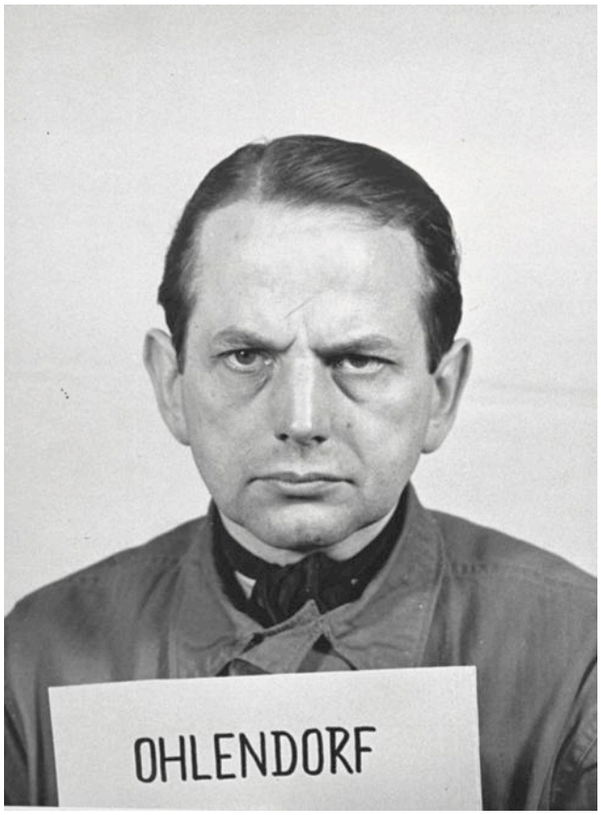
authorities established a small ghetto in one building on the outskirts of the village for the less than 100 Jews who remained. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by Romanian troops. The landing of Soviet forces on the Kerch' peninsula on December 26, 1941, forced the Germans to retreat, enabling the Red Army to liberate the remaining Jews in the Voikovshtadt ghetto. They were then evacuated, together with the Soviet forces, before the Germans reoccupied the village in May 1942.[15]

Nearly all the ghettos in this region existed for only a few weeks. Most of the mass shootings conducted to liquidate the ghettos were organized by the respective detachments of Einsatzgruppen C and D, assisted by locally based units of the Waffen-SS, the Wehrmacht, the Order Police, and Ukrainian, Tartar, or other native auxiliaries. Some of the smaller Aktions, however, were conducted without the participation of the Einsatzgruppen. Large ditches or ravines were used in most cases for the mass shootings, but in Artemovsk the Jews were shot in an alabaster mine, which was sealed afterwards, once the task was completed. By July 1942, all of these ghettos had been liquidated.

The last occupying German forces were driven from the region with the conquest of the Crimea by the Red Army during the course of April and May 1944. Precise figures are not available, but it seems likely that of the Jews trapped by the German occupation in this region, only a few hundred managed to survive. The postwar populations in these towns and cities were composed overwhelmingly of Jews who had returned (or arrived) from the Soviet interior or the Red Army.



Mug shot of Einsatzgruppen Trial defendant Otto Ohlendorf, former commanding officer of Einsatzgruppe D, which murdered over 90,000 civilians, mostly Jews, in Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, 1947.
USHMM WS #09929, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

SOURCES Relevant secondary publications concerning the Holocaust in eastern Ukraine and Crimea include the following: Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), also available in German as Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and Norbert Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944): Germanisierungsutopie und Besatzungsrealität* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005).

Published sources include the following: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 1–39 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–); Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002); and M.I. Tiaglyi, ed., *Kholokost v Krymu: Dokumental'nye svidetel'stva o genotside evreev Kryma v period natsistskoi okkupatsii Ukrainy, 1941–1944* (Simferopol, 2002).

Relevant archival collections include the following: ASBUDO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DACgO; DADnO; DAKhkvO; DARMARK; DASBU; DASO; GAARK; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; TsGAMORF; USHMM (e.g., RG-31.018M); VHF; YiU; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. For data on the evacuation of Jews from Yalta, see DARMARK, R-137-9(d)-7, pp. 32–34.

2. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 211–225; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 311–315.

3. GARF, 7021-9-59, p. 25, report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the crimes of the Nazi-German occupiers in the city of Yalta, July 17, 1944.

4. See the Eichmann trial in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.

5. DAKhkvO, 2982/2/1/3; and I.M. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezuza: Kniga Drobitskogo iara. Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty o natsistskom genotside evreiskogo naseleniia Khar'kova v period nemetskoi okkupatsii 1941–1942*, no. 1 (Kharkov: Osnova, 1991), pp. 80–81.

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6. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.

7. *Dokumenty obviniaiut: Sbornik dokumentov o chudovishchnykh prestupleniiakh nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov na sovetskoi territorii*, no. 2 (Moscow: Ogiz-Gospolitizdat, 1945), pp. 307–309.

8. BA-BL, R 2104/25 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle), Pol. Btl. 314 report on 83 dollars and 850 Swedish Crowns handed in, dated January 24, 1942, signed Christ, Obltn. d. Schupo. u. Kp. Führer.

9. From late October 1941, all the Jews in Danilovka (12 people) were confined within a single house. The Germans took two young girls away and subjected them to rape and torture for several days. Sometime later, all the Jews were shot. Source: Report of the deputy commander of the Political Unit of the 53rd Motorized Rifle Brigade to the head of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army, dated March 17, 1943 (TsGAMORF, Collection of the 5th Guards Tank Army, 4982-35, p. 419), published in F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 54–55. The report places Danilovka in the Bogodukhov raion. However, the only place named Danilovka that could be found on a detailed postwar map of the area is Malaia Danilovka, a little further to the east in the Dergachi raion. Owing to the sparse and uncertain nature of this information, no separate entry has been prepared for Danilovka.

10. Andrej Angrick, "Annihilation and Labor: Jews and Thoroughfare IV in Central Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008), p. 204.

11. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 127–128, uses the term "ghettos or places of temporary confinement."

12. Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944)*, pp. 200–201, uses the term "ghetto" with regard to Feodosiia, but most other accounts do not.

13. Ibid., p. 199, interprets the contemporary German documentation as suggesting the Jews were killed only hours after their initial confinement or over the following days. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 128, gives December 2 as the date for the liquidation of this temporary place of confinement. For a slightly different interpretation, based more on testimony from German war crimes investigations, see Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 346–347.

14. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 170, February 18, 1942; Tiaglyi, *Kholokost v Krymu*, pp. 64, 98–102; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 338–344. It does not appear that gas vans were deployed for the murder of the inmates of any of the ghettos described in this essay. For further information on the fate of Krimchaks, Karaites, Mountain Jews, and Roma in Crimea, see, for example, Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944)*, pp. 187–194.

15. M. Goldenberg, "Kerchensko-Feodosiiskaia desantnaia operatsiia v sud'be evreev i krymchakov Vostochnogo Kryma," *Tkuma. Vestnik nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk, 2004), nos. 4–5 (47–48), p. 2.

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Reich Commissariat borders as of September 1942
Ukraine oblast' borders as of May 1941

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AKHTYRKA

Pre-1941: Akhtyrka, town and raion center, Sumy oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Achtyrka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Okhtyrka, Sumy oblast', Ukraine

Akhtyrka is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) south of Sumy. Records from the 1939 census reveal that 277 Jews lived in Akhtyrka (almost 1 percent of the town's population). The town was occupied by German troops on October 14, 1941, about 16 weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Before the arrival of German troops, about 90 percent of the local Jews managed to escape to the east. There were many Jewish men who were recruited into the Red Army, while others joined voluntarily.

During the entire period of the German occupation of Akhtyrka, from October 1941 to September 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was responsible for the administration of the town. The German military authorities established a local government and also an auxiliary police force recruited from the local Ukrainian population.

A short time after the German occupation of the town, the German military authorities issued an order that the Jews had to register and wear armbands on their sleeves. In addition, they were forced to conduct various kinds of physically demanding work. In November 1941, Feldkommandantur 198 counted 29 Jews in Akhtyrka.[1] In December 1941, all the Jews of the town were "gathered at one place," which meant that they were resettled into a form of ghetto. During December three Jewish women died.[2] Between the end of January and the beginning of February 1942, all the Jews of the ghetto were murdered in a series of shooting Aktions.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews in Akhtyrka can be found in the following archives: DASO; GARF (7021-74-487); and NARA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 893 report of Feldkommandantur 198, November 29, 1941.
2. Ibid., report of Feldkommandantur 198, December 31, 1941.

ALUSHTA

Pre-1941: Alushta, town and raion center in the Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Aluschta, (in 1941–1942) Rear Area, 11th Army; post-1991: Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Alushta is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southeast of Simferopol' on the coast of the Black Sea. According to the 1939 census, there were 251 Jews living in Alushta, comprising 2.6 percent of the town's total population. Another 277 Jews lived in the settlements of the Alushta raion, comprising about 1 percent of the raion's total population, excluding the town of Alushta itself.[1]

Units of the German 11th Army occupied the town on November 2, 1941, four and a half months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this interim period, according to a report compiled by the statistical office of the town authority of Simferopol' in February 1942, 120 Jews managed to evacuate eastward,[2] while men eligible for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Around 100 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the period of occupation—from November 1941 to April 1944—a German military administration was in charge of the area around Alushta. The German occupying forces operating in the town included a detachment of Sonderkommando 11b, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D. This detachment was sent to the town immediately following its occupation and was active there until the summer of 1942; it was primarily this detachment that conducted the mass shootings of Jews. Its commander, until February 1942, was SS-Obersturmführer Hans Stamm, who simultaneously performed the duties of town commandant. Stamm consulted almost daily with the local mayor and the "militia" recruited from local Tartars.

Soon after the occupation of Alushta, the German commandant ordered the town authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, who were required to wear white armbands bearing a yellow six-pointed star. Then the Jews were gathered together in a single building, which was sealed from the outside and guarded by a Tatar militia; Gypsies were also placed in this building along with the Jews.[3] This building served as a prison-style ghetto.

On November 24, 1941, units subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D conducted the first Aktion against the Jews of Alushta. On that day, in retribution for a partisan attack on a German column of vehicles (three Germans were killed, and six were wounded), 32 Communists and 30 Jewish men from the village of Bium-Lambat and from Alushta were shot.[4]

In early December 1941, German security forces conducted a second Aktion in Alushta, in which all the Jews and Gypsies were shot in a ravine in the park of Sanatorium no. 7.[5] At the beginning of January 1942, Einsatzgruppe D reported that Alushta and the area around it had been rendered *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews).[6]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Alushta can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/220); GAARK (R-1289-1-5); GARF (7021-9-31); and Sta. Mü I (22 Js 205/61).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research

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Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:40; 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), p. 36; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 31; and M.I. Tiaglyi, *Mesta massovogo unichtozheniia evreev Kryma v period natstistskoi okkupatsii poluostrova (1941–1944): Spravochnik* (Simferopol: BETS "Khesed Shimon," 2005), p. 27. This source indicates that of the Jews living in the Alushta raion, only 20 were evacuated.

2. GAARK, R-137-9-7, p. 6.

3. See the interrogation of Hans Stamm, May 10, 1966, Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 205/61, p. 2456.

4. See BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 156, January 16, 1942. Bium-Lambat: correctly, Biiuk-Lambat, now Malyi Maiak.

5. GAARK, R-1289-1-5, p. 84. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:40, dates the final liquidation on December 5, 1941, noting that 250 Jews were shot (in view of the above-cited evacuation figures, this number roughly reflects the losses for both Alushta and the surrounding Alushta raion). In his interrogation on May 10, 1966, Stamm denied responsibility for the murder of the Jews and Gypsies, but other members of Sonderkommando 11b conceded on interrogation that they were aware of the murder of these prisoners; see Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 346, fn. 475.

6. See BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 150, January 2, 1942. This report indicates that the Jews of Alushta were shot before December 15, 1941.

ARTEMOVSK

Pre-1941: Artemovsk (until 1924 known as Bakhmut), city, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Artemowsk, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Artemovsk, Donets'k oblast', Ukraine

Artemovsk is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Donetsk. The 1939 census reported 5,299 Jews in the city (9.56 percent of the total population).

Troops of the German 17th Army occupied the city on October 31, 1941, more than four months after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The majority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. However, approximately one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population remained under German occupation.

From the start of the occupation until its end in September 1943, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The German military authorities set up a city administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, which took an active part in the persecution and murder of the Jews. The man appointed to be in charge of the city administration was Golovnya, a former German-language teacher.

Sonderkommando 4b, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C, was stationed in the city from mid-November 1941 until the summer of 1942. SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Joachim Sommerfeld was its commander.[1] It was this unit in particular that organized the murder of the remaining Jews in Artemovsk.

On November 18, 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered all Jews to be registered and to wear "a white armband three fingers wide" on their right sleeves. The Jewish population was also conscripted to perform different forms of heavy labor.[2]

In the middle of December 1941, Sonderkommando 4b planned to carry out a "cleansing Aktion" in Artemovsk. However, this operation was halted on orders from the chief of staff of the 17th Army, "to await clarification from the front."[3] When the go-ahead was finally given, the Sonderkommando made preparations to murder all the Jews of Artemovsk.

On January 7, 1942, the newspaper *Bakhmutskii vestnik* (*Bakhmut Herald*) published an article titled "The Treatment of the Jews in the City of Bakhmut" in which the Jews were ordered to assemble "in the park where the former NKVD railway was located" with "the aim of [establishing their] isolated accommodation." Every Jew could bring along up to 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of luggage and food supplies for eight days.[4] Upon their arrival at the meeting point, the Jews were then resettled into the cellars of the city's administrative headquarters, where they remained until the middle of February 1942.[5] From these cellars they were taken on February 15, 1942,[6] to a deserted alabaster quarry where members of Sonderkommando 4b shot them. There were 1,224 Jewish victims of this Aktion.[7]

On January 12, 1973, in the criminal case against former members of Sonderkommando 4b for their participation in the murder of the Jews in Artemovsk, the court in Düsseldorf declared:

> At a later point during their visit to Artemovsk, the defendant [Fritz] Braune—who was then commander of Sonderkommando 4b—informed the defendant Sommerfeld—who was then in the city with the detachment—about the order of the former commander for murdering all the Jews in Artemovsk, and at the same time delivering instructions to put together lists of all the Jews living there for the sake of their future liquidation. The defendant Sommerfeld then ordered the local police to put together the lists. After that was done, the defendant Sommerfeld took the results to the defendant Braune. A few days later, the defendant Braune again came to Artemovsk, where he supervised the rounding up of all the Jews and preparations for their mass execution. Both of the defendants consulted with an officer from the intelligence section who was on the staff of the XLIV Army Corps, which was then functioning as part of the German 17th Army. Together they inspected the situation in the city and selected a site for the execution, in the quarry of a former alabaster production facility.
>
> The rounding-up of the Jews went on for one or two days, and was carried out by the local police. The Jews were taken into a large building in the city,

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> and placed under guard. Altogether there were at least 300 Jewish men, women, and children. The cleansing Aktion was carried out sometime between the end of January and early February 1942. On an unspecified day, the defendant Braune, his deputy at the time, Thiemann, and some of the members of the Sonderkommando came to Artemovsk to take part in the operation. At night the victims were taken in large trucks . . . to the alabaster mining area. . . . Upon their arrival, the trucks headed off about 80 to 100 meters [262 to 328 feet] and into the mining gallery [*shtol'nia*]. There the victims had to lie down in groups in the large cavern, which had been carved out of the stone. The cavern was located 30 or 40 meters [about 98 to 131 feet] from the parking lot, next to the mining gallery. Near the entrance door to the cavern from the mining gallery, there was an entrance in the rock, which measured less in length and width than the doors. Floodlights were set up in the car parking area and in the cavern where the shootings would take place. After the victims entered the cavern, the members of the Sonderkommando unit killed them with shots to the back of the head. . . . The shooting went on for a few hours, and when it was over, the entrance to the cavern was sealed from the outside.[8]

Despite the threat of being killed, some local residents hid Jews in their own homes. For around 19 months, the family of Dr. D.V. Plygunovaia hid a Jewish girl. Sofia Skibina and Ksenya Chistiakova, the residents of the house at 8 Tsiolkovskaia Street, gave shelter to a young Jewish boy, Tolia Wainshtein. A doctor named Ionov handed out passports of dead ethnic Russians to the Jews. A doctor named Balashova gave false testimony about some deaths in order to save the lives of the captured Jews. Aleksandra Smirennomudrenskaia and her son Nikolai hid a 12-year-old girl named Pana Olykus, but they were caught and murdered together.[9]

SOURCES A short article on the fate of the Jews of Artemovsk ("Artemovskaia tragediia") by S. Tatarinov was published in 2000; see *Katastrofa evropeis'koho evreistva pid chas druhoi svitovoi viiny: Refleksii na mezhi stolit'—Zbirnik naukovykh prats'; Materialy konferentsii 29–32 serpnia 1999 r.* (Kiev: Instytut iudaiky, 2000), pp. 114–115.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Artemovsk can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/14472); GARF (7021-72-30); and StA-N.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. In 1973, Sommerfeld was sentenced by LG-Düss (8 Ks 3/70) to six years in prison.
2. Tatarinov, "Artemovskaia tragediia," p. 114.
3. See the report on the activities of the 1st Staff unit of the 17th Army for the period from December 13, 1941, to March 10, 1942 (memorandum for December 14, 1941), in StA-N, Bestand KV-Anklage, N-Doc. 3350.
4. GARF, 7021-72-30, pp. 3–4.
5. Ibid., p. 21.
6. Ibid., pp. 22–23.
7. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 177, March 6, 1942, in BA-BL, R 58/220. According to the report, "Sonderkommando 4b executed 1,317 persons, including 63 political activists, 30 saboteurs and partisans, and 1,224 Jews. By these means the city of Artemovsk was 'cleansed' of its Jewish population." Information on the executions and activities of Sonderkommando 4b are for the period February 13–19, 1942.
8. See the verdict of LG-Düss (8 Ks 3/70), December 1, 1973, BA-L (B 162/14472).
9. Tatarinov, "Artemovskaia tragediia," p. 115.

BELOPOL'E

Pre-1941: Belopol'e, town and raion center, Sumy oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Belopolje, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgruppe Süd); post-1991: Bilopillia, Sumy oblast', Ukraine

Belopol'e is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Sumy. According to the 1939 census, there were 125 Jews living in Belopol'e (about 0.72 percent of the town's population).[1] In the 1930s, the town was located close to a railway junction and had an electricity-generating plant and a tractor station. Local industries included machine construction and metalworking factories, a flour mill, and a sugar plant.

The town was occupied by German troops of Army Group South on October 7, 1941, about four months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Before the arrival of German troops, a number of local Jews managed to escape to the east, and some Jewish men were recruited into the Red Army. During the entire period of the German occupation of Belopol'e, between October 1941 and September 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town.

In the fall or winter of 1941, German authorities sent the remaining Jews they could find in Belopol'e to work cutting peat. Subsequently these people were transferred to Konotop, where they were shot by members of the 1st SS-Infantry Brigade or other German occupation forces.[2]

According to a report by Feldkommandantur (V) 200, based in Konotop, dated June 1942:

> The Jewish question in this area was taken care of in the months of October and November 1941 by the 1st SS-Infantry Brigade, which was deployed here. In May 1942, a further 24 Jews were discovered in the town of Bilopillia [Belopol'e], whose housing in mass accommodations and their subsequent sending away to forced labor was authorized.[3]

In the view of historian Ilya Altman, the concentration of these 24 Jews in an unguarded building and their subjection

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to forced labor there prior to redeployment for forced labor elsewhere can be viewed as a form of "open ghetto."[4]

SOURCES Relevant documentation, including the files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission's (ChGK) investigations into the crimes committed by the German occupying forces and their collaborators in Belopol'e, can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/201); DASO; GARF (7021-74-486); NARA (RG-238, T-501, reel 33, frame 351); and TsDAVO (CMF-8-2-157, p. 205).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 28.
2. 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), p. 145. This source dates these events to early 1942.
3. BA-MA, RH 22/201, FK V (200), Abt. VII, Dem Kommandierenden General der Sicherungstruppen und Befehlshaber im Heeres-Gebiet Süd, Abt. VII, Betr. Tätigkeitsbericht zum 20.6.1942, as cited by Andrej Angrick, "Annihilation and Labor: Jews and Thoroughfare IV in Central Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008), p. 204.
4. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 97–98.

BOGODUKHOV

Pre-1941: Bogodukhov, town and raion center, Khar'kov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Bogoduchow, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Bogoduhiv, Khar'kiv oblast', Ukraine

Bogodukhov is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) west-northwest of Khar'kov. In 1920, the Jewish population was 288, and by 1939, it had declined to 136.

German armed forces of the 6th Army occupied the town in mid-October 1941. Soon after this date, all the Jews remaining in Bogodukhov were rounded up and forced to live together in one building, creating a de facto ghetto. The Jews suffered from starvation and only received 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of bread per day. They were obliged to wear armbands, and those Jews fit for work were taken to perform forced labor.

On June 23, 1942, the Germans escorted the remaining Jews (34 or 35 people) into a nearby forest and shot them. Among those killed were a number of children.[1]

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Bogodukhov include 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), p. 167; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:150.

Information on the destruction of the Jews of Bogodukhov during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAKhkvO (3746-1-202, pp. 5 and reverse side); and USHMM (RG-22.016, folder 20 [TsGAMORF, 236-2675-42, p. 201]).

Martin Dean
trans. Edward Hurwitz

NOTE

1. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-42, p. 201; and DAKhkvO, 3746-1-202, pp. 5 and reverse side. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, p. 167, however, date the destruction of the Jews of Bogodukhov to November 1942.

BORZNA

Pre-1941: Borzna, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgruppe Süd); 1943: Chernigov oblast'; post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Borzna is located 85 kilometers (53 miles) southeast of Chernigov. In 1939, a total of 326 Jews were registered in the town (3.1 percent of the total population).

On September 11, 1941, about 10 weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, German troops occupied Borzna. By this date, two thirds of the Jewish population had escaped to the east. All the available men of military age were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. Only about one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

During the entire period of German occupation between September 11, 1941, and September 8, 1943, the local German military commandant (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town of Borzna. The German military administration established a local administration for the Borzna Rayon and an auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants.

A short time after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant responsible for the Borzna Rayon ordered the registration of the Jews. They were also obliged to wear distinguishing marks in the form of armbands on their sleeves. In addition, the Jewish population was forced to carry out hard physical work of various kinds. In November 1941, all the Jews of the town were settled into a "Jewish residential area" or open ghetto. The ghetto area consisted of one street. In February 1942, German forces liquidated the ghetto and shot its residents. The shooting Aktion was carried out close to the village of Shapovalovka, and all the Jews of the ghetto, a total of 108 persons, were murdered there.[1] Throughout the entire German occupation of Borzna, according to Soviet sources, altogether 126 civilians were murdered.[2] Therefore, the Jewish population formed 85.7 percent of the civilian victims in the town.

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SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Borzna can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-34).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-78-34, p. 18; *Vaad Ukrainy programma "Pamiat' Kholokosta," Chernigovskaia oblast'*.
2. "Borzna," in P.T. Tronko et al., eds., *Istoriya mist i sil URSR: U 26m Chernihivs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972).

DMITROVKA

Pre-1941: Dmitrovka, village, Bogodukhov raion, Khar'kov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Dmitrowka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Dmytrivka, Khar'kiv oblast', Ukraine

Dmitrovka is located about 7 kilometers (4 miles) northwest of Bogodukhov. German armed forces of the 6th Army occupied the village on October 16, 1941. Soon after this date, over the course of three or four days, all the Jews remaining in Dmitrovka and the surrounding villages were rounded up and placed in one of the barns of a kolkhoz. This barn actually served as a temporary ghetto for the Jews. Jews deemed fit for work were used each day to perform road construction work. After a few days, the girls were raped by groups of soldiers, and all the Jews, at least 40 people, were shot.

SOURCE Report of the senior instructor of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army to the head of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army on August 16, 1943 (TsGAMORF, Collection of the 5th Guards Tank Army, 4982-35, p. 418), published in F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow, 1996), p. 54.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

DZHANKOI

Pre-1941: Dzhankoi, town and raion center, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Dshankoj, administered initially by the Rear Area, German 11th Army; post-1991: Dzhankoi, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Dzhankoi is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) northeast of Simferopol'. According to the census of January 1939, there were 1,397 Jews living in Dzhankoi and 2,610 in the entire Dzhankoi raion.

German troops occupied the town on October 31, 1941. Ortskommandantur II/939 administered the town. It was headed by Hauptmann Weigand, who was subordinated to Generalleutnant Döhla, the commanding officer of the Rear Area of the German 11th Army (Korück 553).

At the beginning of January 1942, a subunit of Sonderkommando 10b arrived in Dzhankoi from Kerch'. The unit, which remained in the town until August 1942, was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Siegfried Schuchart.

In September 1942 a Security Police post was established in Dzhankoi. It was subordinated to the commanding officer of the Security Police and SD in Simferopol'. A Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer (Gendarmerieleutnant Fitzke) based in the town was in charge of four Gendarmerie posts.

Since the town was occupied four months after the start of the war, most Jews managed to evacuate. The Germans found only 44 Jews there on their arrival. The Ortskommandantur ordered the mayor to place them in a ghetto on November 7, 1941.[1] The first Jewish Aktion was carried out in early December 1941, when 15 Jewish men were shot in District 21 by the Gendarmerie during the course of some house searches.[2]

In mid-December 1941, a "concentration camp" was established in the town. Jews both from within the town and the surrounding district were held there. The Jews were used for various work tasks in the town and were guarded by the local militia.[3] The camp was located in the attic of a dairy in the center of the town. G. Purevich, who managed to escape with the help of a Ukrainian acquaintance, recalled the conditions in the camp:

> The crowding and congestion were intolerable. The children were tormented by hunger and thirst. Every morning we found that several had died. . . . [The Jews] were driven to hard labor—hauling rocks. The guard made sure that each person hauled one rock. Anyone who collapsed from the weight was shot on the spot. . . . When I found myself in the attic and saw what was going on there . . . I almost went mad. . . . In the congestion I met all the Jews who had not been evacuated from Dzhankoi—many Jewish collective farmers from the surrounding countryside and also non-Jews. The non-Jewish peasants were being held here for helping the unfortunate or for giving them food.[4]

According to Purevich, "[E]very day several dozen people were selected from among us and taken to the trench made into a grave." He mentions also that one Jew was appointed by the Germans as responsible for the camp as a form of Jewish elder. However, he soon became very unpopular with the other inmates after denouncing the ghetto's quartermaster, Radchenko, for secretly helping the Jews with extra rations as much as he could.[5]

The Germans decided to liquidate the camp because of the danger of epidemics spreading from it. A report by the 1c Department of the 11th Army staff dated January 1, 1942, for the period December 16–31, 1941, describes the liquidation as follows:

> One particular incident, the creation of the "Jewish concentration camp" in Dzhankoi, led to repeated

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> negotiations between the SD, the 1c/AO, the Field Gendarmerie, and ourselves. According to a report by the Ortskommandant of Dzhankoi, hunger is rampant in the camp and there is a danger of an epidemic, so that the "cleansing" had to be carried out immediately. The SD refused to carry out the Aktion because it did not have enough men, and it demanded that Field Gendarmes undertake it. Field Gendarmes should in principle not be involved in such Aktions. Only after we stated that we were prepared to make available the Field Gendarmes to cordon off the camp did the SD chief issue orders to carry out the Aktion, which would presumably be done on January 2, 1942.[6]

An SD unit from the Gruppenstab in Simferopol' carried out a "Jewish Aktion" on December 30, 1941: 443 Jews were shot in a hilly area near the road to Simferopol'.[7] The passage quoted above suggests there may have been a second Aktion, shortly after that on December 30, but witnesses who refer to two Aktions may also be referring either to smaller killings carried out beforehand or to others later.[8] In early January 1942, Ortskommandantur II/939 sent back to Berlin a number of items of property confiscated from Jews who had been arrested and placed into the "Jewish camp" in Dzhankoi between December 5, 1941, and January 3, 1942, by the Field Gendarmerie.[9]

Subsequently the local military commandants from time to time arrested additional Jews who had gone into hiding and handed them over for execution by the SD. In late February 1942, the Ortskommandantur handed over to the SD "the Jew Alterman, who had escaped from the Jewish camp here."[10] Six Jews were handed over to the SD in Dzhankoi in April, and two more were handed over "for execution" in June 1942.[11]

SOURCES There is a firsthand account of conditions in the "ghetto" of Dzhankoi by G. Purevich in Vasilii Grossman and Il'ia Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga: O zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuza i v lageriakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1944 gg.* (Kiev: Oberih, 1991), pp. 291–292.

Documents regarding the Jewish camp or "ghetto" in Dzhankoi can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/15); NARA (T-501, reels 56–59); and Sta. Mü I (22 Js 203/61).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. N-Doc., NOKW-1582, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, November 10, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56, fr. 422.
2. NOKW-1592, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, December 10, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56.
3. NOKW-1593, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, December 20, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56, fr. 535.
4. Testimony of G. Purevich in Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 291–292.
5. Ibid.
6. NOKW-1866, NARA, T-501, reel 59, fr. 291.
7. NOKW-2231, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, January 1, 1942, NARA, T-501, reel 57, fr. 218; Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 6, pp. 1347–1349, and vol. 11, statements of Oskar Rimmele.
8. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 360–361, interprets the documents as indicating two Aktions, one on December 30, 1941, and the second on January 2, 1942. According to the testimony of Siegfried Schuchart, Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 5, pp. 1113–1114, before the Aktion that he led, there had been a previous Aktion in the town conducted by men from the Gruppenstab of Einsatzgruppe D in Simferopol' in which the Jews still living in town were murdered; in the second Aktion, those from the surrounding countryside were killed.
9. BA-BL, R 2104/15, p. 556.
10. NOKW-1811, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, February 28, 1942, NARA, T-501, reel 57, fr. 345.
11. NARA, T-501, reel 57, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, July 10, 1942; NOKW-1696, OK II/915 report dated April 9, 1942.

GORODNIA

Pre-1941: Gorodnia, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Gorodnia is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) east–northeast of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,359 Jews residing in Gorodnia and 1,427 Jews in the entire Gorodnia raion. According to the 1939 census, 731 Jews resided in the town (comprising 10.33 percent of the total population).[1] The decrease in the Jewish population between these two dates was most probably due to the migration of Jews to other regions and also the effects of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

The German Army occupied the town on August 28, 1941, almost nine weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this time the majority of Jews were either evacuated or fled to the east, while many of the men were conscripted into or volunteered to join the Red Army. Those remaining behind at the start of the German occupation represented only about 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population (about 100 people).

During the entire period of German occupation (from August 28, 1941, to September 24, 1943), the town was administered by the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration of the Jews and compelled them to wear distinctive markings (an armband). The Jews were also forced to perform all kinds of heavy labor tasks.

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According to an Einsatzgruppen report, in the second half of September 1941, the town was combed by units of Sonderkommando 7b, which shot a "leading Bolshevik, as well as 21 thieving Jewish terrorists."[2] Probably in November 1941, all those Jews who remained in the town were relocated to a special "Jewish residential district" established for them (an "open ghetto"), consisting of one street. On December 20, 1941, this ghetto was liquidated when the German forces shot almost all the Jews (82 people). The life of 1 Jew was temporarily spared until October 24, 1942, when he was also shot.[3] In total, 289 citizens were murdered in Gorodnia during the German occupation.[4]

SOURCES Documents of the Soviet "Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes by the German-Fascist Invaders" and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of Gorodnia's Jews can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-6).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Michael Rosenbush

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941. The activity and situation report for November, however, cites the liquidation of 165 "Jewish Terrorists" in Gorodnia; see Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 6 der Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in der UdSSR (Berichtszeit v. 1.10.-31.10.1941), published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230.
3. GARF, 7021-78-6, pp. 94–96.
4. P.T. Tron'ko et al., eds., *Gorodnia: Istoriia mist i sil URSR: U 26 m.* (Kiev, 1972).

KHAR'KOV

Pre-1941: Khar'kov, city and oblast' capital, Ukrainian SSR (of which it was also the capital from 1919 to 1934); 1941–1943: Charkow, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Khar'kiv, Ukraine

Khar'kov is located 478 kilometers (299 miles) east-northeast of Kiev. In January 1939, there were 130,250 Jews in Khar'kov, comprising 15.64 percent of the city's population.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Khar'kov on October 24, 1941. Anticipating that acts of sabotage and diversion would occur in the city, on October 17, 1941, the 6th Army ordered: "Jews and Bolsheviks should be taken first for collective reprisals. Saboteurs and persons offering armed resistance would be hanged in public." To force the population to report mined buildings, hostages were to be held in them, again preferably Jews.[1] In compliance with this order, the 57th Infantry Division (commanded by Generalmajor Anton Dostler) had by the end of October shot three civilian political commissars and publicly hanged seven saboteurs, one of them a woman.[2] At a conference on November 4 at Field Command (Feldkommandantur) 787 (commanding officer Colonel Laudenbach), which was in charge of the city, it was stated: "The cleansing operation continues, but the work is difficult because unlike other cities no material and no lists have been found in Khar'kov. . . . Jews, who are often left behind as messengers, arouse the greatest suspicion. Since most of the Jews are still hiding, an Aktion against the Jews is anticipated only after some time. First of all, an order to the 'chief rabbi' of the Jews here to 'secure' Jewish property by turning in all cash and foreign currency."[3] A series of explosions in the city on November 14 resulted in further reprisals. Among those killed by the blasts were Generalleutnant Georg Braun, the commanding officer of the 68th Infantry Division, and his chief of staff. As a punitive Aktion, 200 "Communists" were immediately shot or hanged and 1,000 hostages arrested.[4]

The municipal administration, headed by Oleksii I. Kramarenko, was actively involved in both the terror and the anti-Jewish measures taken in the city at this time. In its first announcement (prior to November 3, 1941) the municipal administration ordered "the Jewish population of the city" to elect a committee by November 5. The committee was then to appear at the municipal administration for confirmation. Seventy-one-year-old Efim Gurevich, a doctor of medicine and a professor, was elected head of the Jewish community.[5]

Kramarenko responded to the events of November 14 by ordering the mayor of the fifth district, A.P. Orobchenko, to assemble in the district office "no less than 50 Communists and Jews (more is permitted)."[6] The mayors of the other 18 districts probably received similar orders that same day. The "Communists and Jews" who were assembled with the assistance of German soldiers were held as hostages at the Hotel International. On November 22, the "presidium" of the municipal administration deliberated on "the Jewish question." The resolution on this point read: "Jews have no right at all to work in state or public institutions. Except for the head of the community, Jews are not to be admitted to the administration offices. Jews must wear armbands on their sleeves. All Jews are to be resettled into one district. The attention of the German command should be drawn to the desire of the population to take measures against the Jews."[7] On December 5, the municipal administration passed a resolution to start registering the city's population on December 6. Jews were to be registered on separate lists. The total number of registered Jews came to 10,271: 1,959 children under the age of 16 (960 boys and 999 girls) and 8,312 people over the age of 16 (2,907 men and 5,405 women).[8]

The main contingent of Sonderkommando 4a, commanded by Standartenführer Paul Blobel, arrived in Khar'kov in mid-November 1941. Blobel began the "final solution of the Jewish question" in the city by concentrating the Jews in one place. According to the report of Einsatzgruppe C:

> An area was chosen, where the Jews could be housed in the barracks of a factory district. Then, on

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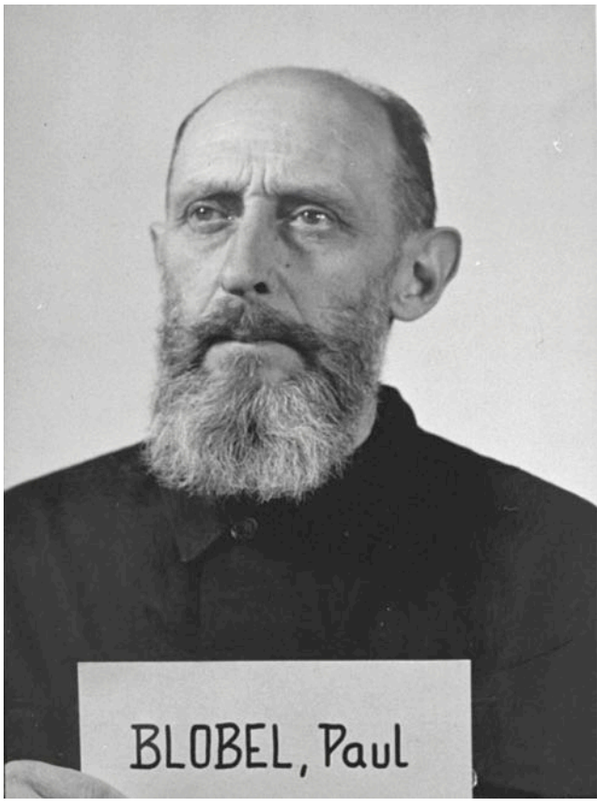

Mug shot of Paul Blobel, commanding officer of Sonderkommando 4a and later Sonderkommando 1005, taken during the Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1947.
USHMM WS #09921, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

> December 14, 1941, the city commandant issued a summons in which the Jews of Khar'kov were told to move to the area by December 16, 1941. The evacuation of the Jews went off without a hitch except for some robberies during the march of the Jews in the direction of their new quarters. Almost without exception, only Ukrainians participated in these robberies. So far, no report is available on the number of Jews who were arrested during the evacuation. At the same time, preparation for the shooting of the Jews is under way. 305 Jews who spread rumors against the German Army were shot immediately.[9]

The text of the summons mentioned above was approximately as follows: "The entire Jewish population of the city of Khar'kov is to report to the machine-tool factory for work and residence. Precious objects and money are to be surrendered. Anyone found in the city after 4:00 P.M. on December 16 will be shot."[10] Dr. L.P. Nikolayev observed the transfer of the Jews: "I saw how they went down Pushkin Street and gathered in groups in front of the 'Hotel Krasnaia.' It was a very sad sight. They were thin and pale, dressed in ragged clothes with suitcases, baskets, and packages. They wanted to make a deal with the cart-drivers, but the latter demanded outrageous prices from them."[11]

The "barracks of a factory district" were the barracks of a machine-tool factory in the city's tenth district.[12] There were 26 barracks, and in early December 1941, 861 people were still living in them (each barracks had between 3 and 71 inhabitants). On December 12 and 13, all these people were resettled to make room for the Jewish population.[13]

The following table, compiled from the documents of the municipal administration, shows the number of Jews resettled to the tenth district on December 15–16, 1941.

District	*Number of Registered Jews*	*Moved to Tenth District* (some numbers open to question)	
		Number of Families	Number of Persons
1	522	84	250
2	1,239	312	1,500
3	1,247	441	1,455
4	108	30	100
5	386	157	518
6	1,403	446	1,494
7	84	25	80
8	816	231	802
9	26	8	25
10	60	20	60
11	1,525	278	1,525
12	117	41	122
13	1,468	351	1,158
14	193	36	126
15	94	23	58
16	201	37	130
17	578	156	467
18	47	13	40
19	157	50	150
Total	10,271	2,739	10,060

In September 1943 a report prepared by the municipal commission for the investigation of Nazi crimes in Khar'kov described the conditions in the "Jewish district" or "ghetto" as follows:

> The doors and windows in the barracks to which the Jewish population was herded were broken, and the plumbing and heating were ruined. Hundreds of people were settled in barracks intended for 60 to 70 people. In the ghetto they had established, the Germans starved people and prevented them from going out to get water and food. At night people were prevented from going outside even for the needs of nature. Anyone spotted violating the established regime was immediately shot. Many people became

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> sick and died. The corpses of the dead remained in the barracks. Taking them outside was not permitted. . . . Every day the Germans made new demands to deliver warm clothing, watches, and other valuable objects. If these demands were not met because the objects were not available, "soldiers" [probably German police, ed.] took several dozen people away from the barracks and shot them.[14]

This description is largely corroborated by contemporary German documentation. A report from Police Battalion 314 indicates: "from December 17, 1941, to January 7, 1942, the companies took it in turn to guard the ghetto. During the guard duty of the First Company, Jews trying to leave the ghetto who did not stop when called were shot by the ghetto guards."[15]

The account of Maria M. Sokol, who managed to escape from the barracks just before the final liquidation, gives further details of conditions there. She slept on the floor in the freezing cold, and her hands and feet grew numb. She suffered from hunger but notes that some Germans would let people go to the market or fetch water if they were bribed. But the Germans also shot people at will, killing about 50 people per day prior to the order for the general execution of everyone.

After concentrating the Jews in one spot, Sonderkommando 4a set about exterminating them. But first, on December 24, 1941, about 200 Jewish patients from the psychiatric hospital were murdered, although the pretext given for their removal from the hospital was that they were being transferred to the Jewish community.[16] On December 27, several hundred Jews who had been concentrated at the factory settlement were executed after being told that they were being sent to work in the Poltava oblast'. The total liquidation of the Jews began on January 2, 1942. It lasted several days because Soviet air raids repeatedly interrupted the shootings, which took place in a ravine outside the city (Drobitskii Iar). In all, more than 9,000 people were shot.[17]

SS-Obersturmführer Victor Woithon, an officer of Sonderkommando 4a who took part in the shootings, recalled at his trial in Darmstadt in 1967:

> It was a horrific picture. Several layers of corpses lay at one end of a trench 60 to 80 meters [about 197 to 262 feet] long. There was movement in the trench. . . . I saw one man who shouted, "Finish me off," and although there was still shooting up ahead, I went down into the trench and finished him off with a pistol. . . . Then I ordered that a carbine be given to me because it has a great penetrating force and with a pistol I could not get to the people who were still alive in the lower layers. Walking on the mountain of corpses, which gave way under foot, was horrible. At this point Blobel ordered me to come out of the trench because there was still shooting. He accused me of being careless. . . . Eight men did the shooting. Others loaded the magazines or sorted the valuable objects.[18]

The Pustova family poses with Maya Reznikova (front row, wearing glasses) and her baby daughter, 1962. Yad Vashem honored members of the Pustova family for helping Reznikova's family, including Maya's mother Rebeka, whose escape from the Khar'kov ghetto they facilitated. USHMM WS #64261, COURTESY OF JFR

Several hundred sick or elderly Jews who could not get to the new place of residence because of their physical condition did not obey the order to resettle into the tenth district. They were assembled at the synagogue on Meshchanskaia Street where they soon died of cold and hunger.[19] The murder of the Jews of Khar'kov, although clearly racially motivated, should also be seen in the context of the general hunger of the city's civilian population resulting from the requisition of food for the German army. In November 1941, a report by the Corps Intendant (supervisor) of the German LV Army Corps considered evacuating the Russian population due to the threat of widespread starvation.[20] More than 500 people died of hunger in January 1942, and by April, more than 2,000 city residents were starving each month.[21]

In addition to the sick and elderly, some Jews were still hiding in the city. To expose them the municipal administration issued Order no. 53, dated January 24, 1942, to all district mayors to establish (until the question of a Ukrainian police was resolved) a special unit consisting of three groups. The first group was charged with exposing "Communists, Bolsheviks, Jews, and others." This group was to check "all suspicious persons and to prepare lists of all Communists, Jews, and Bolsheviks in the district."[22] Jews who had been exposed were handed over to the Security Police for execution. According to Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 187 of March 30, 1942, in addition to "193 agitators and seditious elements," 64 Jews were executed.[23]

In total, about 12,000 Jews were exterminated in Khar'kov in 1941–1942. Sonderkommando 4a of Einsatzgruppe C was primarily responsible for the extermination of the Jews of Khar'kov. The American military tribunal at Nürnberg sentenced the unit's commanding officer, SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, to death in 1948. He was executed in 1951.

Generalmajor Dostler, who at the end of the war had the rank of Infantry General, was sentenced to death by an American military court in Rome on October 12, 1945. In 1947 the

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Soviet military tribunal in Berlin convicted 15 policemen from the Third Platoon of the Third Company of the Reserve Police Battalion 9. (They were all sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment.) This platoon, which was commanded by Zugwachtmeister Tecklenburg, was most active in killing Jews in Khar'kov. In 1948, former SS-Haupsturmführer Heinz Hellenbroich, who had served in Sonderkommando 4a from October 1941 until February 1942 and was one of the organizers of the extermination of Khar'kov's Jews, was executed by a French military tribunal.

In 1967, a group of officers and noncommissioned officers from Sonderkommando 4a, some of whom had taken part in executing Jews in Khar'kov (i.e., Victor Woithon and others), was brought to trial in Darmstadt, West Germany.[24]

The 314th Police Battalion, which arrived in Khar'kov in early December 1941, was also involved in exterminating Jews. A West German investigation of former members of this battalion led to the conviction of two former officers in Traunstein in 1982, but this was for executing Jews in Volhynia in July and August 1941 and in Dnepropetrovsk in October 1941 and not for killing Jews in Khar'kov. Oskar Christ, a former senior officer of this battalion, had faced trial in Wiesbaden in 1968, but for killing his mistress in March 1942 and not for taking part in killing Jews. The court ordered his case closed.[25]

SOURCES The following publications in the Russian language contain details about the fate of the Jewish population of Khar'kov under the German occupation: I.M. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezuza: Kniga Drobitskogo iara. Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty o natsistskom genotside evreiskogo naseleniia Khar'kova v period nemetskoi okkupatsii 1941–1942*, no. 1 (Khar'kov: Osnova, 1991); V.P. Lebedeva and P.P. Sokol'skii, *Skazhi, Drobitskii Iar . . . Ocherki, vospominaniia, dokumenty, stikhi* (Khar'kov: Prapor, 1991); Iu.M. Liakhovitskii, *Perezhivshie Katastrofu: Spasshiesia, spasiteli, kollaboranty. Martirolog. Svidetel'stva. Fakty. Dokumenty* (Khar'kov and Jerusalem, 1996); A. Kruglov, "Tragediia evreev Khar'kovshchiny 1941–1942 gg.," *Istoki: Vestnik Narodnogo Universiteta Evreiskoi Kul'tury v Vostochnoi Ukraine* (1999), no. 4; A.I. Kruglov, "Istreblenie evreiskogo naseleniia na Levoberezhnoi Ukraine (zona voennoi administratsii) v 1941–1942 gg," in S.Ia. Ielisavets'kyi, ed., *Katastrofa i opir ukraïns'koho ievreistva (1941–1944): Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraïni* (Kiev: Natsional'na Akademiia nauk Ukraïny, Instytut politychnykh i etnonatsional'nykh doslidzhen', 1999), pp. 172–201. Two published survivor testimonies concerning the Khar'kov ghetto can be found in Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ogne Katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izd. "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998), pp. 60–91, 168–184.

Documents on the extermination of Jews in Khar'kov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAKhkvO; GARF; HHStA-(W); USHMM (RG-50.226*0010 and *0011); VHF, and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 24-17/262, AOK 6/Ia/Oqu, 17.10.1941—betr.: Charkow.

2. Ibid., RH 26-57/57, 57 ID/Ic, Tätigkeitsbericht 1.9.-31.10.1941.

3. Besprechung bei der Feldkommandantur Charkow am 4.11.1941: KTB 57 ID/Ib, quoted in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944. Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996), p. 96.

4. Aus den privaten Aufzeichnungen des Intendantur-Offiziers beim LV. Armee-Korps, Charkow, 28.11.1941, in ibid.

5. DAKhkvO, 2982/4/1/6.

6. Ibid., 3074/2/7/9.

7. Ibid., 2982/2/1/3.

8. Ibid., 2982/2/16/54.

9. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 164, February 4, 1942.

10. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezuza*, pp. 80–81 (testimony of Olga Pankova). The date of December 16, 1941, is confirmed in the oral testimony of Lidia Gluzmanova; see USHMM, RG-50.226*0010.

11. Diary of Dr. L.P. Nikolayev on the German occupation of Khar'kov; see BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR, Bd. 422, deutsche Übersetzung, pp. 376–407.

12. A poor-quality photograph of several of the barrack buildings taken in 1943 can be found in Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezuza*, p. 64.

13. DAKhkvO, 2982/1/226/3–4.

14. *Dokumenty obviniaiut: Sbornik dokumentov o chudovishchnykh prestupleniiakh nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov na sovetskoi territorii*, no. 2 (Moscow: Ogiz-Gospolitizdat, 1945), pp. 307–309.

15. BA-BL, R 2104/25 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle), Pol. Btl. 314 report on 83 dollars and 850 Swedish Crowns handed in, dated January 24, 1942, signed Christ, Obltn. d. Schupo. u. Kp. Führer.

16. DAKhkvO, 2/14/127/5.

17. According to a document issued by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on September 5, 1943, more than 15,000 Jews were executed. They were buried in two trenches. One contained 8,000 to 10,000 corpses; the other, about 350 meters (1,148 feet) away from the first, contained 5,000 to 6,000. However, the second trench was hardly investigated. The number of corpses in it was estimated by eye. It is entirely possible that it contained the remains either of prisoners of war (military ammunition was found in the trench) or of non-Jewish civilians. In addition, the figure of 15,000 exceeds (by 5,000) the number of registered Jews. It is unlikely that so many Jews could have evaded registration. It should also be kept in mind that some of the registered Jews were killed before January 1942 and that for various reasons still other Jews were not resettled into the factory barracks. *Dokumenty obviniaiut*, pp. 307–312. A German translation of the ChGK report of September 5, 1943, can be found in BA-L, 4 AR-Z 269/60, Dokumentenband, pp. 164–169.

18. *Darmstädter Echo*, November 1, 1967.

19. About 400 Jews were assembled at the synagogue. (See the ChGK report dated September 5, 1943, cited above.)

20. BA-MA, RH 24-55/11, Bericht des Korpsintendant des LV Armeekorps über die Ernährungslage im Winter 1941–42 vom 11.11.1941.

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21. USHMM, RG 31.010M (DAKhkvO), reel 7, 2982/4/390a, Report by City administration of Khar'kov on the death rate of the population dated September 1942.
22. DAKhkvO, 2982/2/2/108.
23. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 187, March 30, 1942.
24. LG-Darm Ks 1/67(Gsta).
25. LG-Wies 2 Ks 1/67.

KOROP

Pre-1941: Korop, village and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: initially controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Korop is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Konotop. According to the 1926 census, there were 787 Jews living in Korop itself and 826 in the entire Korop raion. In the 1939 census, 350 Jews were recorded as living in Korop (5.66 percent of the total population).[1] The decrease in the Jewish population by more than half during this period can be accounted for by the resettlement of Jews to other districts and also by the effects of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

German forces occupied Korop on August 28, 1941, that is, some two months after the German invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, about two thirds of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of military age were conscripted or volunteered for the Red Army. Only about one third of the Jewish population remained behind under German occupation.

During the entire period of the occupation (from August 28, 1941, to September 4, 1943) the village was administered by a German military commandant (Ortskommandantur). The German authorities created a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. A man named Shilo was appointed as commander of the Ukrainian police.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the local authorities organized the registration of the Jews in accordance with instructions issued by the German military commandant. The Jews were also marked (compelled to wear a distinguishing armband) and made to perform various kinds of hard labor. Probably in November 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were resettled into a specially created "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) consisting of one street. At the beginning of December 1941 the Ukrainian police from Korop under the command of Shilo murdered a number of Jews, probably about 20, in the nearby village of Ponornitsa.[2] Then on February 9, 1942, the Korop "ghetto" was liquidated when German forces shot the Jews (111 people). The life of 1 Jewish woman (a dentist) was temporarily spared, although she was later shot on November 4, 1942.[3]

After the shooting of the Jews of Korop in the second week of February 1942, the Ukrainian auxiliary police shot the Jews in the villages of Rayon Korop, especially in the villages of Budenovka, Gorodishche, Obolon'e, and Karylskoe; in these villages 10 Jews were killed.[4] During the occupation a total of 198 local citizens were killed.[5] Thus, the Jews represented 56.7 percent of all the victims in Rayon Korop.

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Investigation of War Crimes by the German-Fascist Invaders, including information regarding the persecution and extermination of Korop's Jewish community, can be found in the following archives: DACgO; GARF (7021-78-13); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Michael Rosenbush

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. NARA, T-501, reel 32, fr. 290–291.
3. GARF, 7021-78-13, pp. 56–65.
4. Ibid., pp. 33, 38, 44–45, 50.
5. P.T. Tronko et al., eds., *Korop: Istoriia mist i sil URSR: U 26 m.* (Kiev, 1972).

KRAMATORSK

Pre-1941: Kramatorsk, city, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Donets'k oblast', Ukraine

Kramatorsk is located 170 kilometers (106 miles) southeast of Khar'kov. According to the 1926 population census, 136 Jews lived in the city of Kramatorsk, and 141 Jews in the remainder of the Kramatorsk raion.[1] According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,849 Jews living in the city (1.96 percent of the total population).[2] The rapid increase in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 can be explained by the arrival of a number of Jews in the city as it developed into an important manufacturing center during the industrialization of the Soviet Union in the 1930s, becoming the site of two large power plants and several armaments factories.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city in late October 1941, more than four months after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. As Kramatorsk was a major industrial center, the Soviet authorities evacuated a good part of the working population into the Soviet interior, including a majority of the Jews. Men of an eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 10 percent of the pre-war Jewish population came under German occupation in Kramatorsk.

During the course of the occupation from October 1941 to September 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the city. The German military commandant established a city administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants. The man appointed as mayor was an ethnic German named Schopen. Sonderkommando (Sk) 4b (a mobile detachment of the Security Police [Sipo] subordinated to

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Einsatzgruppe C) was stationed in the city under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Braune from November 1941 to March 1942.[3]

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the German military commandant ordered the registration and identification of the Jews, who were forced to perform various kinds of heavy physical labor. According to one source, the Germans established a ghetto in the Melovaia gora area, on the western outskirts of the city. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire, and many Jews died from starvation and the horrific sanitary conditions. From there, the Germans took groups of Jews to the nearby quarry and shot them.[4] Other sources, however, indicate that non-Jewish civilians (suspected Communists) and Soviet prisoners of war may have been interned in the same camp and suffered the same fate as the Jews, either at the same time or subsequently.[5]

On January 25–26, 1942, Sk 4b, assisted by the local Ukrainian police, carried out a mass killing Aktion. All the remaining Jews were shot, along with a number of Communist activists, in a ravine in the Melovaia gora area.[6] According to an Einsatzgruppen report, Sk 4b shot 139 Jews at that time, probably reflecting the number of Jews murdered in Kramatorsk. More than 700 non-Jews also were murdered by Sk 4b around this time.[7]

German soldier Kurt Rogel, who was based in Kramatorsk in early 1942, observed a camp consisting of six or seven wooden barracks, which was surrounded by a wire fence and contained about 400 civilian prisoners (men, women, and children). The camp was guarded by Gendarmes (probably Feldgendarmerie). One day the SD arrived, took out all the prisoners in groups of 20, and shot them in a nearby gravel pit. Rogel was surprised that the prisoners spoke "German" among themselves but could not say if all the victims were Jews.[8] A few remaining Jews were still being tracked down and shot by the Feldgendarmerie in the vicinity of Kramatorsk in the spring of 1942.[9]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews in Kramatorsk can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/3793); DADnO; GARF (7021-72-21); NARA; and StA-N.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *1926 All-Union Census*, (Moscow, 1929), 13:412.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 24.
3. On January 12, 1973, Fritz Braune was sentenced by a court in Düsseldorf, Germany, to nine years in prison.
4. See the report of January 12, 1944, regarding the crimes of the German Fascist invaders in the city of Kramatorsk, extracts reproduced in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), pp. 85–86.
5. *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 147. This source indicates that the Germans shot some 3,500 persons in the Kreidianii gora area near Kramatorsk during the occupation.
6. See the report of January 12, 1944, regarding the crimes of the German Fascist invaders in the city of Kramatorsk, in *Nimets'ko-fashysts'kyi okupatsiinyi rezhym na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1963), pp. 263–270. See also the report of January 26, 1942, by the section of the 1st Staff of the 17th Army Section, which details the mass-cleansing operation of the SD in Kramatorsk, in StA-N, Bestand KV-Anklage, N-Doc. 3350.
7. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 173, February 25, 1942, states that SK 4b "shot 861 persons from January 14 to February 12, 1942, according to the regulations of military law. Among those killed were 649 political functionaries, 52 saboteurs and partisans, and 139 Jews." Since SK 4b was at that time located in Kramatorsk, one may surmise that the 139 Jews were shot there. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 600 Jewish families, or 2,000 persons, were shot. See the document of January 26, 1944, in GARF, 7021-72-21, pp. 72, 74, 78, 81, 84. This figure, however, seems too high. A second source makes mention of 72 Jewish families; see I. Erenburg, "Narodoubiitsy," *Znamia* (1944), Kn. 1–2, p. 190.
8. BA-L, B 162/3793, pp. 2–6, statement of Kurt Rogel (Feldwebel in Krankentransport-Abt. 562), February 11, 1965. Rogel dates this incident to February or March 1942, but it was probably linked to the Aktion on January 25–26, 1942.
9. NARA, N-Doc., NOKW-767, military report for the period March to May 1942.

PRILUKI

Pre-1941: Priluki, city and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), from summer 1942, center of Gebiet Priluki, Generalkommissariat Tschernigow, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Priluki is located 128 kilometers (80 miles) east-northeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, 6,140 Jews resided in Priluki (16.5 percent of the total population).[1] After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, especially in August and September 1941, a majority of the Jews in the city evacuated to the east, and many men were inducted into the Red Army. Probably no more than about one fifth of the Jewish population remained in the city at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city on September 18, 1941. Ortskommandantur I/317 soon assumed responsibility for administering the city and its surrounding area. It established a municipal government and a Ukrainian local police, which became the executive bodies of the Ortskommandantur.

In the fall of 1941, a section of the Secret Field Police (GFP-Gruppe 730) was stationed in Priluki, which relocated to Iagotin in late December 1941, leaving behind a squad in Priluki. In early February 1942, this unit was recalled and replaced by a unit from GFP-Gruppe 721. Due to the absence of any SD or other German police forces in Priluki at

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that time, the GFP basically oversaw all police duties in the city.

Soon after the city was occupied, the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews to register and wear a white armband with a yellow Star of David. Jews were forbidden to go to the market in the city center or to the cinema. They were deprived of their means of making a living and forbidden even to talk with their non-Jewish neighbors. Jewish men were compelled to perform forced labor: repairing highways, clearing up factory ruins, digging trenches for communication cables, and recovering unexploded bombs from the river.

On January 1, 1942, Ukrainian police began to drive the entire Jewish population into a ghetto on orders of the Ortskommandantur. The ghetto was created near the market, in two buildings that had housed Jewish and Ukrainian schools before the war; the buildings were surrounded by barbed wire. A Jewish Council (composed of "headmen") was formed, and its members were responsible for maintaining order in the ghetto. The Germans posted the ghetto regulations on billboards in the schoolyards. In order to acquire food, the Jews secretly dug tunnels under the barrier and would slip unnoticed into the city. When the ghetto guard was strengthened, the ghetto residents began to send out their children, especially teenagers, who were able to traverse the barbed wire, get into the city, and bring food back into the ghetto, thereby saving the ghetto residents from starvation. When possible, some non-Jews also provided supplies to friends residing in the ghetto.[2]

According to the report of Feldkommandantur 197 in Nezhin on February 15, 1942, to which the Priluki Ortskommandantur was subordinate, there were 1,178 Jews in the city; the same account stated that the GFP had shot several Jews in Priluki.[3] The report of the same Feldkommandantur on April 20, 1942, stated that there were 1,210 Jews in the jurisdiction of the Feldkommandantur, and most were in Priluki.[4]

On May 20, 1942, German forces organized the liquidation of the Priluki ghetto. The Jews were marched out of the city to the east in a large column four persons abreast, escorted by policemen and other armed guards. They were then shot in a ravine behind the prison.[5] Altogether some 1,290 Jews were shot on this day.[6] This number includes both the Jews that had resided in the ghetto and Jews from the surrounding towns and villages, driven to Priluki on that day. Thus, together with the Jews from Priluki, 15 Jews (one man, seven women, and seven children) from Ladan were shot.[7] The shootings were carried out by the SD-Sonderkommando Plath (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Julius Plath) with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and the German Feldgendarmerie.

SOURCES Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Priluki can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/204); DACgO (3103-1-101); GARF (7021-78-37); NARA (T-501, reel 33); and TsDAVO (3676-4-317). There is also a short article in English in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 329–331.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. V. Chepur, "Daleke Vidlunnia," *Evreiskie Vesti: Prylozhenie k Gazete Verkhovnogo Soveta Ukrainy "Golos Ukrainy"—Gazeta Obshchestva evreiskoi kul'tury Ukrainy* (1995), no. 5. The article "Distant Echo" has also been published in English in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 329–331.
3. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 98.
4. Ibid., fr. 117.
5. *Chernigovshchina v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voyny 1941–1945: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kiev, 1978), p. 79; Chepur, "Daleke Vidlunnia." See also BA-MA, RH 22/204, Lagebericht FK 197/VII, June 19, 1942.
6. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, report of the Higher-SS and Police Leader in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), on that day some 3,000 Jews were murdered; see *Chernigovshchina v period Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyn'i 1941–1945*, p. 79.
7. GARF, 7021-78-37, pp. 122–123.

SEMENOVKA

Pre-1941: Semenovka, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Semenowka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Semenivka, Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Semonovka is located 240 kilometers (149 miles) north–northeast of Kiev. According to the December 16, 1926, census, 852 Jews lived in the town of Semenovka, and a total of 1,049 Jews lived in what was then the Semenovka raion. According to the 1939 census, 402 Jews (5.39 percent of the total population) lived in Semenovka.[1] The decrease in the Jewish population was mainly the result of Jews moving to other districts, as well as the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

German forces of Army Group South occupied Semenovka on August 25, 1941, two months after Germany's attack on the USSR on June 22. During this period, a considerable number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and all men eligible for the draft were either drafted or had voluntarily joined the Soviet Armed Forces. Only about 14 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the entire German occupation (from August 25, 1941, to September 22, 1943), the town was ruled by the German military commandant located in Novgorod-Severskii. The German military authorities established a local Rayon administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from the local population.

Soon after the German occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration and public identification of the Jews (they were required to wear an armband on their sleeves), as well as their employment in a variety of onerous forced labor tasks. At the beginning of

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November 1941, all Jews who remained in town were moved into a specially created "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) that occupied one designated street. On November 30, 1941, this open ghetto was liquidated. In the course of the liquidation Aktion, the Jews were first gathered in the school basement. The next day, German forces shot them in the birch woods nearby. A total of 55 people were shot.[2] The shooting was carried out by a section of the 10th Motorized Infantry Battalion of the 1st Waffen-SS Motorized Infantry Brigade. During the entire period of the occupation, the total number of civilians killed in Semenovka was 66.[3] Therefore, the Jewish victims comprised over 83 percent of the town's total losses.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and extermination of the town's Jewish population can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-37).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. GARF, 7021-78-37, p. 144; and Association for the Jewish Organization and Communities in Ukraine (*Vaad Ukrainy*) "Memory of the Holocaust" Program: Chernigovskai oblast'.
3. "Semenivka," in P.T. Tron'ko et al., eds., *Istoriya mist i sil URSR: U 26 t (Chernihivs'ka oblast')* (Kiev, 1972).

SHCHORS

Pre-1941: Shchors (Snovsk prior to 1935), town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Schtschors, initially controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then from summer 1942 center of Gebiet Schtschors, Generalkommissariat Tschernigow, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Shchors, Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Shchors is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) west-northwest of Konotop. According to the census conducted on December 16, 1926, 2,416 Jews lived in Shchors. Altogether 2,447 Jews resided in the former raion surrounding the town.[1] However, at the time of the 1939 census, only 1,402 Jews still lived in Shchors, comprising 16.3 percent of the town's total population.[2] The decrease in the number of Jews by more than 1,000 people between 1926 and 1939 occurred for several reasons: part of the Jewish population moved away to settle in other areas, and others were hit by the Holodomor famine that affected the country in the years 1932–1933.

German troops had occupied the town of Shchors by September 3, 1941, about two and a half months after their surprise attack on the Soviet Union. By the time the German army reached the town, more than half of the local Jewish population had managed to escape to the east. All the available men suitable for military service were drafted into the Red Army or joined it voluntarily. When German occupation forces entered Shchors, only about 40–45 percent of the prewar Jewish population still resided there.

From the start of the German occupation in early September 1941, a German military commandant was in charge of the town. The military commandant established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit, which was recruited from the local inhabitants. From the summer of 1942, Shchors became part of the German civil administration for the Generalkommissariat Tschernigow as the center of its own district (Gebiet). Referent Buchmeier was nominated as the Gebietskommissar in Shchors.[3] Before the German retreat in September 1943, authority was transferred back to the military authorities as the front line approached.

A short time after the arrival of German troops, the military commandant instructed the local administration to register the Jewish population. The military administration also ordered the Jews to wear a visible patch on their clothes. In addition, the Jews were compelled to perform hard physical labor. All the Jews still residing in the town were settled into a special "Jewish residential district," or open ghetto. Proreznaia Street was one of the main streets of the ghetto area.[4]

On November 9, 1941, German security forces conducted an Aktion against the Jews in Shchors. On the pretext of transporting the victims to another place of work, about 50 Jewish men were gathered, escorted into the forest close to town, and shot there.[5] In January 1942, a second, larger Aktion was carried out in Shchors. This was the final liquidation of the ghetto. At the beginning of this Aktion, the victims were transferred to a large building that was the former dormitory of the technical school. After three days, the German forces shot approximately 80 elderly and young people in the forest just outside Shchors. Then, at night, the remaining women and children from the ghetto (probably 500 people altogether) were escorted in carts to Chernigov, where they were shot immediately upon arrival.[6] On September 20, 1942, a few dozen Jews from the surrounding villages were brought to Shchors and shot there.[7]

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Shchors raion can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-32 and 39).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. *1926 Soviet Population Census*, vol. 11 (Moscow, 1929).
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
3. USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-1-19, p. 35.
4. Evidence from witness P.V. Kondratenko, October 14, 1943, GARF, 7021-78-39, p. 36.
5. GARF, 7021-78-32, pp. 3, 14; 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), p. 1169, date this Aktion on November 20, 1941.

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6. Evidence from witness P.V. Kondratenko, October 14, 1943, GARF, 7021-78-39, p. 36; according to Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1169, "[I]n January 1942, a few dozen children were shot and a few days later about 80 more men were executed. The women and remaining children were murdered at a later date."

7. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1169.

STALINO (DONETSK)

Pre-1941: Stalino (Iuzovka before 1924), city and capital, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Donets'k oblast' center, Ukraine

Stalino is located 594 kilometers (369 miles) southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, the population of Stalino was 462,395 people, of which 24,991 (5.4 percent) were Jews.

Troops of German Army Group South occupied Stalino on October 20, 1941.[1] The city remained under German military administration until September 1943. At the beginning of December 1941, Feldkommandantur 240 reported: "So far the Jewish problem does not play a major role in Iuzovka. The number of remaining Jews is estimated at around 3,000. As in other places, the wealthy Jews have fled. Measures for the evacuation of the Jews by the SD have so far not been carried out because of the weather conditions."[2]

In eastern Ukraine more than 80 percent of the Jewish population was able to escape before the occupation. At the same time, it can be assumed that nearly all the Jewish families that came under German occupation in Stalino were murdered. After the liberation of the Donbass, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) found, in the Stalino oblast' alone, mass graves containing—according to its estimates—more than 323,000 corpses (about 174,000 civilians and 149,000 Soviet prisoners of war) who had been shot, hanged, or asphyxiated with gas by the Germans or had just died in camps from hunger, freezing, and disease.[3] Although the accounts of the ChGK concerning the larger mass graves were often estimates based on volume calculations, and therefore sometimes probably too high, they clearly show the dimensions of the terror exercised by German rule in the region.

Einsatzkommando 6, headed by Robert Mohr from October 1941 until September 1942, and responsible for the murder of Jews, Communists, Gypsies, and other "enemies" in Stalino, was based in the city prior to the establishment of a fixed office of the Kommandeur of the Security Police and SD (KdS) there at the end of June 1942.[4]

At the end of February 1942, Einsatzkommando 6 ordered the city mayor of Stalino, Petushkov, and his deputy Eichmann to establish a Jewish ghetto. The intended location for the ghetto was a settlement named "Belyi Kar'er" (White Pit) at a former quarry on the outskirts of the city. During his interrogations before a Soviet military tribunal in 1946, Eichmann recalled: "At the end of February 1942 . . . Heidelberger [head of the executive department and deputy chief of Einsatzkommando 6] arrived from Berlin at the SD. Together with Graf [head of the intelligence section of Einsatzkommando 6], he came to the city administration to Petushkov and I. During a joint meeting with the police chiefs and the mayors of the city districts it was decided to create a Jewish ghetto at a special place, where the entire Jewish population, including children and old people, would be sent." The existing inhabitants of Belyi Kar'er were evicted from their cottages within two days. The quarry was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, and police guards were posted. In March 1942, the police chiefs and the mayors of the city districts were ordered to transfer the Jews into the ghetto. Families had to take their valuables, their best clothes, and food for five or six days. Apartment keys were handed over to the policemen who carried out the resettlement. During the resettlement action, children and the infirm were supported or carried on the arms of others. The policemen drove the Jews before them with whips and rifle butts, accompanied by groaning, screaming, and the weeping of children. Due to the limited number of cottages, part of the population remained under the open sky. All valuables and property were collected and handed over to the SD.[5]

The chiefs of the different police districts and their policemen played a major role in identifying and arresting the Jewish families. The chief of the first police district, Babenko, testified at his postwar trial: "In accordance with an order issued by the SD deputy chief Graf, I had to compose name lists for all of the Jews who lived in my police district. The other police districts received the same order. . . . Then, two days later Graf came to me and demanded the list. He took one copy and left two with me. He ordered that on the same day, after the curfew hour, all Jews had to be evicted from their apartments, informing them that they would be evacuated to the Zaporozh'e region, because of the approaching front line."[6] After these evictions, Graf and Eichmann usually inspected the apartments of the Jewish families and took away any remaining property.

Indirectly the establishment of the ghetto was reflected in the local press, which mentioned on March 15, 1942, the approaching resettlement of Stalino's Jews.[7] There is very little information concerning living conditions in the ghetto in the few testimonies by survivors. According to these accounts, more than 300 families lived in the ghetto. Policemen guarded the ghetto, and the inmates were not allowed to leave.[8] During daytime the ghetto inmates had to work hard. The survivor B.A. Geker recalled: "When I was in 'Belyi Kar'er' every morning policemen came to us, took 10, 20, or 100 people, men and women, with them and drove them to work somewhere. Some of them came back, others disappeared without a trace. When I was in 'Belyi Kar'er,' the entire Jewish population lived in destroyed houses without windows and doors or directly on the street. But it was winter and cold. Food was not distributed at all. I was starving, as were the other Soviet citizens. Children and old people died of hunger and nobody took any notice of that."[9]

The separation and murder of the Jews was largely visible to the local population. The chiefs of the different police

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districts and their policemen played a major role, and a point was made of ensuring that local policemen were present when Jews were shot. It was the Germans' intention "to break the fascination which Jews had as bearers of political power in the eyes of many Ukrainians." By contrast, mass killings of Ukrainians and Russians were generally carried out by Einsatzkommando 6 in a much more secretive manner.[10]

The ghetto in Stalino existed for less than two months. As different witness testimonies confirm, it was liquidated during the night of April 30 to May 1, 1942. The city deputy mayor Eichmann recalled: "At that time the whole Jewish population—more than 3,000 people—were shot or taken away in special gas vans. The dead bodies were thrown into a coal shaft at the Kalinovka mine. Then the cottages were destroyed by the police."[11]

The Jewish survivor B.A. Geker testified at Eichmann's postwar trial: "On April 30, 1942, around 2:00 A.M., policemen and Germans came to the quarry. They announced that we should all assemble and take with us bread for three days, valuables, and good clothes. They would take us to another place to work. One of the Soviet citizens said that they were going to shoot us now. I told my son that he should run away and tried to hide myself in the gorge. I was lying there for several hours. Then I fled to the Poltava region, pretending to be Polish. Regarding my 28 family members, who were also in the quarry—none of them ever came back. Their fate is unknown."[12]

It appears that Einsatzkommando 6 began the mass killings of Jewish families in Stalino at the beginning of April 1942. Friedrich Zapp, a member of Einsatzkommando 6, testified during his court inquiry in Germany in June 1962:

> I witnessed the first executions in Stalino on Easter Monday [April 6]. . . . It was an Aktion using a gas van. Several hundred people were gassed. Men, women, and children were loaded into the van. On that Easter Monday by no means all of them were gassed. I think, that starting from around 7:00 A.M. until 10:30 A.M., when the Aktion was ended for that day, I had to load and unload four vans. . . . They were Jews, without doubt. In such a composition and number they could only be Jews. There were no plunderers and saboteurs in such numbers. And above all the presence of children confirms this conclusion. The Jews had to get into the van with all their clothes on. No selection took place. Men, women, and children had to get on board. I would estimate that each time around 60 people had to climb into the van. . . . It did not look like the Jews knew they would be gassed. After the door was closed, we drove either in front of or behind the gas van to a closed coal shaft. The gas van could not drive close to the shaft. So we had to haul the dead bodies out of the van, drag them to the coal shaft, which was about eight meters away, and throw them into it.[13]

At this closed coal shaft of the "4-4-bis Kalinovka" mine on the outskirts of Stalino, the German Einsatzkommandos frequently carried out mass shootings.[14] After the city's liberation, the ChGK found in this coal shaft one of the largest mass graves of the entire region, holding—according to the ChGK's estimates—up to 75,000 corpses.[15]

In December 1967, a trial against Robert Mohr, the commander of Einsatzkommando 6, and other members took place in Wuppertal. Mohr was sentenced to eight years in prison.[16] Other German trials against members of Sonderkommando 4b and members of the office of the KdS in Stalino took place in Düsseldorf and Dortmund in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[17]

In Stalino, a Soviet military tribunal convicted the former deputy and later city mayor Eichmann, together with 17 other members of the city administration and local police, in 1946. Eichmann and the head of the police, Babenko, were sentenced to death. The other defendants were sentenced to either 15 or 20 years of forced labor.[18]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish population of Stalino and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the wartime collaborationist newspaper *Donetskii vestnik* and in Iurii Iukhimovich Korytnyi's *Sorok let spustja* (Donets'k: Iugo-Vostok, 1998).

Documentation on the murder of the Jewish population of Stalino can be found in the following archives: ASBUDO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; GARF; HStA-Dü; NARA; RGVA; StA-Mü; and TsDAHOU.

Tanja Penter

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1458-40-221, p. 280.
2. BA-MA, RH 22/10, p. 146.
3. See the report of the ChGK for the Stalino region dated May 30, 1945, in GARF, 7021-72-811, pp. 12–13.
4. See the German war crimes trial against members of Einsatzkommando 6 in HStADü, Gerichte Rep. 240, Nr. 119 and 120 (verdict); and also the German postwar trial against commander Erich Körting and others in StA-Mü (Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund 45 Js 31/61).
5. See the Eichmann trial in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33. Regarding the ghetto in Stalino, see also BA-BL, ZStL, AR-Z 370/59, vol. 10, pp. 531–536, 573–605, 641–646, 713–716.
6. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 4, p. 104.
7. See *Donetskii vestnik*, March 15, 1942.
8. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 7, p. 126.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 271–274.
10. BA-BL, R 58/217, pp. 46–48, 53, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 81, September 12, 1941.
11. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.
12. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 271–274; Korytnyi, *Sorok let spustia*, pp. 61–87.
13. StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 73, Nr. 198, p. 849.

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14. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 5, pp. 156–177; and StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 61, Nr. 1763, pp. 24–25.
15. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 5, pp. 156–177.
16. HStA-Dü, Gerichte Rep. 240, Nr. 120 (Urteil).
17. Ibid., Gerichte Rep. 388, Nr. 0372; and StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 61.
18. See ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vols. 1–8.

VOIKOVSHTADT

Pre-1941: Voikovshtadt, village, Lenino raion, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Wojkowstadt, Rear Area, 11th Army; 1944: Crimean ASSR; post-1991: Kirove, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Voikovshtadt is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) west of Kerch' on the Kerch' peninsula. The village was founded 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of the regional center of Semu-Kolodezy at the beginning of the 1930s with financial support from the Agro-Joint (a subdivision of the AJDC). According to the 1939 census, about 349 Jews resided in the Lenino raion, most of them in Voikovshtadt itself.

The village was occupied by units of the German 11th Army (46th Division of the XLII Army Corps) on November 2, 1941, just over four months after the start of the German invasion. Most of the Jews from this region were able to flee or were evacuated with the retreating Soviet forces. There was an organized evacuation for about 180 people,[1] while a few fled independently or were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. Fewer than 100 Jews remained in Voikovshtadt at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately upon occupying the village, the German authorities registered the population. People had to wear a large, visible Star of David on their clothes, and all their livestock was taken. At the end of November 1941, the Jews were forcibly brought to a building, which was surrounded by barbed wire. It was located on the outskirts of the village and served as a small enclosed ghetto. Every night a roll call was held to ensure that no one was missing. Romanian soldiers guarded the ghetto.[2]

On December 26, 1941, Soviet forces landed on the Kerch' peninsula, and on December 29, the Red Army liberated the city of Feodosiia. This forced the German Armies to flee Kerch' and the neighboring raions of Lenino and Maiak-Salyn'.

In their hurry to evacuate the Kerch' peninsula, the German forces had no time to destroy the ghetto. The ghetto in Voikovshtadt is one of the very few ghettos in the territories of the former Soviet Union in which the majority of inmates survived the German occupation.

When on May 8, 1942, German troops reoccupied the Kerch' peninsula in their counteroffensive, the Jewish villagers were hurriedly evacuated across the Kerch' straits to the Tamanski peninsula in the North Caucasus. The Red Army liberated Voikovshtadt again in April 1944.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. GAARK, R-137/9(D)-7, p. 32.
2. M. Goldenberg, "Kerchensko-Feodosiiskaia desantnaia operatsiia v sud'be evreev i krymchakov Vostochnogo Kryma," *Tkuma. Vestnik nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk, 2004), nos. 4–5 (47–48), p. 2.

YALTA

Pre-1941: Yalta, city and raion center, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Jalta, administered initially by the Rear Area, Eleventh Army; post–1991: Yalta, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Yalta is located 444 kilometers (276 miles) south of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the census of December 1926, of the 28,811 inhabitants of Yalta, 2,392 were Jews, including 39 Crimean Jews (Krymchaky). In the Yalta district, including the towns of Alupka, Gurzuf, and Simeiz, there lived another 213 Jews, 14 of them Crimean Jews. In January 1939, of the 36,653 residents of Yalta, 2,109 were Jews. In addition, 911 more Jews were living in the surrounding Yalta raion.[1]

Between the attack of Nazi Germany on the USSR on June 22, 1941, and the German occupation of the area at the beginning of November 1941, 1,120 Jews were evacuated from the city of Yalta in an organized fashion, 140 Jews from the Yalta area countryside, and 430 from the Yalta area towns (Alupka, Simeiz, Koreiz, Miskhor, Gaspra, Livadiia, Massandra, and Gurzuf), accounting for 1,690 Jews in total.[2] In addition, a number of Jews escaped from the city in late October and early November 1941 in the course of a spontaneous evacuation after German troops broke through the Soviet line of defense across the Perekop isthmus. Furthermore, at least 100 Jews were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. At the same time, a number of Jewish refugees from Odessa and also other regions of the Crimea arrived in Yalta.

Yalta was occupied by the troops of the German 11th Army on November 8, 1941. The city and nearby districts were administered by Ortskommandantur II/662, with Hauptmann Kump in charge. Nineteen people, including four officers and several bureaucrats, worked in the Kommandantur.[3] The Kommandantur reported to the commander of the Rear Area of the 11th Army. The Kommandantur established a local administration in the city (Stadtverwaltung) and a police force recruited from local residents; the city administration dealt mostly with running city services under the supervision of the Kommandantur.

On approximately November 9–10, 1941, part of Sonderkommando 11a, under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Eberhard Heinze, arrived in Yalta. The Sonderkommando, under

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overall command of SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was part of Einsatzgruppe D of the German Security Police, at that time commanded by SS-Oberführer Otto Ohlendorf. One of the Sonderkommando's tasks, together with the identification and extermination of Soviet partisans, Communists, members of the underground, and saboteurs, was the extermination of the Jewish population.

Sometime in the middle of November 1941, Sonderkommando 11a created a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the city that consisted of five or six members, and several days later, the German authorities issued an order for all Jews to wear a six-pointed star 10 centimeters (almost 4 inches) in diameter on the left side of their chests and on their backs and to turn in all their money and valuables to the Jewish Council.[4]

On November 21, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was conducted in the city: the Feldgendarmerie surrounded house no. 14 on Sredne-Slobodskaia Street, arrested all the Jewish tenants (17 people), presumably for alleged contacts with the partisans, and shot all of them that same day. On November 22, 2 Jews who were only wounded during the shooting returned from the grave site.[5]

A week later, on November 28, 1941, on the order of the Security Police and SD, the Jewish Council conducted a registration of the Jews. The next day, November 29, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinze ordered the remaining Jews to move into the ghetto by December 5, 1941. The ghetto consisted of the former buildings for adult education courses of the Agricultural College on the outskirts of the city, near the suburb of Massandra, which were surrounded by high stone walls. The Jews were only allowed to enter the city between 8:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M.; those who had a job were required to work. The Jewish Council was ordered to organize the move of the Jews into the ghetto. The German authorities issued instructions that due to the cramped space (2.5 square meters [27 square feet] per person) Jews were only permitted to take a few of their most valuable possessions with them. The Jewish Council was also required to organize a cooperative, workshops, a hospital, and a police force within the ghetto. The latter consisted of young people who wore white armbands with a blue six-pointed star on the left arm and who controlled the return of the Jews into the ghetto at the gate.[6]

On December 16, 1941, the ghetto was closed, and even the working Jews were not allowed into the city. On December 17, men were taken out of the ghetto to a ravine near the towns of Massandra and Magarach and made to dig two ditches; after completing the job, the German forces shot them. On December 18, the rest of the Jews were driven to the ditches and shot by members of Sonderkommando 11a. Altogether up to 1,500 people were killed during those two days.[7] On the order of the Security Police and SD, members of the Jewish Council had to help organize the convoying of all the Jews to the killing site. With the aid of a detailed registration list, they put family after family onto the trucks that departed and then returned for more families; the members of the Council checked off on the list those who had been taken away. The last truck took away the members of the Jewish Council.[8]

In the first half of 1942, several more small groups of Jews who had escaped previously from the ghetto and had been hiding were discovered and also shot.

According to the first postwar census in 1959, 1,200 Jews lived in Yalta. On February 26, 1970, the regional court (Landgericht) in Munich sentenced former SS-Obersturmbannführer Paul Zapp, who commanded Sonderkommando 11a in 1941–1942, to life imprisonment. Together with him, former SS-Scharführer and interpreter for Sonderkommando 11a Baron Leo Karl Eugen von der Recke, who took an active part in the shooting of the Yalta Jews, was sentenced to 13 years in prison. The man immediately responsible for organizing the anti-Jewish Aktions of December 17–18, 1941, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinze, was killed in Poznań on January 22, 1945.

SOURCES The main publications on the extermination of the Yalta Jews in 1941–1942 are indicated in the notes below. Some documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Yalta has been published by the author in *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg.* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002).

Documentation on the extermination of the Yalta Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 213 AR 1898/66); DARMARK (R1289-1-4 and R156-1-31); GARF (7021-9-59); and NARA (NOKW-1591).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. *Krym mnogonatsionalnyi. Voprosy-otvety*, no. 1 (Simferopol': Tavria, 1988), pp. 70–72.
2. DARMARK, R137-9(d)-7, pp. 32–34.
3. NARA, T-501, reel 63, fr. 609.
4. GARF, 7021-9-59, p. 25, report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the crimes of the Nazi-German occupiers in the city of Yalta, July 17, 1944.
5. Ibid., p. 66; see also Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 333–334.
6. See the diary of Yalta inhabitant O.I. Shargorodskaya, entries from November 28 and 29, 1941, published in M.I. Tiaglyi, ed., *Holokost v Krymu: Dokumental'nye svidetelstva o genitside evreev Kryma v period natsistskoi okkupatsii 1941–1944* (Simferopol: BETS "Hesed Shimon," 2002), pp. 89–90; and also M. Tiaglyi, "Evreiskie komitety v okkupirovannom natsistami Krymu: postanovka problemy," *Holokost i suchastnist. Naukovo-pedahohichnyi buleten' Ukrainskoho tsentru vyvchennia istorii Holokostu*, no. 11 (2003). See also Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 349, citing BA-MA, Film WF-03/7503, pp. 497 ff., OK II/662 activity report, December 10, 1941; and BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR 1898/66, vol. 18, statement of Paul Zapp, January 10, 1968.
7. Vasily Grossman and Ilya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga. O zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannyh raionah Sovetskogo Soiuza i v lageriah Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945* (Kiev: MIP "Oberig," 1991), pp. 285–286. Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 350, notes that several members of Sonderkommando 11a dated the shooting of the Jews as

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having taken place between Christmas and New Year's Day in their postwar interrogations. LG-Mü I, verdict of February 26, 1970, in case IV 9/69 against Paul Zapp, states only that at least 250 Jews were killed in an Aktion at the end of December 1941; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 20:450, Lfd. Nr. 724a.

8. Tiaglyi, "Evreiskiie komitety."

YENAKIEVO

1938–1941: Yenakievo, town, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Jenakjewo, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Yenakievo, Donets'k oblast', Ukraine

Yenakievo is located 240 kilometers (149 miles) east of Dnepropetrovsk. By 1939, there were 3,293 Jews living in the town (3.72 percent of the total population).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on November 1, 1941, more than four months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Most Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

From November 1, 1941, until the end of the occupation in September 1943, a military commandant's office administered Yenakievo. From the end of November 1941 to August 1942, the occupying authority was Ortskommandantur I/270, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 240 in Stalino.[1] The commandant established a local administration and a Ukrainian police force in the town. The Ukrainian policemen actively participated in the persecution and elimination of the Jews.

Shortly after the occupation of Yenakievo, the Ortskommandantur ordered the local administration to register and mark the Jews. The Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor.

In February 1942, the remaining 509 Jews (175 families) in Yenakievo were resettled into a ghetto by an official administrative order. The ghetto consisted of four large barracks in the Krasnyi Gorodok settlement area. The Jews remained confined within the ghetto for around three months. At the end of May or the beginning of June 1942, the Jews were driven out to Gorlovka and shot together in a mine, where their corpses were then covered over. There were 25 Communists who were also taken out to Gorlovka and shot along with the Jews.[2]

One Jewish woman, Maria Markovna Konovalova (née Ginzburg), escaped from the ghetto on the eve of its liquidation, after being tipped off by non-Jewish friends of the Kvasha family. The ghetto was closely guarded, but dressed only in her underwear she fled at night by swimming across a river. She was met on the other side by Andriy and Petro Kvasha, who gave her clothes, put a cross around her neck, and subsequently helped her to move from village to village to avoid recognition and betrayal.[3]

The extermination of Jews in Yenakievo was organized by Sonderkommando 4b with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The headquarters staff of Sonderkommando 4b was located in Gorlovka from March 1942. At that time, it was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Walter Haensch.[4]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, some 30 Jews (10 families) composed of artisan specialists remained in the town. In September 1942, they were also taken out and shot in the mine area near Gorlovka.[5]

SOURCES Documentation concerning the German occupation of Yenakievo and the murder of the town's Jews can be found in the following archives: GARF; NARA; and YVA. A brief mention of the ghetto can also be found in a book by Yakov Suslensky, *They Were True Heroes: Citizens of Ukraine, Righteous among the Nations* (Kiev: Society "Ukraine," 1995), pp. 141–143.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. See report by Feldkommandantur 240 dated December 4, 1941. NARA, T-501, reel 6, fr. 818.
2. GARF, 7021-72-18, pp. 23, 26–27. According to another account in this file, the ghetto was liquidated on May 17 or May 18, 1942 (see p. 40 and reverse) or perhaps in April 1942 (see pp. 15, 19, and reverse).
3. Suslensky, *They Were True Heroes*, pp. 141–143.
4. In 1948 in Nürnberg, Haensch was sentenced to death. In 1951, the sentence was commuted to 15 years in prison. In 1955, he was released from prison before completing his sentence.
5. GARF, 7021-72-18, pp. 15, 27.

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OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY

German propaganda placard in Smolensk, 1941–1943. The slogans at top and bottom read, "The Yids — Your Eternal Enemies!" and "Stalin and the Yids Together — One Gang of Criminals!"

COURTESY OF FRANK WÜNSCHE, BERLIN, PHOTO NUMBER 0001.000480

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OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY

Pre-1941: RSFSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1944: partly under German occupation, initially Rear Area, Army Groups Center and North (rückwärtige Heeresgebiete Mitte und Nord), then 1942–1943, also Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B) on the southern front and in the northern Caucasus; post-1991: Russian Federation

Between July 1941 and December 1942, the Germans established around 50 ghettos in the occupied territory of the Russian Federation, which probably held some 22,000 Jews. In total, there were somewhere between 70,000 and 120,000 Jewish victims of the Holocaust in the territory of the present-day Russian Federation; therefore, probably around one quarter of the victims were confined within a ghetto prior to being killed.[1]

Most of the ghettos established by the Germans in occupied Russian territory were located on the eastern fringe of the former Pale of Settlement (in the former Vitebsk and Chernigov gubernias), to which nearly all Jews in Tsarist Russia were confined up to 1917. The area to the east of the Belorussian cities of Mogilev and Vitebsk, comprising the western part of the Smolensk oblast', was soon occupied by the German Army in July 1941. In this region, the Germans established 20 ghettos, most of them within weeks of their arrival. Einsatzgruppe B, initially under the command of Arthur Nebe,[2] which was responsible for security operations in the area behind Army Group Center, reported on September 23, 1941, that in all towns visited by the Sonderkommandos and Einsatzkommandos Jewish ghettos had been established, and in larger places, Jewish Councils as well.[3] For example, the ghetto in Tartarsk was established in September 1941 by a detachment of Vorkommando Moskau, which coordinated the necessary arrangements with the local mayor and the head of the Russian local police (Ordnungsdienst, OD).

Just to the south of the Smolensk oblast', in the western part of the present-day Briansk oblast' (in 1939, part of the Orel' oblast'), which the Germans occupied during the course of August 1941, they established another 12 ghettos (including larger ghettos of around 1,000 people or more in Klintsy, Starodub, Pochep, and Novozybkov), most in the fall of 1941. Sonderkommando 7b, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Rausch, based in Klintsy from the end of September 1941, was the main unit responsible for establishing ghettos in this region.

German forces also established a number of smaller ghettos from the summer of 1941 in the region between Smolensk and Leningrad, behind Army Groups Center and North, on a more ad hoc basis: 4 in the former Leningrad oblast' and 10 in the former Kalinin oblast'. The Commander of Rear Area, Army Group North issued an order on September 3, 1941, noting that the Army High Command (OKH) had ordered that ghettos could be established in places with a large Jewish population, insofar as time and personnel were available, but that this was not to be seen as a priority.[4] Nevertheless, some ghettos were established in the area for relatively small populations of Jews (between 30 and 150). The two largest ghettos in the region were in Nevel', holding 640 Jews (established by Einsatzgruppe B), and in Pskov with 232 Jews, under the direction of Sonderkommando 1a (Einsatzgruppe A).

As German forces advanced east again after the start of Operation Typhoon (the planned encirclement of Moscow) on September 30, they established two more ghettos immediately behind the advancing troops in Kaluga (in 1939, in the Tula oblast') and Dmitriev-L'govskii (Kursk oblast') in November 1941. It is interesting to note that only the Sonderkommandos of Einsatzgruppe B followed closely behind the advancing front, while the Einsatzkommandos remained in place, consolidating control over the territory already conquered, with a major focus on the destruction of the Jews.[5]

In some larger Russian cities, however, such as Briansk, Orel, and Rostov on Don, as well as in many towns, no ghettos were established. Here the remaining Jews were killed in mass shooting Aktions; or in many places, such as Gzhatsk, Mozhaisk, and Iukhnov, the German Einsatzkommandos reported that almost all the Jews had been evacuated or had fled.[6]

In some locations the Jews were confined in an improvised manner for only a few days prior to being murdered. In the town of Mtsensk, Orel oblast', the Germans confined the Jews in an unheated school building for a week without food, before escorting them out of the town to shoot them in January 1942.[7] In Pushkin, a town about 15 kilometers (9 miles) south of Leningrad, more than 100 Jews, composed mostly of women, children, and the elderly, were confined for about one week in the cellars of the Catherine Palace, before a detachment of Sonderkommando 1b shot them in groups on the palace grounds.[8]

Precise figures on the number of Jews able to evacuate from specific locations in the Germans' path are not available. From Rudnia and Liubavichi in the Smolensk oblast', where ghettos were subsequently established, it seems that roughly half of the Jews managed to flee. From Smolensk, it is estimated that over 13,000 of the city's 14,800 Jews managed to leave in time, probably assisted by the protracted fighting for the city. From some isolated towns and villages, without good communications, such as Zakharino, the proportion that fled was much lower (only 10 or 20 percent); and some places saw an influx of refugees prior to the Germans' arrival, as Jews fleeing from the west were trapped by the rapid German advance.

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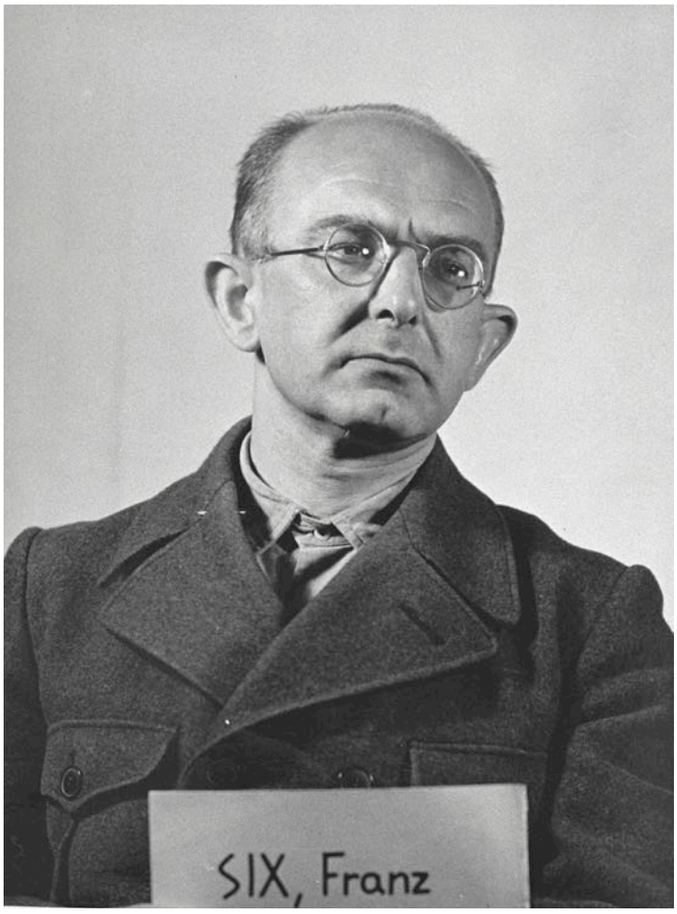

Mug shot of Franz Six, commanding officer of Vorkommando Moskau, during the Einsatzgruppen Trial at Nuremberg, 1947.
USHMM WS #09923, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

The ghettos served several functions, including isolating and controlling the Jews. They facilitated the seizure of remaining Jewish property or other resources, including labor. Ghettoization was also useful preparation for the massacres to come, as it demoralized and weakened the Jewish population, who received little or no food. However, the sequence of ghetto establishment, preceded or followed in some places by smaller Aktions against male Jews, allegedly for acts of resistance or infractions against German regulations, before the ghetto liquidation Aktions, indicates that German genocidal plans were pursued in stages. A number of ghettos existed into the spring or summer of 1942. In particular, the large ghetto in Smolensk, where about 1,500 Jews were exploited systematically for forced labor, was not liquidated until mid-July 1942.

In general, ghettos were not established behind the German advance on Stalingrad in the summer and fall of 1942, mainly because large numbers of Jews were not encountered. Exceptions were isolated towns on the German route of advance, mostly in the northern Caucasus, which had populations of Mountain Jews, local Ashkenazim, and refugees from the western regions of the USSR. Four places have been identified in this region where Jews were concentrated under ghetto-like conditions in the second half of 1942: in Kagal'nitskaia (for about a month), in Elista (for only 10 days), and in Nal'chik and Essentuki (each for about 6 weeks). It appears that the Mountain Jews were "ghettoized" in Nal'chik but excluded from the killings on the recommendation of the head of Einsatzgruppe D, SS-Oberführer Bierkamp, as they were viewed rather as a local mountain tribe.[9]

The Wehrmacht was responsible for imposing a series of anti-Jewish measures following its arrival in the territory of the Russian Federation. These can be documented effectively from surviving German placards (*Bekanntmachungen*). In Demidov, on August 6, 1941, the Ortskommandant ordered all Jews over the age of 10 to wear yellow markers 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter. Jews of both sexes were required to perform forced labor. The ritual slaughtering of animals for kosher meat was also forbidden.[10] Similar orders were issued in Kaluga on November 8, 1941, together with the appointment of a Jewish elder; Jews were prohibited from leaving the city or having relations with non-Jews, and the establishment of a ghetto was decreed.[11]

One of the first ghettos established by the Germans on Russian territory was in the "Sadki" district of Smolensk, on August 5, 1941. It was under the control of the local Russian administration, which ordered the evacuation of the

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non-Jewish population from the ghetto area. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by the OD.[12] From the beginning, Jews caught leaving the ghetto or not wearing the Star of David were to be arrested and shot.[13]

Other than for Smolensk, the process of ghettoization is documented for only a few locations, including Rudnia. Here the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews into a ghetto in August 1941, threatening to shoot those who did not comply. The OD used physical force to intimidate the Jews and confiscated Jewish property during the transfer, including all livestock. The ghetto, located on one street, consisted of 20 half-destroyed houses fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by German soldiers and the OD. Around 1,200 Jews, including some refugees, were assembled on the market square and herded into the ghetto. Initially, the Jews could still come and go freely, and some received food from non-Jewish neighbors.[14]

A variety of different structures were used as ghetto sites. The typical small wooden houses, or cottages, common in the region, were used in a number of towns, including Smolensk, Rudnia, and Starodub. In Karachev and Krasnyi, the ghetto consisted only of an open-air holding camp with no shelter, similar to many camps for Soviet POWs. In other ghettos, such as Nevel' and Starodub, due to insufficient housing, some Jews had to sleep in dugouts or barns. In Opochka and Pochep, former barracks were used; in Zlynka, a Machine Tractor Station (MTS) was used; and in Mglin, a prison was converted into a ghetto. Several smaller ghettos, including Dmitriev-L'govskii and Loknia, were established by forcing all the Jews into a single house. Jews were sometimes brought into the ghettos from surrounding villages; this is documented for Klimovo and Monastyrshchina. The population of most ghettos was composed primarily of women, children, and the elderly, with only a few males of working age.

Living conditions in the ghettos were horrific. The inmates of the Rudnia ghetto suffered from overcrowding and poor sanitation, receiving rations of only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. All Jews had to surrender any valuables at gunpoint, and the more prosperous members of the community were taken hostage and held for ransom.[15] In the Velizh ghetto, about 500 people lived in pigsties, furnished with bunk beds, as the 27 houses were all full. In the Kaluga ghetto, established in a former nunnery, although ration cards were issued, no food was distributed to the Jews. Even children in the Kaluga ghetto were forced to work, removing bodies from the streets. Children also sneaked out of the ghetto to scavenge for food.[16] In most ghettos that existed for more than a few weeks, there were deaths from starvation and disease. Reports from several ghettos, including those in Smolensk, Krasnyi, Petrovichi, and Khislavichi, mention the rape of Jewish women by members of the OD and also Germans.

The Soviet evacuation of most heavy industry during their retreat and the severe food shortages in the towns meant that there was no large-scale use of Jews as a professional labor force. Indeed, in Smolensk, Jewish craftsmen were ordered to surrender their tools for use by the non-Jewish population. Nevertheless, the Jews in most ghettos of the region were exploited for forced labor on immediate tasks such as road repairs, clearing rubble, loading railway cars, and also digging defensive trenches. Some assigned labor tasks, such as cleaning toilets, served more to humiliate those workers. In several ghettos, including those in Klintsy and Rzhev, selected skilled craftsmen were saved for a time after most of the Jews had been shot. In Staraia Russa, Jews living outside the ghetto in mixed marriages were arrested and shot one month after the ghetto's liquidation.

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in German-occupied Russian territory. Most comprised just a few members, and in some ghettos there was only a single Jewish elder. As elsewhere, their tasks included the implementation of German orders, especially the organization of forced labor, meeting German demands for "contributions," and providing social services, including rudimentary medical care. This latter reason may explain the strong representation of physicians, including some women, on the councils. Ilya Al'tman has identified the professions of 19 Jewish Council members from more than 10 ghettos; of these, 11 were doctors or dentists. Other professions represented included a bookkeeper as the Jewish community's representative in Kaluga and a teacher in Velizh.[17]

Examples of resistance are known for several ghettos. Some acts of resistance are cited by the Einsatzgruppen as the alleged pretext for extermination Aktions. Such references must be treated with caution, but the descriptions may in part be based on actual events. Einsatzgruppen report no. 124, on October 25, 1941, noted:

> The staff unit (Gruppenstab) [of Einsatzgruppe B] and Vorkommando Moskau carried out an operation against the Jews in Tatarsk. The Jews had begun to leave the ghetto of their own volition, and return to their former residences. Russians had occupied their apartments in the meantime, and the Jews tried to drive them out. Therefore, the place was systematically searched and the Jews gathered in the market square. Some of them had fled, and had to be hunted out of the nearby forest. In punishment for not following the orders of the German Security Police, all the Jewish men in Tatarsk and three women were shot.[18]

In Rudnia, the Germans raided the home of a young Jew who had been studying to be a radio technician. They arrested and shot him for not surrendering his radio, together with another 15 to 20 young Jews. The Germans also discovered a pistol in the Rudnia ghetto and shot 100 Jews, ostensibly for concealing weapons.[19] Shortly after this, Ida Brion fled the ghetto after hearing from escapees of the Vitebsk ghetto that all the Jews would be shot unless they escaped.[20] Jews escaped from several Russian ghettos just before or during their liquidation, with the aim of going into hiding or joining the Soviet partisans. Outside the ghetto, they had to contend with patrols of the Wehrmacht and the OD, hunting for escapees.

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The advance of the Red Army in the winter of 1941–1942 successfully liberated three ghettos in the region from the Germans, saving most of their inmates from certain death. These were the ghettos of Il'ino, Kaluga, and Usviaty.[21] Unfortunately, the liberation of these three ghettos was quite exceptional. In Velizh, the Germans and Russian police burned down the ghetto on January 30, 1942, just as Soviet forces were attacking the town, and only a few dozen of the ghetto's Jews managed to survive.

The Soviet counteroffensive may, however, have delayed the liquidation of some ghettos by a few weeks. Sonderkommando 7a, for example, was forced to retreat hastily by the Soviet advances in late December, its men suffering from cold and exhaustion as many vehicles broke down. It was then transferred to Klintsy further to the rear to rest and recover, only arriving there in late February. Thus the Red Army's advance rendered it largely inactive for almost two months.[22] In the ensuing weeks from March 1942, this unit murdered nearly all the remaining Jews in the area around Klintsy in a series of Aktions coordinated by the unit's energetic new commander, Albert Rapp. These Aktions included the destruction of ghettos in Pochep, Unecha, Starodub, and Mglin.[23]

The ghettos in Russian territory existed for only a few weeks or months. They were established just as the Einsatzgruppen, Order Police, and SS forces were escalating the genocide from the shooting of groups of male Jews and alleged Communists to the destruction of entire Jewish communities. Most ghetto liquidation Aktions were organized by the respective Einsatzkommandos, but they also required support from the OD and local Wehrmacht forces. The murder of the Jews of Gusino, for example, just west of Smolensk, can be reconstructed from the testimony of German soldiers given in postwar war crime investigations. The Jews were driven out of the ghetto to a pit through a narrow cordon formed by soldiers of a Landesschützen Company. The pit was only about 150 meters (492 feet) from the ghetto, close to the company's quarters in the local school. The Jews were then shot in the back of the neck in groups of 2 or 3 by two SS men on the edge of the pit. The German forces murdered more than 200 Jews in the Aktion, which lasted several hours. The Jews remained orderly. However, some soldiers recall a Jewish girl calling out: "Please don't shoot me, I will do any work!" The clothing of the Jewish victims was subsequently distributed among the local Russian population.[24]

Little evidence has remained concerning the ghettos on occupied Russian soil. Just occasionally, however, these ghettos are mentioned in sources that reflect the perspective of so-called bystanders. Local resident Nikolai Karpov in Roslavl', who was subsequently deported to Germany for forced labor, recalls in his published memoir learning about the clearance of the ghetto. Neighbors reported with horror that all the inhabitants, including women, children, and the elderly, had been shot near the old Jewish cemetery. The graves had been hastily covered with earth, and Russian policemen had plundered the houses. Karpov observed one policeman attempting to drag away a cow that had belonged to a Jewish tailor, but the cow resisted, not wanting to go with someone it did not know.[25] In the two months following the Aktion, about 20 more Jews were brought into Roslavl' by Wehrmacht patrols in the surrounding countryside and placed in the SD prison. These Jews had been denounced by local inhabitants and handed over to the Wehrmacht. They were subsequently shot by the German Security Police.[26]

Only a few hundred Jews managed to survive from the ghettos in German-occupied Russian territory, either hiding among the local population or serving with the Soviet partisans.[27] The experience of Solomon Bazhalkin, a 14-year-old boy who escaped from the Unecha ghetto, reflects the difficulties Jews faced in trying to survive. He knocked on people's doors in the surrounding villages, saying he was an orphan. Some local inhabitants offered him food and occasionally shelter for a short while; but usually he had to move on again, as people suspected that he was a Jew. On one occasion, he was denounced to the police, but he successfully convinced them he was an orphan and was released. Subsequently he linked up with the Soviet partisans, as did many of the surviving escapees from ghettos in Russia.

The last occupying German forces were driven from Russian territory in July 1944 with the capture by the Red Army of the town of Pskov.[28]

SOURCES Relevant secondary publications concerning the Holocaust in the territories of the Russian Federation include the following: Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), also available in German as Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008); Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoy territorii rossiiskoy federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik. Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; Aleksandr I. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003).

Published sources include the following: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* [English edition translated and edited by David Patterson; with a foreword by Irving Louis Horowitz and an introduction by Helen Segall] (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); I. Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 1–39 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–); and several articles published in the Yiddish-language journal *Eynikayt*.

Relevant archival collections include the following: AFSB-SmO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; GAPO; GARF; GASmO; GATO; NARA; RGVA; RTKIDNI; Sta. Kiel; TsGAMORF; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

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NOTES

1. The high figure of 120,000 is given by Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 348. He relies, however, mainly on the figures of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports, which are sometimes exaggerated.

2. Nebe was succeeded by Erich Naumann on about November 1, 1941.

3. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196, reel 233, Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941, p. 42. See also Sta. Kiel, investigation against Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 1, pp. 205–207, testimony of Noack, June 11–12, 1959, in which he notes that he was entrusted by Nebe with the task of setting up ghettos in the villages around Smolensk.

4. BA-MA, RH 26-285/45, Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Nord, Betr. Einrichtung von Gettos, September 3, 1941.

5. Christian Gerlach, "Die Einsatzgruppe B 1941–42," in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 52–70, here p. 59.

6. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196, reel 234, EM UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941, no. 144, December 10, 1941, and no. 146, December 15, 1941.

7. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 324.

8. On October 2–12, 1941, detachments of Einsatzgruppe A shot 260 people in various towns and villages in the Leningrad area (EM UdSSR no. 116, October 17, 1941). This number probably includes the Jews shot in Pushkin. According to the testimony of Mitrofan Kress, 250 Jews were shot in the Catherine Park between September 17, 1941, and January 1, 1942 (GARF, 7021-30-1275, p. 4).

9. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 16, frame 1272, Report on Mountain Jews (Bergjuden) by Dr. Otto Bräutigam, plenipotentiary of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories with Army Group A, December 26, 1942.

10. OK I/593 Demidow, August 6, 1941, Kommandantur Order no. 6, as cited by Theo Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), pp. 326–327.

11. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18.

12. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818; testimony of Vladimir Khizvera, YVA, O-3/4671, p. 227; and testimony of Evgeniia Gromyko, in "Smolenskoe getto: Eshche odin svidetel'," *Smolenskie novosti* (Smolensk), October 25, 1995.

13. GARF, 7021-114-6, pp. 20–21.

14. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 285, 293; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 79; and USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.

15. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 285 reverse, and 315 reverse; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 80; Sh. Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah yehudit be-Brit ha-Moasot," *Yalkut Moreshet* no. 21 (1976): 94.

16. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995.

17. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, pp. 117–119; Doubson, "Ghetto," p. 167. German aversion to Communists and the absence of religious or political Jewish leadership meant that apolitical professionals by default became the obvious source of local leadership.

18. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

19. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 285 reverse; GASmO, 2434-3-37, p. 168.

20. USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.

21. Doubson, "Ghetto," p. 159.

22. It is possible, however, that Sonderkommando 7a was also involved in the liquidation of the Sychevka ghetto on around January 1, 1942, during the course of its hasty retreat.

23. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 726–786.

24. BA-L, ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61, vol. 1, pp. 13–109, vol. 2, pp. 333–351; and TsGAMORF, 2082526/264, p. 36.

25. Nikolai Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter: Erzählung* (Münster: Ardey-Verlag, 2003), p. 7.

26. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.

27. To locate survivors, see VHF and also the Survivors' Registry of the USHMM, which both indicate if Jews managed to flee or survived in German-occupied territory.

28. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

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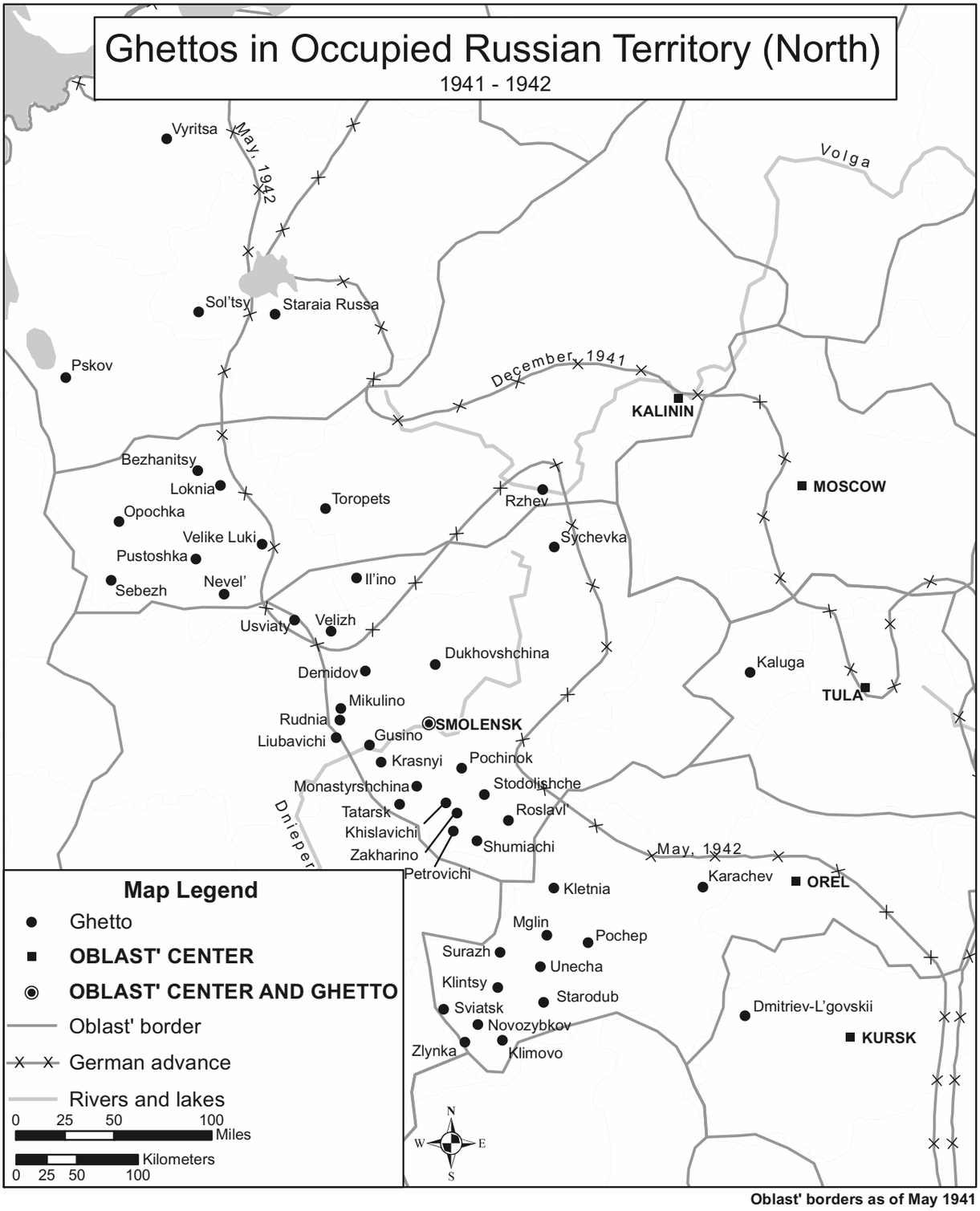

Oblast' borders as of May 1941

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Oblast' borders as of May 1941

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BEZHANITSY

Pre-1941: Bezhanitsy, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Beshanizy, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Bezhanitsy, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Bezhanitsy is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) north-northwest of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, there were only 24 Jews living in Bezhanitsy.

German forces captured Bezhanitsy on July 18, 1941, almost one month after their invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and the eligible males were required to report for military service. Only some of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the occupation, which lasted until July 1944, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German Kommandantur formed a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Kommandantur ordered the town administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various kinds of forced labor. In October 1941, all the remaining Jews in Bezhanitsy were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, consisting of an unheated house whose windows had been smashed, which was surrounded by a fence. The prisoners did not receive anything to eat for many days. The ghetto existed for several weeks, and then it was liquidated by shooting all the Jews. First 10 people were selected to dig two large graves. Then they were shot into the graves, which were filled in by the next group of 10. This was repeated until all the Jews had been shot. According to one source, 120 Jews were shot in total. This figure is considerably overstated. However, some Jewish refugees from other places likely were among the victims.[1]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Bezhanitsy can be found in the following archives: GAPO and GARF (7021-39-319 and 8114-1-963, pp. 111–112).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), p. 404.

DEMIDOV

Pre-1941: Demidov (until 1918 known as Porech'e), town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Demidow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Demidov, Russian Federation

Demidov is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) northwest of Smolensk on the Kasplia River. In 1939, the Jewish population was 206 (2.6 percent of the town's total population).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 13, 1941, about four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, much of the Jewish population fled or was evacuated to the east, and men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. It is not known how many Jews remained in the town, but it was most probably less than 50 percent of the preinvasion population.

At the end of July 1941, the German military administration in Demidov, Ortskommandantur (OK) I/593, appointed a local mayor.[1] A police force (Ordnungsdienst) was also recruited from local inhabitants. On August 6, 1941, the Ortskommandant ordered that all Jews living in the town over the age of 10 had to wear a yellow marker at least 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter on the right sleeve of their clothes and overcoats, which they were to make themselves. Jews of both sexes were not to be evacuated but were to remain in the town and to perform forced labor. The same order also forbade the ritual slaughtering of animals to prepare kosher meat.[2]

On August 29, 1941, two suspected Soviet partisans (non-Jews) were publicly hanged in Demidov, as a warning to the rest of the population. On September 4, OK I/593 issued an order denying the Jews freedom of movement and prohibiting them from trading with non-Jews.[3] The detailed effects of this order are not known, but it may have resulted in the establishment of an open ghetto for those Jews that still remained in Demidov.

Shortly after this, during the second week of September 1941, units of the German 161st and 183rd Infantry Divisions, together with part of Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a and the Ortskommandant in Demidov, conducted an antipartisan sweep in the area south of the town, which resulted in the arrest of some 2,000 people "capable of bearing arms," of whom about 200 were shot or hanged.[4] On September 28, OK I/593 in Demidov reported the execution of 398 individuals under the heading of "Partisans, Political Commissars, and Party Functionaries," as well as 3 commissars.[5]

One Jewish woman, who was seized and brought to Demidov together with her brother and another Jewish girl at some time in the fall of 1941, stated that the Germans raped the other Jewish girl. When she learned that she would be next, she managed to escape in time.[6]

From mid-August 1941, a Sonderkommando 7a detachment headed by SS-Untersturmführer Claus Hüser was located in Demidov for several weeks. According to German postwar investigative sources, the Russian Ordnungsdienst frequently handed over individuals they had arrested to the detachment while it was based in Demidov. Those prisoners that were Jews were shot without being interrogated. Allegedly up to 50 Jews

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were murdered by SK 7a in this manner while it was based in Demidov or shortly thereafter.[7]

More reliable information about the murder of the Jews of Demidov has not been uncovered. According to one partisan report, the remaining Jews in the town were allegedly shot at the start of 1942, by which time advancing Red Army forces had almost cut off the town. However, as this source considerably overestimates the number of victims, it may refer to the German antipartisan sweeps of September 1941 or other subsequent similar Aktions that were directed mainly against non-Jews.[8]

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Demidov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; BA-MA (RH 23/223); GARF (7021-44-622); GASmO; and NARA (NOKW-1320 and 1326).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 23/223, Activity Reports of Korüeck 582 for the period August to December 1941; OK I/593 Demidow, Kommandantur Order no. 2, July 31, 1941.
2. OK I/593 Demidow, August 6, 1941, Kommandantur Order no. 6, as cited by Theo Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), pp. 326–327.
3. BA-MA, RH 23/223, OK I/593 Demidow, Kommandantur Order no. 17, September 4, 1941.
4. Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 217; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643, pp. 299–311.
5. Schulte, *The German Army*, p. 223.
6. USHMM, RG-50.378, # 006, oral testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
7. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 2/65, verdict of December 22, 1966, against Meyer and others, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643, pp. 311–315.
8. RGASPI, 17-88-1067, p. 86.

DMITRIEV-L'GOVSKII

Pre-1939: Dmitriev-L'govskii, town and raion center, Kursk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Dmitriew, Army Group Center (Heeresgruppe Mitte); post-1991: Dmitriev-L'govskii, Russian Federation

Dmitriev-L'govskii is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) northwest of Kursk on the railway line from Briansk to L'gov. The census of 1939 revealed that the Jewish population stood at 111.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on October 8, 1941, three and a half months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this intervening period, the overwhelming majority of the Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were inducted into the Red Army. According to Soviet sources, only 16 Jews remained in the town at the start of German occupation. These included several key professionals, such as the dentists Kaplan and his wife, the head of the pharmacy, a tailor, a cobbler, and a barber.[1]

During the entire occupation period, from October 8, 1941, to March 2, 1943, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a town council, and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from among local residents.

Soon after the occupation, the town council organized the registration of the Jews, as well as their use in various kinds of heavy labor. The German occupiers spread antisemitic propaganda and imposed a special tax of 5,000 rubles per month on each Jew. They also proceeded to seize and rob remaining Jewish property.[2]

In November 1941, the Germans set up a "ghetto" in Dmitriev-L'govskii, forcing all the Jews to move into a single house, which bore the following inscription on the door: "Entry forbidden to non-Jews." (Another source indicates that some Jews were shot in the town shortly after the arrival of the Germans, and the remainder were placed in the ghetto.) Jews were also required to wear a Jewish star on their clothes, on the chest and back, and were forbidden from having any contact with non-Jews.[3] The Jews in the ghetto were forbidden from carrying out their former professions and were taken under guard to perform heavy, dangerous labor, including digging up bombs that had failed to explode. As they worked, they were whipped and beaten mercilessly with sticks.[4]

The fate of a 16-year-old Jewish boy named Boris is known from two witnesses. He was the barber's apprentice and was forced to work for the Germans, carrying water and cleaning toilets. By accident he splashed water on a German dog, and the Germans started to beat him. When they discovered from other boys that he was Jewish, they beat him further for concealing that he was a Jew. The Germans threw him into the cold cellar of the Pedagogical School for three days, and on the fourth day a German came and shot him with a pistol. His body was left there among the trash until spring 1942, when it was thrown into the pit behind the cemetery.[5]

Following a Soviet counteroffensive, the Jews feared that they might be killed, and a few managed to run away. Shortly after this escape effort, probably in March 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto by shooting the remaining Jews.[6]

SOURCES Some information on this ghetto is available in Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 123–127.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dmitriev-L'govskii can be found in the following archives: GAKO; GARF (7021-29-14 and 979); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 9, 7021-29-979, pp. 19–20.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; and GARF, 7021-29-14, pp. 2, 19–20.
4. GARF, 7021-29-14, pp. 19–20.
5. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 9, 7021-29-979, pp. 19–20.
6. GARF, 7021-29-14 and 7021-29-979; and Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 123–124, 127.

DUKHOVSHCHINA

Pre-1941: Dukhovshchina, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Duchowschtschina, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dukhovshchina, Russian Federation

Dukhovshchina is located 57 kilometers (35 miles) northeast of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census, 102 Jews were living in Dukhovshchina (2.64 percent of the total population).

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 15, 1941, 24 days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in late July or early August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor (Bürgermeister) of Dukhovshchina and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. The town's remaining Jews were moved into a ghetto, to concentrate them in one location and isolate them from the rest of the population. The ghetto was liquidated in the summer of 1942 at which time the Jews of the town were shot. The number of Jewish victims is reported to be 300, but this figure may be exaggerated. The chief of the raion police force, Shershukov, took an active part in the shooting Aktion; there were several dozen victims. At least two Jewish families (the Gurevich and Bliumin families) were saved with the help and support of local residents.[1]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dukhovshchina can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-635); GASmO (R-1630-2-28); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. R. Zharikova, "Ia videla, kak ubivali evreev," *Raionnaia gazeta* (Dukhovshchina raion), no. 76, July 2, 1992, p. 4; and GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 135.

ELISTA (AKA STEPNOI)

Pre-1942: Elista, capital, Kalmyk ASSR, RSFSR; August–December 1942: Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Kalmyk Republic (Kalmykia), Russian Federation

Elista is located about 250 kilometers (155 miles) south of Stalingrad. Between June 1941 and August 1942, a number of Jewish refugees arrived in Elista from Gomel', Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, and other places occupied by the Germans. The lack of any rail communications made it difficult for Jews to flee from Elista in the face of the rapid German advance across the Kalmykian steppe in the summer of 1942.

Units of the German LII Corps occupied Elista on August 13, 1942. During the period of occupation, which lasted until December 31, 1942, German Ortskommandantur I/649 administered the town's affairs. The German military administration created a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents. For part of the occupation, units of the German 16th Motorized Infantry Division were stationed in the town.

Among the German punitive organs based in the town from the end of August to the end of December 1942 was the Security Police Sonderkommando Astrakhan, part of Einsatzgruppe D. The Sonderkommando, consisting of about 10 to 20 men, was headed by Hauptsturmführer Rolf Maurer, who died in February 1943.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German authorities ordered the registration and marking of all Jews, the confiscation of Jewish property, and the use of Jews for forced labor. All Jews had to wear distinguishing badges in the form of a white six-pointed star. After their registration and marking, the Jews were forced into a ghetto, for which one of the buildings on Rosa Luxemburg Street was designated. The Jews were not allowed to leave the ghetto, and they were deprived of food and water. They remained in the ghetto for 10 days.

On September 9, 1942 (or shortly thereafter), Sonderkommando Astrakhan under Maurer's command carried out the liquidation of the ghetto. According to testimony by members of the unit, about 80 to 100 Jews were taken out into the steppe outside the town to a place where a large ditch had already been prepared. Maurer and his men then shot all the Jews in small family groups (composed of men, women, children, and the elderly).[1] Soviet sources place the number of victims considerably higher, at 93 families, or more than 300 people altogether. The site of the mass shooting is reported to have been near the town's waste dump.[2]

Shortly after the mass shooting, the Germans began to encounter partisan resistance in the region and acts of sabotage in Elista, organized in part by the German-appointed mayor of the town and other local officials, who apparently were working for the NKVD. Sonderkommando Astrakhan responded by executing a number of non-Jews before its retreat at the end of December.

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SOURCES Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission and other sources regarding the extermination of the Jews of Elista can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 24-40/116); GARF (7021-8-27, pp. 87–89); the National Archive of the Kalmyk Republic (68-1-5, pp. 21–22); Sta. Mü I (22 Js 204, vols. 3–5); and TsGAMORF (8523-33-15).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 204, vol. 3, p. 687, statement of Georg Weiss, February 16, 1961, vol. 4, pp. 813–814, statement of G. Weiss, November 30, 1962, vol. 4, pp. 860–861, statement of Emil Mikisch, February 5, 1962, and vol. 5, pp. 1155–1156, statement of Leo Luft, July 12, 1962. See also Joachim Hoffmann, *Deutsche und Kalmyken, 1942 bis 1945* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1986), pp. 103–104.

2. BA-MA, RH 24-40/116, unpaginated, copy of Soviet propaganda material, probably dated early 1943; see also GARF, 7021-8-27, pp. 87–89.

The Gusino memorial, photographed in 1998 by Miron Ioffe. Ioffe's immediate family was murdered in Gusino during the Holocaust.
USHMM 2004.421, COURTESY OF MIRON IOFFE

GUSINO

Pre-1941: Gusino, village, Krasnyi raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Gusino is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-southwest of Smolensk on the Dnieper River and on the main highway from Minsk to Moscow. According to the 1926 census, 427 Jews resided in the town (with a total population of 706).

Units of the German 18th Panzer Division captured Gusino in mid-July 1941. Soon after their arrival, German forces established a ghetto for the Jewish population of approximately 250 people on July 28, 1941.[1] Members of the 1st Company, Landesschützen (LS) Battalion 507 (later renamed Security Bn. 545), which was stationed in Gusino during the winter of 1941–1942, note that on their arrival a ghetto had already been established in the town. The Jewish population was also forced to wear Jewish stars on their clothing and was made to perform forced labor, such as the clearing of snow and the unloading of railroad cars; a few of them also worked for the German soldiers based in the town. According to some accounts, a chicken-wire fence surrounded the ghetto, with barbed wire on top. The Jews lived in all the houses on one long street. In the town there was also a local Russian mayor and a local Russian police force designated only by armbands but armed with rifles. The Russian police was subordinated to the local German commandant.

The mass shooting of the Jews from the ghetto took place on February 6, 1942. On the evening before, a small unit of the SS and SD, comprising about 10 people, arrived in Gusino and informed Captain Schmitt, in charge of 1st Company, LS-Bn. 507, that all the Jews in the ghetto would be shot. It is not precisely clear which unit the SS men belonged to, but it was probably a Security Police (Sipo) and SD squad subordinated to Einsatzkommando 8 (commanded by Heinz Richter from January 1942), probably based in Orsha or Krugloe.

A mass grave had already been prepared in advance, close to the ghetto. Because of the hard ground, the Germans used explosives to prepare a pit some 10 meters long and 3 meters deep (33 feet by almost 10 feet). The Sipo/SD unit requested that members of the LS Company cordon off the ghetto during the Aktion to prevent any escapes. Some men of the company were deployed around the ghetto during the night. However, it appears that a few Jews got wind of the operation following the explosions and managed to flee, as other company members also searched the woods vainly in the morning just prior to the Aktion, trying to find escaped Jews.

The Aktion began at 9:00 A.M., when the Jews were driven out of the ghetto and forced through a narrow cordon, formed by members of the LS Company, to the pit. The pit was only about 100 or 200 meters (328 feet to 656 feet) from the ghetto, close to the company's quarters in the local school. Before arriving at the pit, the Jewish victims had to remove their upper clothing and their shoes. These items were subsequently distributed among the local Russian population. The Jews were then shot in the back of the neck in groups of 2 or 3 by two SS men on the edge of the pit. The German forces murdered more than 200 Jews, including men, women, and children of all ages in the Aktion, which lasted several hours. (A report by a Soviet military commission of investigation records that more than 250 people were shot altogether.)[2] The Jews remained calm during the shooting. However, some soldiers in the cordon recall a Jewish girl calling out: "Please don't shoot

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me, I will do any work!"[3] During the Aktion at least one Russian boy tried to escape. However, he was fired on and wounded by men from the cordon, then brought back to the killing site.

The attitude of the Wehrmacht troops is hard to assess from the investigative sources, as they knew they might be prosecuted if they admitted that their participation was motivated by racial hatred. Nevertheless, the company consisted almost exclusively of middle-aged men who had no particular Nazi sympathies. Several men mentioned that one company member tried to save two young Jewish sisters who had worked for the company and received bread from their rations in return. When the SS men found out about these two Jewish girls a few days later, they also took them away to be shot. One soldier claimed that the events preoccupied him so much that he wrote to his wife about it, mentioning especially the shooting of the two sisters. Others said that they were so affected they could not eat.

About one week after the main shooting, the local Russian police carried out their own Aktion. They shot those Jews who had escaped from the first Aktion. Accounts by Wehrmacht soldiers stationed in the town mention Jews returning, but they were probably hunted down and brought in by the local police.[4]

SOURCES This entry is based mainly on the statements of former members of 1st Company, Landesschützen Battalion 507, taken by the German authorities in the 1960s. This documentation can be found in BA-L (ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61). Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: TsGAMORF (2082526/264, p. 36); VHF (# 13160, 16575, and 39900); and YVA (O-33/3275, Miron Ioffe).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Vadim Doubson, "Ghetto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184, here p. 159.
2. TsGAMORF, 2082526/264, p. 36.
3. BA-L, ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61, vol. 1, p. 21.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 13–109, vol. 2, pp. 333–351.

IL'INO

Pre-1941: Il'ino, village and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Iljino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Il'ino, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Il'ino is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) east-southeast of Velike Luki. By 1939, the number of Jews stood at 221. Il'ino was remote from larger towns and 48 kilometers (30 miles) from the nearest railway station. It was not the site of any industry, and consequently the local authorities did not organize an evacuation as the German forces drew near. The inhabitants of Il'ino appealed to the raion authorities for help but received only a terse response: "Don't stir up panic; if it's necessary, we'll evacuate." After loading their belongings into carts, many Jewish families tried to leave Il'ino on foot, seeking to get to the railway station at Staraia Toropa, but German troops stopped them, and they turned back.[1]

German forces took Il'ino on July 22, 1941. Shortly afterwards, the occupiers ordered the Jews in the village to sew a yellow six-pointed star on the chest and back of their outer garments and to mark their homes with the stars.[2] A Jewish elder was named. One witness recalls that he was "an ordinary person, by no means a betrayer." He was "caught between the devil and the deep blue sea."[3] The occupiers did not undertake the registration of the Jews since local non-Jewish citizens had given the Germans complete lists of the Jewish population in the village.[4]

The occupiers began to assign Jews to work servicing the German garrison. Germans treated the Jews scornfully and subjected them to taunts and beatings. On one occasion, eight German Air Force pilots gathered a number of Jewish men and took them to a neighboring village, made them dig pits, and staged a mock hanging. Subsequently, one of those Jews became deranged.[5] According to one account, Finnish Army soldiers were especially brutal in dealing with the Jews. In one case, a woman's sister who was a witness indignantly told how a Finnish soldier took all the sugar from their house. Then, on horseback, he chased the woman for 3 kilometers (1.9 miles).[6]

Wehrmacht soldiers and those in Finnish, Estonian, and Hungarian units quartered in neighboring communities robbed the Jewish inhabitants. They took mostly foodstuffs. The chief of the Russian police obliged the Jewish elder, under threat of being shot, to procure various things for him. On one occasion, he asked for a black suit to be furnished by the Jews; on another, he demanded a supply of blank paper.[7]

In September 1941, the occupiers issued an order concerning the establishment of a ghetto. It designated a short street on the outskirts of the village from which all residents—mostly Russians and Latvians—were told to move out. Low, marshy ground flanked the street on one side, and a small stream intersected it. The Jewish cemetery lay at the end of the street. Several Jewish families moved into each house. The occupiers allowed them to bring with them only a few possessions and scarcely any provisions. Barbed wire partly surrounded the area of the ghetto, and German soldiers and Russian policemen guarded it. The occupying authorities did not allow the Jews to leave the ghetto and forbade local inhabitants to visit them.

The ghetto held as many as 200 people—residents of Il'ino and surrounding villages and refugees from Belorussia.[8] The inmates were mostly women, children of various ages, and elderly men. Local authorities carried out a registration of the Jewish inmates once the ghetto had been established.[9]

The Jews in the ghetto suffered severely from hunger, even eating flaxseed meal. They avoided starving to death only because they had dug up potatoes from their kitchen gardens and brought them along when resettled to the ghetto. Every potato counted.[10] Teenagers in the ghetto managed to obtain some bread and potatoes from former neighbors and acquaintances. A woman who had been confined in the ghetto recalled that

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parents feared the Germans might shoot the children.[11] Occasionally, Russian boys would steal into the ghetto at night to bring food to their friends.[12]

Ghetto inmates suffered from an insufficient water supply. During the winter, they had to melt snow for drinking water. There was no place where they could wash up; they were covered with scabs and tormented by lice.[13] Not enough firewood was available for heating. Improvised medical aid was provided for sick Jews in the ghetto by a doctor who was a refugee from Vitebsk and who managed the local drugstore. Taking advantage of her "Aryan appearance," on several occasions a female inmate left the ghetto to buy medication from him.[14]

Russian police arrived on the scene shortly after the ghetto was established; their aim was to seize the Jews' belongings. They helped themselves to one thing after another—from linens to floor runners. The Komissarov family begged them, "Leave the strips of carpet!" The police chief replied, "What do you need your carpet for? You'll soon have the ground under your feet."[15] That was a thinly veiled reference to the planned extermination of the Jews. German soldiers and the Russian police repeatedly carried out searches in the ghetto. They were looking for valuables, and they also seized warm clothing, even shabby garments, "for the German Army."[16]

The lack of clothes to keep them warm heightened the suffering of the Jews in the ghetto during the severe winter of 1941–1942. Russian inhabitants of Il'ino recall that when the Germans ordered the Jews taken out of the ghetto in January 1942 (with the intention of shooting them), many of them were almost naked. Despite the ban on communicating with the inmates, one Russian woman brought warm clothing for a family in the ghetto with whom she had been friendly.[17]

According to orders passed through the Jewish elder, the guards escorted Jews outside the ghetto for compulsory labor. They assigned women and teenage children to do heavy and dirty work: to saw firewood; clean stables and toilets; wash motorcycles and cars; haul water for the field kitchen; and repair roads and, in winter, shovel them clear of snow.[18]

Former ghetto inmates recollect that many of them did not believe they could safely flee the ghetto, and they could not count on help from the local population. One ex-inmate said, "[N]obody could go anywhere. There was nowhere to go." A former female inmate who was then still a child told how she often said to her mother, "Let me go out!" Her mother would reply, "Wherever you go, they'll turn you in."[19] Nevertheless, some young people did leave the ghetto, a number of them to join the partisans.[20]

A detachment of Russian police entered the ghetto on January 24, 1942. They brought all the Jews out of the ghetto under guard and assembled them near the German commandant's office. The police kept the poorly clad Jews there for several hours in the freezing cold. Local inhabitants who witnessed the event and the Jews themselves later recalled that they were certain that this activity was in preparation for a mass shooting. A local midwife managed to snatch a little girl from the column of Jews and subsequently hid the child in her house.

Through an interpreter, the German commandant criticized the assembled Jews for alleged offenses: spreading rumors that disparaged the German Army, hailing Soviet aircraft, and so on. Then the Germans ordered the Jews to return to the ghetto and not to venture out of their houses. They nailed the doors shut and posted a guard of Russian policemen.[21]

Apparently the Germans did not have time to carry out the massacre, for their military command was by then busy warding off an attack by Soviet forces. On January 24, elements of the Soviet 4th Shock Army attacked Il'ino, but without immediate success. During the night, additional Soviet forces came up to the outskirts of the village, and at dawn the attack was launched again. Having overcome stubborn German resistance, by midday on January 25, elements of the Red Army liberated Il'ino.

This unexpected salvation was a shock to the ghetto inmates, who had thought they were going to die. They could not sleep all night. One woman, the mother of four children, lost all her hair. On the morning of January 25, when neighbors knocked on a woman's door and reported that they had seen men wearing white coveralls and with red stars on their caps, the woman fainted from shock at this news.[22]

Almost all the ghetto inmates who had survived to that point were saved. (Several elderly Jews had frozen to death on the eve of liberation.) But the very narrow escape of the inmates of the Il'ino ghetto was sadly quite exceptional in the history of the Holocaust in the territory of the Soviet Union.

SOURCES Information concerning the Il'ino ghetto may be found in the article by the author, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; and in A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1965).

Archival sources include GARF (7021-44-1073); GATO (R-1583-1-3563); and YVA. The municipal archives of the town of Zapadnaia Dvina also contain a collection of documents concerning the Il'ino ghetto (Fond 30, 22 files from 1994 and 1995).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Testimonies of Fruma Komissarova and Zinaida Bel'chikova, "Kholokost v Rossii," *AMI* (St. Petersburg), April 20, 1995.
2. YVA, M-62/67, testimony of Aleksandr Portiankin, p. 9; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.
3. Testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod, author's personal archive.
4. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.; and testimony of Khana Zhuk, in *Krovotochashchaia pamiat' Kholokosta* (Kaliningrad, 2001), p. 52.

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8. GARF, 7021-44-1073, p. 8; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 25, 46, 63; testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova; and testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod.

9. GATO, R-1583-1-3563, p. 46.

10. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.

11. Testimony of Khana Zhuk; and testimony of Aleksandr Portiankin.

12. GATO, R-1583-1-3563, pp. 63–64; R. Dzkuia, "Sel'skoe getto," *Obshchaia gazeta*, January 24–30, 2002.

13. Testimony of Khana Zhuk.

14. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova.

15. Ibid.

16. Testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.

17. GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 25, 63–65.

18. GARF, 7021-44-1073, p. 8; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, p. 63; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.

19. Testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Fruma Komissarova.

20. Ibid.; and YVA, M-62/67, p. 7.

21. GARF, 7021-44-1073, pp. 74–75; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 46, 64–65; testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.

22. GATO, R-1583-1-3653, p. 65.

KAGAL'NITSKAIA

Pre-1942: Kagal'nitskaia, village and raion center, Rostov oblast', RSFSR; 1942–1943: Kagalnizkaja, Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B); post-1991: Kagal'nitskaia, Russian Federation

Kagal'nitskaia is a Cossack village (*stanitsa*) located 58 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Rostov on Don. In 1939, there were only seven Jews living in the village.[1]

German armed forces occupied the village in late July 1942. Throughout the entire six months of the occupation, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. It established a local administration and an auxiliary police force, made up of local residents.

In August 1942, all the Jews in the village—38 families, primarily Jewish refugees—were assembled in a large barn, which became a temporary ghetto. Those Jews who were fit for work were required to perform forced labor. The Jews remained in this barn ghetto for one month. In September 1942, the German forces liquidated the ghetto by shooting all of the Jews, about 200 people in total.

SOURCE Documentation Center for the Modern History of the Rostov Oblast', 1886-1-6, p. 114.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 5:13.

KALUGA

Pre-1941: Kaluga, city and raion center, Tula oblast', RSFSR; October–December 1941: VIII Army Corps, Army Group Center (Heeresgruppe Mitte); post-1991: oblast' center, Russian Federation

Kaluga is located 188 kilometers (117 miles) southwest of Moscow on the Oka River and on the railway line from Moscow to Kiev. In 1939, the Jewish population was 833.

Warned of the German advance, the majority of the Jewish population managed to flee, leaving slightly in excess of 150 Jews behind. Part of the XIII Corps, of German Army Group Center, occupied Kaluga on October 12–13, 1941, only two weeks into Operation Typhoon (the German offensive towards Moscow). According to a child survivor (Yuri German), many people in the city initially greeted the German army with flowers. Some of his relatives had successfully evacuated from the city, but he remained behind with his mother.[1]

Shortly after their arrival the German authorities forbade Jews from appearing in the market square or other public places and prohibited non-Jews from associating with them. Jews were denied access to the public baths, electricity, first aid, restaurants, and health services. The newly appointed local Russian mayor, Shcherbachev, also signed orders issued by the German commandant authorizing the seizure of Jewish property. Both before the establishment of the ghetto and thereafter, Jews were subjected to frequent raids by German and local police in search of property. Some Jews were murdered during these property raids. As Anna Veller recalls, a police officer entered her apartment just prior to the establishment of the ghetto and demanded all her valuables and money, threatening to kill her, as he had another Jewish woman. He took with him various objects, including silver spoons and 130 rubles in cash.[2]

On November 1, 1941, the mayor issued orders for all Jews to be registered and for them to wear a yellow star on the chest and shoulders of their outer garments, stigmatizing the Jews to the local population. On November 7, 1941, the German forces arrested 23 Jews and detained them for three weeks, starving them for several days. Of these, 8 of the younger people were shot, and the remainder were subsequently resettled in a "ghetto."[3]

Kaluga was the easternmost ghetto established in the area occupied during Operation Typhoon. On November 8, 1941, the city administration issued an order for the Jews to be confined together in one area on the outskirts of town. In addition, the Jews were ordered to establish a Jewish Council, which in turn would choose an elder, who would be the sole means of communication with the city administration. The same decree forbade the ritual slaughter of animals according to Jewish religious practice.[4]

In mid-November 1941, the German authorities ordered all 150 Jews to leave their houses and enter the ghetto within two hours. Many people moved into the ghetto, based in the former "Black Mountain" nunnery. They were only permitted

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to take with them what they could carry in their hands, forcing them to leave behind many precious belongings and foodstuffs, which were then snapped up by looters who soon followed in their wake.

The Germans issued orders for all Jews between the ages of 14 and 60 to perform hard physical labor, often accompanied by beatings. Forced labor began at the start of the German occupation, but once the ghetto was established, the main task for the next two weeks was constructing a fence around the ghetto. There were no construction materials, so the fence from around another building had to be dismantled. Three German Feldgendarmes and local Russian policemen oversaw the work.

On November 27, 1941, the German commandant threatened that if on the following day 100 workers did not appear for work, then every tenth person would be shot. At that time the Kaluga "Gestapo" had registered 154 Jews, of which only 17 were able-bodied men, 43 were men aged over 60 or disabled, 8 were mothers with babies or young children, 21 were women over 60 or disabled, and 47 were children aged under 14, the remaining 18 being women aged 14 to 60. Therefore, only 35 to 40 ghetto inmates were fit to work, but all the children and elderly also reported to avoid the collective punishment. Although a number of local craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and others) were represented within the ghetto, they were no longer permitted to perform these trades.[5] The assigned work included cleaning the streets and burying the corpses of German soldiers. The overseers often beat Jews as they performed forced labor. Even the children in the ghetto were forced to work, some being made to move bodies in the streets outside the ghetto.

Once it was enclosed, two Feldgendarmes and the local Russian police guarded the ghetto. Jews could only exit the ghetto during certain limited hours. If they were even a few minutes late, the guards would beat them. Although ration cards were issued for pickled cucumbers, pickled tomatoes, and salt, very little food was actually distributed to the Jews. Some children therefore sneaked out of the ghetto to scavenge for food. Inside the ghetto there were also deaths from starvation, among them a boy named Gurevich, who was only seven years old.[6]

In December 1941, the Red Army counterattacked, and the Germans began searching for valuables in the ghetto. According to Anna Veller, on December 18–19, 1941, ghetto inmates began to hear cannon fire and took refuge in the cellars. Then at 11:00 A.M. on December 22, German soldiers burst into the ghetto and began firing from automatic weapons. They doused part of the ghetto in gasoline and then set fire to it. Veller reported that apart from the 8 Jews shot in prison, 10 were shot in the ghetto settlement and 3 afterwards, while another 10 were lost (presumably in the burning ghetto)—the elderly Gershovich was burned alive in his bed. Other Jews were reportedly injured as they made their escape.[7]

Yuri German managed to escape under the cover of smoke and hide with a neighbor for a few days until the Red Army arrived. According to his account, prior to the German retreat, only Jewish invalids from the sanatorium had been systematically shot.[8] According to the OKW daily report for December 30, 1941, Kaluga was evacuated "according to plan."[9] It appears that the burning of the ghetto had been an attempt to destroy the Jewish population as the Germans retreated. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the ghetto inmates in Kaluga survived, indicating that the Red Army intervened before the German forces could organize the systematic liquidation of the ghetto.

SOURCES The main archival sources for the Kaluga ghetto are the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports, which are located in GARF (7021-47-1, 22, and 353) and some testimonies by surviving Jews (e.g., USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995; and VHF, # 28740, 29422, 39439, and others). There is also some relevant German documentation in BA-BL and BA-MA.

The article by Vadim Doubson on ghettos in the Russian Federation has several detailed references to the Kaluga ghetto; see his "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii rossiiskoi Federatsii," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184. Also see the article "Evreiskoe getto v Kaluge," in the regional historical publication *Vestniku Dobroi Voli* (Kaluga, 1998).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995.
2. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 21–23, testimony of Anna Abramovna Veller, June 9, 1943.
3. See GARF, 7021-47-1 (also USHMM, RG 22.002M, reel 11), pp. 56–60, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the town of Kaluga.
4. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18.
5. Ibid.
6. See GARF, 7021-47-1, pp. 56–60; 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18, 21–23.
7. GARF, 7021-47-1, pp. 56–60; and 7021-47-4.
8. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history with Y.I. German.
9. Percy E. Schramm, ed., *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht* (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 2002), 2:871.

KARACHEV

Pre-1941: Karachev, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Karatschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Karachev, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Karachev is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) southeast of Briansk. Jews probably first arrived in Karachev in the late nineteenth century. In 1897, there were 326 Jews residing in the town, and by 1926 the number had increased to 522.[1] According to the results of the 1939 census, the number of Jewish residents had decreased to 443 people (or 2.48 percent of the

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total population).[2] Karachev was occupied by units of the German 2nd Panzer Army, Army Group Center, on October 5, 1941, almost three and a half months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time, a large number of the local Jews had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men fit for military service were drafted into the Red Army. When German troops occupied Karachev, only about one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population was still in town, roughly 100 people.

During the entire period of the German occupation (from October 1941 until August 1943), a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) exercised authority in the town. The military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. The chief district administrator (Rayonleiter) in Karachev was an ethnic German physician, Dr. Schepel.

A short time after the start of the occupation, the local Russian administration organized the registration of the Jews. They were forced to wear a distinctive symbol on their clothes marking them as Jews. Men and women were forced to conduct physically exhausting labor. Probably at the end of October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Karachev. It was more like a temporary holding camp, as it was in the open air and there were no buildings within the confines of the camp.[3] On December 12, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. All the Jews were shot. The number of victims is estimated to have been about 100 people.[4] It is most probable that the liquidation of the ghetto was carried out by a subunit of Einsatzkommando 8, which was based in Briansk at this time.[5]

SOURCES The files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission into the crimes of the German occupying forces and their collaborators, including the statements of witnesses, can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-3).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. 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), p. 595.
2. 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. 31.
3. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) 2000: 157–184, here pp. 158–159.
4. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 98.
5. See USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 146, December 15, 1941.

KHISLAVICHI

Pre-1941: Khislavichi, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Chislawitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khislavichi, Russian Federation

Khislavichi is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south of Smolensk on the Sozh River. In 1939, 1,427 Jews were living in Khislavichi.

Units of German Army Group Center entered Khislavichi on July 16, 1941. As early as the first few days of the German occupation, the Jewish population was subjected to robbery, assault, and other forms of human degradation.[1]

At the end of August and in early September 1941, the headquarters unit of Vorkommando Moskau (a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B) ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews of Khislavichi. On the orders of the Vorkommando, the German military administration resettled the Jews in a ghetto and required them to perform forced labor. A few weeks later, members of the Vorkommando were responsible for shooting the members of the Judenrat and 20 other Jews.[2]

The Germans established the ghetto on the outskirts of town in older houses next to the Jewish cemetery and the synagogue. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto. Nobody could enter or leave the ghetto without permission. The ghetto inmates had to wear distinguishing markings: a yellow ring with a dark sign in the middle. Around 800 people were moved into the ghetto, where they lived in only 40 or 50 houses, with roughly 25 to 30 people in each.[3] Among the prisoners of the ghetto were many children of various ages.

All property remained in the Jews' vacated homes when they were forcibly resettled into the ghetto. The property passed into the hands of the German military administration and local Russian policemen, who then occupied the best of the confiscated Jewish homes.

Sometime in the second half of September or early October 1941, the Germans rounded up Jewish men, telling them they were needed for work. Then they transported the men to a Machine Tractor Station (MTS) and shot them in a large ditch. According to Soviet sources, around 125 to 150 people were shot.[4]

The report of Einsatzgruppe B dated October 9, 1941, describes this event as follows: "In Khislavichi, according to reports from the Russian population, the Jews living in the ghetto have during the last few days tried to incite a mood of panic by spreading false rumors about an alleged offensive by the Bolsheviks. They also threatened to exact revenge once the Bolsheviks returned. Consequently, the Vorkommando sent out a detachment [Kommando], which liquidated 114 Jews."[5]

The German occupying authorities tried to cover up the shooting of the Jewish men by claiming that they had been sent to work in Belorusssia. Jewish craftsmen were not shot at this time, as the Germans spared leather tanners, boot makers, and tailors from the ghetto. For making a suit, a tailor

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would receive half a packet of Russian tobacco. An irreplaceable Jewish mechanic named Dvorkin was ordered by the Germans to work at a mill. They gave his family an apartment and supplied them with basic foodstuffs. In the course of the final German evacuation of the town, however, the family was murdered.

The remaining ghetto inmates had to perform grueling physical labor. In January and February 1942, nearly all able-bodied Jews had to participate in laying concrete for various permanent defensive fortification sites for the German army.

German soldiers and Russian policemen often entered the ghetto to rob the Jews. They stole valuable items, clothing, and other property. In early January 1941, some German pilots who had just arrived in Khislavichi threatened the Jews and took all their warm clothing at gunpoint, including their winter coats with the yellow badges.

The ghetto inmates were constantly subjected to assault and other forms of humiliation. The Germans and Russian policemen raped Jewish girls and young women. For example, two 15-year-old twin sisters named Dimentman were raped in front of their parents. In January 1942, a group of young Jewish boys and girls were taken away from the ghetto and never seen again.[6]

In the view of the Einsatzgruppe, in the second half of September 1941 the Jews of Khislavichi could be characterized by their "passive resistance."[7] Young Jews looked for any opportunity to escape the ghetto. Sometimes they escaped when they were assigned to labor tasks outside the ghetto. In the words of one former ghetto inmate, "[T]hose who had all their closest relatives in the ghetto tried not only to escape, but also to organize armed resistance." When the ghetto was first set up, one young Jewish man tried to mobilize his compatriots by crying out, "Don't be afraid! Resist their power!" He was killed for speaking out. Another young girl who escaped from the ghetto came back a few times by sneaking past the guards. Among the ghetto inmates she spread Soviet leaflets dropped by planes.

Part of the population came to disbelieve the claims of German propaganda that "all misfortunes come from the Jews; and that this parasitic group is living off the people." One witness observed that when the Germans talked with the local population, they "were not able to refute the fact that the Jews were the same kind of hardworking people as the rest of the population, for this was indisputable."[8]

Evgenii Rzhetskii, a former teacher of German and director of the school branch of the raion administration in Khislavichi, became a translator for the Germans. He was able to save a number of Jews. One of the ghetto inmates, a schoolteacher, produced a certificate attesting to her falsified Russian nationality. Rzhetskii was apparently able to help some of the Jews by finding them work. Local residents of Khislavichi helped save the life of the tailor Iakov Bass, whose family perished in the ghetto.

At dawn on March 20, 1942, the Russian police broke into the Khislavichi ghetto. According to witness testimonies, a detachment of local Russian police, under the command of the German Security Police and SD, carried out the Aktion.[9] Some of the policemen surrounded the ghetto while the others drove the Jews from their homes, not even allowing them to put on their clothes. Those who were too old or sick to move were shot in the ghetto. Local policemen on foot and on horseback escorted the Jews to the killing site. Some younger Jews and children tried to escape, but they were killed. On the way there, and during the shooting itself, the policemen seized the Jews' remaining clothing and shoes.

The killing was carried out in a gully only about 150 meters (492 feet) northwest of the town. The Jews were shot with rifles and automatic pistols. Young children were forced to kneel with their heads to the ground. The policemen threw some of the children into the ditch alive. A 12-year-old girl who escaped was apprehended by the Rayon head, Shevandin. A 12-year-old boy with frozen hands and feet made it as far as the edge of town, but he too was caught and shot by the police. For about two weeks the grave site remained only partially covered, and dogs dragged away some of the bodies.

In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), two different figures are given for the number of victims of the mass shooting on March 20, 1942. Some documents report 800 victims, and others only 600.[10] About 200 Jews had perished before the shootings, so the latter figure is probably more accurate. The commander of the partisan detachment operating in the Khislavichi raion reported to the western headquarters of the partisan movement that 550 Jews had been killed in Khislavichi in one day.[11]

The police searched for those Jews who had escaped and caught many in the nearby villages. With each Jew who was found and shot, the police seized any valuables and other possessions, including tobacco. Sometimes the Jews were handed over by local inhabitants. Of all the inmates of the ghetto, only a few managed to save themselves. A 6-year-old boy sneaked away at night after emerging from the mass grave, and he succeeded in escaping from Khislavichi. A Russian father was able to hide a 12-year-old girl, although her Jewish mother and infant brother were both shot.

Jewish property—featherbeds, pillows, clothing, and ornaments—was divided as spoils among the Germans and Russian police. Some of it was resold in a local store in Khislavichi.

The ChGK investigation concluded that the mass killing of the "Soviet citizens" of Khislavichi was organized and carried out by the German commandant Dolerman, his deputy Mais, and their collaborators, including the Rayon head Shevandin and the chief of police, Bobkov.[12]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Khislavichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Khislavichi include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 156–65, 473–475; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–1942)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Tekst, 1993), pp. 390–402; and F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 66–68.

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Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Khislavichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-634); GASmO (R-1630-1-360 and 369; R-1630-2-28; and R-2434-3-38); TsDNISO (8-8-115, p. 76); TsGAMORF (49-9733-120, p. 39); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0196); VHF; and YVA (O-3/3709 and M-62/58).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117.
2. Activity and situation report no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen, September 15–30, 1941, YVA, TR-2, 11/560/E, p. 107 (NO-2655).
3. GASmO, R-1630-1-369, p. 200, and R-1630-2-28, p. 117; "Spasenie evreiskoi sem'i iz mestechka Khislavichi Smolenskoi oblasti," in Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 396; "Zhizn' i gibel' Khislavichskikh evreev," in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 158.
4. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117, and R-2434-3-38, p. 69.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0196, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.
6. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117.
7. YVA, TR-2, 11/560/E, p. 107 (NO-2655), Activity and situation report no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen, September 15–30, 1941.
8. GASmO, R-1630-1-369, p. 204.
9. Ibid.; "Zhizn' i gibel' Khislavichskikh evreev," p. 158.
10. GASmO, R-1630-1-360, p. 38 (797 persons); R-1630-1-369, p. 204 (600 persons); R-1630-2-28, p. 117 (800 persons); and R-2434-3-38, p. 73 (600 persons).
11. TsDNISO, 8-8-115, p. 76. An erroneous date of February 1942 is given in the report.
12. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, pp. 117 and reverse side.

KLETNIA

Pre-1941: Kletnia, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Kletnja, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kletnia, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Kletnia is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) west-northwest of Briansk. According to the 1939 census, there were 286 Jews residing in Kletnia (4.43 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on August 10, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time, most of the Jews of Kletnia had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men liable for military service had been drafted into the Red Army. When the German occupiers reached the town, probably less than half of the pre-war Jewish population was still there.

During the entire period of the German occupation (from August 10, 1941, until September 1943), a military headquarters (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. It also established a local Russian administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from the local population. In the fall of 1941, between 10 and 12 members of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) Unit 729 operated in the area. They were mainly engaged in combating Soviet partisan activity, but their special tasks also included punitive Aktions against suspected partisans or those believed to be supporting them. There was also a German "Landesschützen" unit based in the town, which guarded the local sawmill factory that was supplying wood to the German forces at the front.[1]

A short time after the arrival of German troops, the military administration instituted several measures against the Jewish population, such as personal registration, marking them as Jews with special signs on their clothes, and using them for forced labor under very harsh physical conditions. It appears that by the end of 1941, the Germans had established a small ghetto in Kletnia. It consisted of a few buildings that were set apart in the town. The ghetto guards were Russian policemen. During the existence of the ghetto a number of the inmates died of hunger or disease.

In late March 1942, Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Albert Rapp based in Klintsy, organized the liquidation of the ghetto. He traveled to Kletnia accompanied by more than 20 men of the Sonderkommando (both Waffen-SS and Security Police/SD) and was joined in Mglin by about 20 or 30 local Russian policemen.

In Kletnia, men of the Waffen-SS surrounded the ghetto, and local Russian policemen drove the Jews out of their houses. Under close escort, at least 100 men, women, and children were then gathered in a barn on the edge of town. Those unable to walk were carried on stretchers. A few days later, under the personal supervision of Rapp, all the Jews were made to undress and then were shot by members of the Sonderkommando into a ditch in the woods about 100 meters (328 feet) from the barn. Due to the fear of partisans in the region, some of the force was used to guard the killing site externally as well as to prevent any escape.[2] In total, about 120 people were murdered.[3]

Rapp was tried after the war by the Landesgericht in Essen and sentenced on March 29, 1965, to life imprisonment.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community in Kletnia during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: 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), p. 635; A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52.

Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission can be found in the following archives: GABrO; GARF (7021-19-3); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52.

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2. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52. This account of events in Kletnia is based mainly on the evidence of German witness Ri., who was a member of Sonderkommando 7a.

3. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 98. Witnesses before the court in Essen give estimates ranging from 30 to 250 victims; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 51–52.

KLIMOVO

1938–1941: Klimovo, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Klimowo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klimovo, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Klimovo is located 170 kilometers (106 miles) southwest of Briansk. The 1939 census recorded that the Jewish population was 224, or 4 percent of the total.

German units of Army Group Center occupied Klimovo on August 25, 1941, two months after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that time, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Around 50 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the occupation period (from August 1941 to September 1943), the town was governed by a German military commandant's office. The German military administration created a local town council and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the town council organized the registration and marking of the Jews and arranged for their use in various forms of forced labor. On August 29, 1941,[1] the Germans conducted the first Aktion in the town, during which a detachment of Sonderkommando 7b shot 27 "Jewish Bolshevist agents and terrorists."[2] A ghetto probably was created in the town in October 1941, and Jews from the neighboring villages—Churovichi, Novii Ropsk, and others—also were forced to move into it.[3] The ghetto was liquidated in early March 1942, when German-led security forces shot all the Jews, 280 people in total.[4]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Klimovo can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-5).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-19-5, p. 147.
2. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 171–173.
4. Ibid., p. 148.

KLINTSY

Pre-1941: Klintsy, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Klinzy, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klintsy, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Klintsy is located approximately 150 kilometers (93 miles) southwest of Briansk on the railroad from Moscow to Kiev. In 1939, the Jewish population was 6,505 (16.07 percent of the population).

German units of the 10th Motorized Division, belonging to Panzer Group Guderian's XXIV Panzer Corps (Army Group Center), occupied Klintsy on August 20, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the USSR. It was one of the few towns that fell to the Germans intact, and it became an important administrative base. Prior to the Germans' arrival, some Jews had managed to evacuate to the east, while men of military age were drafted into the Red Army. Approximately half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town under German occupation.

Throughout the occupation, the town was ruled by a German military administration. In October 1941, a military field commandant was established in the town (Feldkommandantur 528), which also supervised the activities of the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). At the beginning of March 1942, a new local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/888) arrived in Klintsy from France, assuming control of the town and also the surrounding area. In the fall of 1941, Unit 729 of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) arrived in Klintsy; it was mainly engaged in fighting against Soviet partisans. In the last days of September or the beginning of October 1941, a subunit of the Security Police's Einsatzgruppe B, Sonderkommando 7b (commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Rausch), arrived in Klintsy, where it was stationed until the end of February, being replaced up to the end of April 1942 by Sonderkommando 7a (commanded by SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp). Sonderkommando 7b established a local town administration in Klintsy, headed by the ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) Gretskii, and also a Russian local police unit (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local citizens, which played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.[1]

Immediately after the occupation of the town, the military administration ordered the registration of all local Jews and their recruitment for hard labor. An order published in the German-controlled Klintsy newspaper (issue no. 1, September 26, 1941) announced that by the end of September all Jews, male and female, aged over 10 years were obligated to wear a yellow Star of David 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter.[2]

At the end of September 1941, Sonderkommando 7b organized the first anti-Jewish Aktion in Klintsy. According to an Einsatzgruppen report, during this Aktion "83 Jewish terrorists and 3 Communist Party leaders were killed (liquidated)," and during subsequent Aktions "3 Communist officials, 1

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politician, and 82 Jewish terrorists" were murdered, making a total of at least 165 Jews and 7 Communist victims.[3]

At the beginning of October 1941, Sonderkommando 7b ordered that the Jews in town were to be relocated into a ghetto on the edge of town, which was guarded by the Russian local police.[4] In the ghetto, the Germans established workshops for shoemakers. Jewish doctors, barbers, and typists were conscripted to serve the German and local authorities.[5] One Jewish female baby was rescued from the ghetto and eventually adopted by her family's non-Jewish housekeeper.[6]

The ghetto in Klintsy existed for more than two months. On December 6–7, 1941, Einsatzkommando 8, which was located in Gomel' (commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Schulz), assisted by men of the Russian Ordnungsdienst, murdered the inhabitants of the ghetto.[7] In the course of these two days they shot about 2,500 people. Afterwards a number of Jewish specialist workers remained in the town with their families. These Jews were arrested successively and held in prison before being murdered in March 1942. The order for this mass shooting of at least 100 Jews was given by Rapp of Sonderkommando 7a. In addition to the Jews, the Security Police shot 30 Gypsies (Roma), who had also been collected in the prison.[8]

SOURCES There is an article in Russian by the author (Alexander Kruglov) on the destruction of the Jews in the Smolensk and Briansk oblasts, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," published in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220. Some additional information can be found in Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002). A published German contemporary account of Klintsy during the occupation was written by Walter Engelhardt: *Klinzy: Bildnis einer Stadt nach der Befreiung vom Bolschewismus* (Berlin, 1943). Some details of the German occupation can also be found in the local history volume compiled by A.S. Balaev et al., *Klintsam 250 let* (Briansk, 1959).

Documentation and witness testimonies on the extermination of the Jews of Klintsy can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II AR-Z 399/63); GABrO; GARF (7021-19-5); and VHF (# 26511). See also the German trials of Albert Rapp and Kurt Matschke conducted by the regional court (Landgericht) in Essen in 1965 and 1966.

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588.
2. Balaev et al., *Klintsam 250 let*, p. 38.
3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 106, October 9, 1941.
4. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20; the ghetto is mentioned also in VHF, # 26511, testimony of Dina Kozina.
5. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 172.
6. VHF, # 26511, testimony of Dina Kozina.
7. GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 9, 10, 21.
8. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20. See also LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65, verdict of February 10, 1966, in the case against Kurt Matschke and others, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 23 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 620.

KRASNYI

Pre-1941: Krasnyi, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Krasnij, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krasnyi, Russian Federation

Krasnyi is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Smolensk. In 1939, there were about 100 Jews living in Krasnyi.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied Krasnyi on July 13, 1941. The office of a German military commandant (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The commandant appointed a Russian mayor and a local Russian police force (Ordnungsdienst), which was designated by armbands and armed with rifles.

On July 26, 1941, the commandant called the residents of the town to a meeting and announced that anyone who wanted to could move into a house belonging to a Jew and that all Jews had to obey the orders issued by the German Army. Soon after this German forces entered Jewish apartments, beating the inhabitants and taking their boots.

On August 8, 1941, soldiers of a German Death's Head Unit (Totenkopfverband) arrested Boris Semenovich Glushkin and humiliated him. The next day they announced that he would be publicly executed. First they stripped him naked, then dragged him behind a horse until he was half-dead, before killing him. The Germans also raped his wife.[1]

On August 27, 1941, a German special unit arrived in the town and collected the Jews together. They issued instructions for the Jews to surrender their possessions and move into the ghetto. The Germans fenced off a piece of ground with barbed wire and put up a sign that read: "Ghetto. No entrance." All Jews, including children, had to wear six-pointed stars on their clothing cut from bright yellow material. Anyone was permitted to insult or beat a Jew with impunity.

According to the account of Sophia Glushkin, subsequent "checks" were carried out regularly in the ghetto at night. "People were herded into the cemetery, girls were raped, and people were beaten unconscious."[2]

Some younger Jews escaped from the ghetto to the forest and joined the Soviet partisans. However, it was not possible for the older people or women with children to escape in this way. On April 8, 1942, Glushkin learned that a German punitive unit had arrived in the town, and with some others she decided to flee.

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The German forces and their local police collaborators surrounded the town and hunted down the Jews. They gathered the Jews in a yard and made them remove their clothes before shooting them so that they would fall into a pit. After the mass shooting, the Germans returned to the ghetto to look for any items of value and also discovered and murdered a baby who had been left behind in a crib.[3]

In liquidating the ghetto on April 8, 1942, the German forces (probably a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B) shot about 30 Jews. In total at least 63 Jews lost their lives in the Krasnyi ghetto.[4]

Sophia Glushkin with her eight-year-old son managed to make it to the nearby prisoner-of-war camp, where she had some contacts. From there she escaped to the partisans, where she served for two years as a courier and endured many hardships until the Red Army liberated the area.[5]

SOURCES The account of Sophia Glushkin can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 254–256.

Additional relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-626); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, pp. 254–256, testimony of Sophia Glushkin on November 9, 1943, regarding Krasnyi.
2. Ibid., p. 255.
3. Ibid., p. 256.
4. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:195; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 685; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 256.

LIUBAVICHI

Pre-1941: Liubavichi (Yiddish: Liubavich), village, Rudnia raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Ljubawitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liubavichi, Russian Federation

Liubavichi is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) west of Smolensk. By 1926, the number of Jews there stood at 967, or 50 percent of the population.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Liubavichi on July 21–22, 1941. Approximately one month later, the German military commandant issued an order requiring Jews, under penalty of death, to wear badges in the form of circular patches of yellow fabric on their chests and backs and, subsequently, an armband. They were forbidden to have any contacts with German soldiers and the local population. Soon after this, a number of Jewish men were sent to Rudnia to work, but they never returned.[1]

The Jewish population was subjected to various humiliations. People were lined up in formation and made to run. The Nazis knew that Liubavichi was a Jewish religious center and called it a "holy city of Jehovah, rabbis, and ritual murders." Therefore, the treatment of observant elderly men was particularly cruel. Public floggings were held daily. The men's beards were pulled out with pliers, and they were forced to dance on the parchment of the Torah scrolls. Then they were shot.[2]

On September 27, 1941, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Einsatzkommando 8 arrived in Liubavichi from Rudnia (one witness stated that the detachment was based in Mogilev), accompanied by members of the Rudnia local police force. Assisted by the local police of Liubavichi, they started moving the Jewish population into a ghetto. The Jews were allowed to take with them only what they could carry. The property left behind was confiscated, in part by local policemen and some items were sent to Rudnia. The oppressors assembled all the Jews in the central square of the village, where they took away their warm clothing, kitchen utensils, and other items. Under the pretext of assigning them to work, they selected and escorted away 17 Jewish men, who apparently were shot.[3]

Allocated to the ghetto were 19 small houses on one of the village streets in which 500 to 600 people were forced to reside: alongside the residents of Liubavichi were also refugees from Orsha, Vitebsk, Smolensk, and Rudnia. The majority of the Jews in the ghetto were craftsmen before the occupation, working in the village's *artels*. Going outside the ghetto's boundaries was forbidden. On the road leading into the ghetto, a police post was set up, and unauthorized persons were denied access to the ghetto.

Inside the ghetto, the Jews lived in extremely congested conditions, with 20 to 30 individuals crowded into a single room. The prisoners in the ghetto were not supplied with food. They built and repaired roads and bridges and did other types of heavy labor. Because of poor sanitation and physical exhaustion, various diseases spread among the Jews. Apparently, several dozen people died in the ghetto before its liquidation. The mortality rate among children was especially high. As one of the witnesses, a Liubavichi resident, noted, the Jewish population was placed in circumstances that doomed it to extinction.[4]

In early November 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 and the Rudnia local police arrived in Liubavichi again. Several times they tried to gather the Jews together within the confines of the ghetto, in a pasture where livestock were usually put to graze, but the Jews kept running off in different directions. As one woman, a Liubavichi resident, recalls,

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the Jews were treated worse than cattle. Those who tried to escape were shot on the spot.[5]

On the night of November 4, 1941, Russian policemen from Rudnia and Liubavichi, under the leadership of Security Police and SD officials, encircled the ghetto. The next morning, under the pretext of sending the Jews to perform agricultural work, they led them out of the ghetto into the center of the village. The aged and the ill, along with the bodies of those shot at the previous assembly site, were taken in carts. In the main square of the village, the ghetto inmates were divided into two groups of about 250 people each. One group was herded into the basement of the Church of the Dormition (Tserkov' Usperiia Bogoroditsy), the other into a large barn. Around noon, beating the first group of Jews with whips, the German and Russian policemen drove them towards the southern edge of the village and herded them into a slaughterhouse building. From there they led the Jews in groups of 20 to 30 to a small ditch. They made the victims lie facedown on the ground, then shot them with submachine guns. The shooting was carried out by officials of the Security Police and SD. The Germans made parents lie down on the corpses with their small children. After the shooting of the first group of Jews, the second group was murdered in the same way. The shooting lasted about one and a half to two hours. Then the Russian policemen made a group of male village residents cover the grave. The Russian policemen also finished off those Jews who were trying to find their way out from under the mountain of corpses, and they buried some who were still alive. The corpses were lightly covered with earth.[6]

In 1943, after the Red Army liberated Liubavichi, the grave was opened, and 483 corpses were found there. In the file of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the opening of the grave of the murdered Jews, it was stated that "the corpses of the children in most cases were found in the embrace of adult corpses." It was also noted that "the presence of corpses with no signs of damage leads one to assume that these victims of the German fascist invaders were buried alive, which should apply in particular to individuals who were young children."[7]

A few small children succeeded in escaping from the execution site. They all returned to Liubavichi, to their own homes, where members of the local police seized them. They gathered the children together in a single house, then shot them. Their bodies were tossed into the grave of the murdered Jews.[8]

The report of Einsatzgruppe B for December 19, 1941, contains information about the shooting in Liubavichi of 492 Jews of both genders. It was reported that they had been shot "for hostile attitudes towards the Germans and for sympathizing with the partisans."[9] According to ChGK data, more than 500 Jews were shot in Liubavichi.[10]

Along with the Security Police and SD, the German army and, in particular, the local Ortskommandantur (OK (II) 930) also bear responsibility for the extermination of the Jewish population of Liubavichi. The German military authorities represented the murders of the Jews as a measure taken in response to partisan attacks. A man named Korotchenkov headed the detachment of the Rudnia local police that participated in setting up the ghetto in Liubavichi in September 1941. Subsequently the Germans shot him for concealing property stolen from the Jews.[11] Divakov, the deputy chairman of the Rudnia raion authority, headed the detachment of Russian police that came from Rudnia and participated in the extermination of the inmates of the Liubavichi ghetto on November 4.[12] The local police, under the command of a man named Astrakhanskii, took part in all the cleansing Aktions against the Jews in Liubavichi. He and two other former policemen from Liubavichi were tried by the Soviet authorities in Rudnia. The court sentenced them to be hanged for participation in the shooting of the families of Communists and partisans and in the murder of the Jewish population.[13]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Liubavichi during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Iosif Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk: Rus', 2001); Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Tekst, 1993); Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Liubavichi and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-630; and 8114-1-961); GASmO (R-2434-3-37); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209, 213 reverse, 214.
2. Ibid., p. 213 reverse; and "V mestechke Liubavich," in Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, pp. 270–271.
3. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209 reverse, 213 reverse. On these events, see also BA-MA, RH 23/223, Ortskommandantur II/930, Ljubawitschi, September 28, 1941.
4. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 207, 209 reverse, 213 reverse, 214, 322; and testimony of Tat'iana Buravskaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 96.
5. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 293 reverse; and testimony of Marfa Davydenkova, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 97.
6. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209 reverse, 210, 213 reverse, 214 reverse, 215 reverse, 322; Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 96.
7. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 219–221.
8. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 97.
9. Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 264.
10. GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
11. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 213 reverse; and Arad et al., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 263; also testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 75.
12. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 214.
13. Ibid., p. 213 reverse; and testimony of Maria Trofimenko, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, pp. 92–93, 95.

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LOKNIA

Pre-1941: Loknia, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Loknija, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Loknia, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Loknia is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) north-northwest of Velike Luki on the railway line running from Vitebsk to Leningrad. According to the 1939 census, there were 193 Jews living in Loknia, accounting for 8.8 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 20, 1941, four weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a large portion of the Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. At the start of the occupation, 52 Jews remained in the village.[1]

Throughout the entire occupation period—from July 1941 to February 1944—a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration created a raion authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office ordered the raion authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their deployment for various types of forced labor. In September 1941, all the Jews remaining in Loknia were forced to move into a ghetto, for which the house at 11 Sotsialisticheskaia Street was allocated; a Jewish family, the Filonovskiis, had lived in the house previously.[2] The ghetto was in existence for more than four months. It was liquidated on February 1, 1942, by shooting all the Jews, 38 in total.[3] The shooting took place outside the village, near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS); the Jews were taken there in a truck and a bus. At first they were crowded into the MTS building, but then they were led out 2 at a time to a pit near the building, made to kneel beside the pit, and killed with a shot to the back of the head.[4] The shooting was carried out by an SD detachment (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Hubig) that was part of Einsatzgruppe A, with the participation of Russian policemen. (Actually, 37 Jews were shot. A bullet struck Aleksandr Filonovskii's hat; he fell into the pit, and after the shooting was finished, he climbed out and hid in various villages until the liberation of Loknia in February 1944.)

In the spring of 1942, two more Jewish families were shot: one in the Loknia sel'sovet and one in the Olokhov sel'sovet; in late 1942, the four members of the Sandalovskii family were shot.[5]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Loknia can be found in the following archives: GAPO and GARF.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Recollections of Aleksandr Filonovskii, in S. Nemeslov, *Kholokost na Pskovshchine: My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste*. Issue # 2: Collection. Comp. A.E. Gerber and D.V. Prokudin, ed. I.A. Al'tman (Moscow: Fond "Kholokost," 2005).
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 165, February 6, 1942; and Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 181, March 16, 1942.
4. Recollections of Aleksandr Filonovskii.
5. Nemeslov, *Kholokost na Pskovshchine*.

MGLIN

Pre-1941: Mglin, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Mglin is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) west-southwest of Briansk. In 1939, 726 Jews (10 percent of the local population) were living in Mglin.

German forces occupied Mglin on August 18, 1941. By this time, a number of local Jews had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men liable for military service were drafted into the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, just over two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population was still in the town. From October 1941, Mglin was subordinated to the military field headquarters (Feldkommandantur) FK (V) 528 based in Klintsy. In Mglin the German military authorities established a local administration and a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the town administration organized the registration and marking of the Jews with distinctive symbols. Furthermore, the Jews were forced to perform physically demanding labor of all kinds. On January 21, 1942, all the Jews of Mglin were resettled into a ghetto. The building of the local prison was chosen to serve as the ghetto. The Russian guards who supervised the Jewish prisoners took away their coats and boots. There were no windows in the cells of the prison. The heating system did not function, which meant that during the very cold winter many inmates developed frostbite.[1] About 60 people died of starvation and disease inside the ghetto.[2]

On March 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On this day a subunit of Sonderkommando 7a, which had arrived from Klintsy under the leadership of SS-Obersturmführer Franz Tormann, shot about 500 Jews with the assistance of the Russian auxiliary police. The majority of the victims were women and children. The Russian police took the outer clothes and any valuables from the half-starved victims and escorted them to the grave site at the edge of a forest about 500 meters (1,640 feet) from the prison ghetto. Some 10 to 20 SS men conducted the shooting. In the course of the Aktion, one member of the SS unit, SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Glockmann,

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was killed accidentally when a bullet ricocheted off the frozen ground and struck him directly in the heart.[3] During the Aktion, some Jews succeeded in hiding, but on the following day, 7 of these individuals were captured and shot.[4]

In June 1942, Feldkommandantur 528 sent to the Reich War Booty Office (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle) in Berlin some gold coins that had been confiscated from the deputy head of the local Russian police in Mglin. He was shot, apparently for the illegal possession of property.[5]

Tormann was sentenced on February 10, 1966, to three years' imprisonment.[6]

SOURCES Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Mglin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/28); GA-BrO; GARF (7021-19-2 and 94); TsGAMORF (239/2187/94); and USHMM. Additional material can be found in the West German trials conducted against Albert Rapp (LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64) and Kurt Matschke et al. (LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159, 164–165; GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 225.
2. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 239.
3. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict in the case of Albert Rapp, March 29, 1965, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 30–36. The German court concludes that at least 200 Jews were shot in Mglin. See also the Russian-language article by Alexander Kruglov on the destruction of the Jews in the Smolensk and Briansk oblasts, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," published in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; and GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 239.
4. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 241.
5. BA-BL, R 2104/28, report of Feldkommandantur 528, June 7, 1942.
6. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65.

MIKULINO

1938–1941: Mikulino, village, Rudnia raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Mikulino is located on the shores of a small lake close to the border with Belarus, 69 kilometers (43 miles) west-northwest of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census in the former raion of Rudnia (not counting Rudnia), there were 556 Jews.

Mechanized units of Army Group Center occupied the village in July 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. In these four weeks, a portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men volunteered for or were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the village administration to organize the registration of the Jews. The Jews were also required to wear distinctive yellow patches and had to perform heavy labor of various kinds, including work on the nearby kolkhoz. German soldiers made their quarters in the local school.[1]

In August 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in the village. The transfer into the ghetto took place late in the evening, when local Russian police summoned all the Jews to leave their houses and forcibly moved them to Barkovskaia Street.[2] The local authorities designated five houses that had been vacated by their Russian residents as the ghetto. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence but was guarded by the Russian police, and the Jews were not allowed to leave that street. Including refugees from Smolensk and Rudnia, around 250 Jews resided in the ghetto, with about 50 people sharing each house; many people had to sleep on boards or on the floor.[3] There was a terrible shortage of food, and some of the young people occasionally left the ghetto to beg for food from the peasants. As there was little opportunity to wash, disease soon spread, and many children and elderly ghetto inhabitants died. Survivors do not recall any Jewish leadership within the ghetto. Harassment was common, including beatings, thefts, and some rape attempts by the Russian police. In the winter of 1941–1942, most of the Jews did not try to escape, as they had received news of the Soviet counteroffensive and expected to be liberated by the Red Army soon.[4]

On February 22, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. They took the remaining 200 or so Jews to Rudnia and shot them there two days later.[5] German Security Police from Einsatzkommando 9 and local Russian police carried out the mass shooting. The synagogues and Jewish books in Mikulino were destroyed during the German occupation.[6]

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Mikulino can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-22-430); GASmO; VHF (# 23069); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; Il'ya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 99, 258; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184, here pp. 159, 164; I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 81, 435; 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), p. 823.
4. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.

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5. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 319 and reverse side.
6. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.

MONASTYRSHCHINA

Pre-1941: Monastyrshchina, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Monastyrschtschina, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Monastyrshchina, Russian Federation

Monastyrshchina is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) south-southwest of Smolensk, on the Vikhra River. There were 856 Jews living there in 1939.

On July 18, 1941, units of German Army Group Center entered Monastyrshchina. In July and August, the occupying authorities hanged a number of Soviet activists and Jews in the town square. Among those executed were the head of the Jewish kolkhoz and a Jewish doctor, who was accused of trying to poison the Germans.

German soldiers and members of the local Russian auxiliary police (Ordnungsdienst) also robbed the Jewish population. They took any valuable items, cattle, and other property.

Sometime in September 1941, a detachment of the "Vorkommando Moskau" section of Einsatzgruppe B arrived in Monastyrshchina and ordered the marking and registration of the Jewish population. This visit was reportedly in response to the "daring and defiant" behavior of the Jews. The Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing. All Jews were resettled into a ghetto and were allowed to bring in only their most essential items.[1]

The Germans established the ghetto on one of the streets on the outskirts of town. Approximately 30 houses near the Zhelezniak River were designated for this purpose. Around 800 Jews were moved into the ghetto. In addition, the OD was ordered by the occupying authorities to round up all Jews in the villages of the Rayon Monastyrschtschina and move them into the ghetto. The ghetto was surrounded by a fence, and the inmates were guarded by Russian policemen.[2]

The majority of the prisoners in the ghetto had large families with many children. The average age of the men was 45 years old. Those brought into the ghetto included traders, kolkhoz workers, and many who were in service professions. The women were mostly homemakers.[3]

All able-bodied persons were sent out of the ghetto to perform various kinds of forced labor. The prisoners of the ghetto did not receive sufficient rations and suffered from hunger. During the harsh winter of 1941–1942, furniture was burned for heating purposes, along with anything else the inmates could find. People in the ghetto suffered from infectious diseases, including typhus. Ivan Blinov, the head of the OD in Rayon Monastyrschtschina, became known for "treating the Jews with cruelty and callous disregard for their lives."[4]

Before the ghetto was liquidated, a site for mass shootings had already been selected to deal with those Jews caught outside the ghetto or trying to escape its confines. In December 1941, V. Grachev, the head of the second department of the OD, shot a Jewish woman and her two children, who were 3 and 6 years old. At the start of January 1942, six women and a 12-year-old girl were shot. In the same month, another six Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery. The killings were carried out by three Germans and a number of Russian policemen.

In February 1942, 10 SS officers from Einsatzkommando 8 (members of the Security Police and SD) arrived in Monastyrshchina.[5] Also taking part in the mass shootings were Russian policemen (OD) under the command of the mayor of Monastyrshchina, Trofim Savel'ev, and a detachment of "Ukrainian Cossacks," composed of Ukrainians and former Soviet prisoners of war.

The prisoners were driven out of the ghetto with blows from rifle butts and lashes and were placed in four houses guarded by the Ukrainians. Next, 100 of them were transported to a cheese-processing factory and herded into the basement. From there, the Jews were taken out in smaller groups to the large ravine called "Chertov Iar," located on the outskirts of Monastyrshchina.[6]

Near the ravine, all were ordered to strip naked, despite the brutal cold. Anyone who refused was beaten cruelly. The Jews were then ordered to lie down at the bottom of the ditch, where they were shot with automatic rifles. The Aktion continued in this manner, as subsequent groups of Jews had to lie down on top of the corpses before they were shot in turn. Bodies of new rows of victims piled up on top of some who were only wounded.[7] The perpetrators also buried young children who were still alive. When a policeman named Dudin was apprehended subsequently by the Soviet authorities and asked if he threw young children into the ditch alive, he responded, "I did not throw them, I was putting them down."[8]

As the ghetto prisoners were taken to the killing site, a three-year-old boy attempted to escape and hid among the residents of Monastyrshchina who were some distance away. However, Russian policemen captured the boy and killed him by smashing his head on the ground. Moreover, the OD found and shot a number of Jews who were hiding in Monastyrshchina. A month after the liquidation of the ghetto, on the orders of the German military commandant, Captain Rechke, and the mayor of the town, Trofim Savel'ev, 49 Jews who were incarcerated and had remained alive after the first Aktion were also shot.[9]

In February and March 1942, more than 800 Jews in total were shot in Monastyrshchina.[10] During the same period, Jews from the ghetto in Tatarsk were also shot. According to the findings of the Smolensk provincial committee for the investigation of the crimes committed by the Nazis in the years 1941–1942, 1,700 Jews were executed in the Monastyrshchina raion of the Smolensk oblast'.[11]

As a rule, the Nazis also murdered the children of mixed (Jewish/non-Jewish) marriages. In Monastyrshchina, two Russian residents had to bring their wives and children to the

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killing site and watch as they were shot. The Germans spared one 11-year-old child whose Russian father was at the front and whose Jewish mother and brother were murdered.[12]

Isaak Rozenberg, a resident of Monastyrshchina was hidden by his Russian wife for more than two years, concealed in an underground bunker behind the stove. She only went down to visit him at night. His two young children did not even know that their mother was hiding their father underground. In September 1943, in the course of a battle between the Red Army and retreating German soldiers in Monastyrshchina, Rozenberg's home was burned down, and he died of smoke inhalation.[13]

Prime responsibility for organizing the murder of the Jews of the ghetto lies with Paul Rechke, who was in command of Ortskommandantur (OK) (I)/292[14] in Monastyrshchina at that time, and members of the detachment of Einsatzkommando 8. After the liberation of the town, Soviet authorities arrested several members of the collaborating local police (OD).[15] In October 1942, the former head of the Monastyrshchina police, V. Borozdin, and the former head of the second detachment of the Monastyrshchina police, V. Grachev, were sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Monastyrshchina ghetto and the murder of the Jews in Monastyrshchina include the following: G. Riabkov, ed., *V basseine reki Vikhry: Ocherki istorii sel i dereven' Monastyrshchenskogo raiona* (Smolensk, 1993); I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001); and *Chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Izd-vo "Tarbut," 1980), pp. 229–230.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Monastyrshchina can be found in the following archives: GARF (R-7021-44-628); GASmO (R-1630-1-334; and 2434-3-37); and TsDNISO (8-2-150).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Report of Einsatzgruppe B, September 26, 1941, published in Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 149.
2. GARF, R-7021-44-628, p. 65; Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikhry*, p. 282; A. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh v poselke Monastyrshchina v 1941–1942," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 228.
3. See the list of 220 Jews who were shot in Monastyrshchina, GASmO, R-1630-1-334, pp. 36–38.
4. GARF, R-7021-44-628, p. 65.
5. Ibid., p. 421; H. Krausnick and H.-H. Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskriegs* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1981), p. 182; GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
6. Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikhry*, p. 282.
7. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh," p. 228; GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
8. *Chernaia kniga*, p. 229.
9. GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
10. Ibid. See also GASmO, R-1630-1-334, p. 39; and the Center for Documents of the Contemporary History of the Smolensk Province (TsDNISO), 8-2-150, p. 40.
11. GASmO, 2434-3-37, p. 81.
12. GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse; *Chernaia kniga*, p. 229; I. Tsynman, "Gibel' monastyrshchinskikh evreev," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 226.
13. *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 229–230.
14. Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikhry*, pp. 281–282.
15. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh," p. 229.

NAL'CHIK

Pre-1942: Nal'chik, capital, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, RSFSR; October 1942–January 1943: Naltschik, Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Nal'chik, Kabardino-Balkar Republic (Kabardino-Balkaria), Russian Federation

Nal'chik is located about 600 kilometers (373 miles) southeast of Rostov on Don. According to the 1939 population census, 3,007 Jews were living in Nal'chik (6.27 percent of the total population). After the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, a number of Jewish men were recruited into the Red Army, and some others managed to flee or were evacuated before the German advance into the region in the fall of 1942. There were likely about 1,000 to 1,200 Mountain Jews who remained in and around Nal'chik at the start of the German occupation, as well as a few score of Ashkenazi Jews, including some refugees from towns and cities further to the west.

German forces of Heeresgruppe A captured the city at the end of October 1942. During the occupation, which lasted until early January 1943, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/794) administered the city. Ortskommandantur I/794 was subordinated to the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 248) in Piatigorsk. The German military administration established a local city council and recruited an auxiliary police force from among local residents. Sonderkommando 10b, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Alois Persterer and belonging to Einsatzgruppe D, was stationed in the city in November and December 1942.

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the occupying authorities issued orders calling for the registration of the Jews, the confiscation of their possessions, and the introduction of forced labor for Jews. The Jews also were ordered to wear distinctive markers in the image of a six-pointed star. Consequently, they tried not to venture out into the streets.

According to Soviet sources, German security forces (probably of Sonderkommando 10b) murdered most of the Ashkenazic Jews at some time during the first weeks of the occupation. About 10 Mountain Jews were also shot at this time, probably as alleged Soviet activists.[1]

In November 1942, a camp or form of "open ghetto" was established in the city. It was an isolated district into which the Mountain Jews were resettled from different areas of the city.[2] Some sources describe it rather as a camp, noting that the Mountain Jews did not receive any provisions, although most of them probably survived here until the Red Army returned.[3]

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The regulation for the marking of the Jews was changed after December 6, 1942, on the orders of Feldmarschall Ewald von Kleist, the commanding officer of the 1st Panzer Army, after negotiations by the city's Jewish community with the occupying authorities. Some witnesses recalled that the Jews were required to wear yellow armbands before setting out for labor. Around the same time, a Judenrat consisting of five individuals was formed in Nal'chik.[4] In December 1942, the head of Einsatzgruppe D, SS-Oberführer Bierkamp, visited the Mountain Jews in the "environs of Nal'chik," where he "received a welcome reception and declared that other than their common religion, they [the Mountain Jews (Bergjuden)] had nothing to do with the Jews." Along with this, Bierkamp issued an order to the occupying organs not to harm the Mountain Jews and in general did not speak of them as Jews but as "Taten" (as the local Jews called themselves).[5] It is likely that for this reason most of the city's Mountain Jews remained alive.

On January 1, 1943, a few dozen Jewish men, women, and children (probably refugees from the western regions of the Soviet Union) were shot in Nal'chik. SS-Sturmbannführer Eduard Jedamzik organized the mass shooting on the day after he took over command of Sonderkommando 10b on New Year's Eve. The Jews were shot in an antitank ditch just outside the city and buried on top of the victims of a previous mass shooting. The fur coats of the victims were distributed among the men of the Sonderkommando, who then drank schnaps before evacuating the city to the north.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Nal'chik under the German occupation can be found in the following publications: *Kabarno-Balkariia v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1941–1945 gg.: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Nal'chik, 1975); *Gorskie evrei: Istoriia, etnografiia, kul'tura* (Moscow and Jerusalem: Daat/Znanie, 1999); and S.A. Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev: Razrushenie garmonii mirov* (Nal'chik, 2000).

Documentation on the Jews of Nal'chik during World War II can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 6/65); GAK-BR; GARF (7021-7-109); NARA; Sta. Mü I; and YVA (e.g., O-3/5157 and JM/5640).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-7-109, p. 202.
2. *Gorskie evrei*, pp. 91–92; Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev*, pp. 64–65.
3. Kiril Feferman, "Nazi Germany and the Mountain Jews," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2007), p. 106.
4. *Gorskie evrei*, pp. 91–92; and Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev*, pp. 64–65.
5. NARA, RG-242, T-454, roll 16, frame 1272, Report on Mountain Jews (Bergjuden) by Dr. Otto Bräutigam, plenipotentiary of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories with Army Group A, December 26, 1942.

NEVEL'

Pre-1941: Nevel', town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Newel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Nevel' Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Nevel' is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Velike Luki. According to the Soviet census, in 1939 there were 3,178 Jews living in Nevel', comprising 20.4 percent of the total population.

After bombarding the town, German forces of Army Group Center captured Nevel' on July 16, 1941. Because of the town's good rail communications, many Jews were able to evacuate to the east in the four weeks following the start of the German invasion, while men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Some Jews, however, soon returned to their homes due to misleading information in the Soviet media. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Nevel' at the start of the occupation.

During the period of occupation, from July 1941 until October 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military established a local administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Judenrat was responsible for registering the entire Jewish population. It also had to ensure that the Jews wore distinguishing marks in the form of a yellow star. Able-bodied Jews were formed into work details for various kinds of manual labor, especially cleaning up the town following the bombardment. Jews were also looted and robbed from the first days of the occupation. In the first half of August 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Meyer, shot 74 Jews, allegedly in retribution for an arson attack by Jews in the town.[1] A Jewish survivor recalls that after the fire all the Jews were gathered together, at which point 25 of the strongest young men were shot in front of everyone.[2]

On August 7, 1941, all the Jews of the town were resettled into a ghetto, which was located approximately 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town, in the "Golubaia Dacha" (Blue Dacha) Park.[3] The ghetto consisted of an area fenced off by barbed wire, which included several very overcrowded houses and wooden shacks, as well as dugouts prepared in the ground that were also used by the Jews for shelter. The precise number of ghetto inmates is unknown, but it was probably around 700. Some Jews may have been brought into the Nevel' ghetto from the surrounding area.[4]

The ghetto existed for only about one month. In September 1941, Dr. Alfred Filbert, in charge of Einsatzkommando 9 based in Vitebsk, sent a detachment headed by SS-Untersturmführer Heinrich Tunnat to Nevel' in response to reports of Soviet partisans being active in the area. Tunnat soon reported on the ghetto in Nevel' to Dr. Filbert, who ordered Tunnat to shoot the Jews as soon as possible. According to the report of Ein-

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satzgruppe B, a German doctor had detected an outbreak of disease in the ghetto, which was then liquidated to prevent the contagion from spreading.

At some time in the first week of September 1941, a squad of Waffen-SS commanded by SS-Untersturmbannführer Waldemar Clauss drove the Jews out of the ghetto and escorted them to a site nearby, where Soviet prisoners of war had recently prepared a large pit. At the killing site, the Jews were ordered to remove their outer clothing, which was neatly piled up by the head of the Judenrat. The Jews were then shot into the pit by a squad of five or six men armed with machine pistols. Members of the Russian police also participated in the shooting. According to the Einsatzgruppen report, the forces of Einsatzkommando 9 shot 640 Jews during the Aktion. Afterwards the remaining buildings of the ghetto were burned to the ground.[5] Only a handful of Jews managed to escape from the ghetto and avoid the roundups, living in hiding, on the "Aryan" side, or serving with the Soviet partisans until the Red Army liberated the area in October 1943.[6]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Nevel' during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978), Lfd. Nr. 540, pp. 621–622; and 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), p. 887.

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Nevel' and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216-17); BA-L (B 162/21177); GAPO; GARF; NARA (N-Doc., NO-4415); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9); VHF (# 2301, 15070, and 15072); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73, September 4, 1941.
2. VHF, # 15070, interview with Musia Bogat, May 16, 1996.
3. Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 249.
4. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istoriia, Kul'tura, Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159, gives the figure of 800 to 1,000 ghetto inmates. German sources mostly give lower figures of from 100 to 640. Wila Orbach, "The Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 2:6 (1976): 44, gives a range from 710 to 1,800.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941; LG-Be, verdict of June 22, 1962 (3 PKs 1/62) against Filbert and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18, Lfd. No. 540, pp. 621–622. In his own statement, see BA-L, B 162/21177, pp. 34ff., Tunnat estimates the number of victims at only 100–120. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 303–304, cites a captured German document now in the FSB archives that indicates that about 600 women and children were shot in Nevel' shortly before September 8, 1941. See also VHF, # 2301, interview with Tatiana Nemizanskaia, April 20, 1995.
6. VHF, # 2301, testimony of Tatiana Nemizanskaia, and # 15072, testimony of Roza Shafran.

NOVOZYBKOV

Pre-1941: Novozybkov, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Nowosybkow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Novozybkov, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Novozybkov is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) northeast of Gomel' on the railway line from Gomel' to Briansk. In 1939, there were 3,129 Jews (12.78 percent of the total); an additional 213 Jews lived in the villages of the Novozybkov raion.

Following an aerial bombardment, which killed a number of civilians, German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 16, 1941. In the two months following the start of the German invasion in June, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and the Soviet authorities inducted many men into the Red Army. The rapid progress of the German advance forced back to Novozybkov some of those who sought to flee following the bombing.[1] Around one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

Until the Germans' retreat on September 25, 1943, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which was subordinated to the Feldkommandantur in Gomel'. The German military authorities established a town administration and organized a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among the residents of Novozybkov. Shortly after the occupation began, the town administration organized the registration of the Jews and subjected them to various forms of forced labor; for example, some Jewish women had to clean the toilets in the prison. Jewish homes were marked with yellow stars, and the Jews had to wear yellow stars on their chests. German soldiers were quartered in some Jewish homes, confining the Jewish families to just one room. The Germans shot an unknown number of Jews and suspected Communists, mostly adult men, during the first weeks of the occupation.[2]

In October or November of 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Novozybkov. The ghetto comprised approximately five streets. Reports differ on whether or not the ghetto was enclosed with barbed wire.[3] However, Russian police were present during the day to prevent Jews from leaving the area without permission. The sole Jewish survivor interviewed in the 1990s does not recall there being a "Jewish Soviet" [Jewish Council] in the ghetto nor encountering there any Jewish refugees from outside Novozybkov.[4]

By early 1942, news had arrived in Novozybkov of the fate of the Jews in Klintsy, where German forces from Gomel' had liquidated the ghetto in early December 1941.[5] After this, the Jews had few illusions about their own chances of survival,

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especially as some non-Jewish acquaintances now advised them to run away or hide. Bella Nepomniashchaia was able to escape with her mother on the eve of the liquidation, and she convinced a Russian policeman that she was not Jewish, assisted by her appearance. She received aid in the form of food from some local non-Jews but also had to sleep outside in freezing weather before she was able to link up with the Soviet partisans.[6]

The available sources give somewhat contradictory information on the liquidation of the Novozybkov ghetto. German Security Police forces from Einsatzgruppe B, either part of Sonderkommando 7a based in Klintsy, or from Trupp Schulz subordinated to Einsatzkommando 8 in Gomel', arrived in Novozybkov in early 1942 (snow was still on the ground) to organize the murder of the "Jews and Communists" in the town with the assistance of the local Russian police.[7] It appears that several pits were prepared in advance, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in the Karkhovsk Forest near the railroad station.[8] On the day before the Aktion, the Jews (more than 800 souls) were all confined within the meeting room of the match factory.[9] According to one version in the ChGK materials, the Germans and their collaborators shot the remaining 950 Jews (men, women, and children); sources date the Aktion as occurring on either January 18 or February 18, 1942.[10] A German witness, who was a member of a Landesschützen Batallion stationed in Novozybkov at the time, mentions that 1,000 to 1,200 people were killed, although some sources indicate that non-Jews may have been among the victims on that day.[11] After the Aktion, the local police plundered the empty houses in the ghetto as they searched for Jews in hiding.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Novozybkov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-2); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9; and RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002); and VHF (# 39394 and 41050).

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, April 12, 1998.
2. Ibid., interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998. The Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen (for the period from September 15–30, 1941) reports only the capture and liquidation of one secret agent of the NKVD in Novozybkov; see Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 204.
3. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998, states that there was no fence around the ghetto. "A briv fun a yidishen partizaner," *Eynikayt*, no. 10 (September 5, 1942), states, however, "In the city of Novozybkov, I saw the Jewish ghetto, the barbed wire. We will take revenge."
4. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998.
5. Ibid.; on the events in Klintsy, see GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 9, 10, 21.
6. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998.
7. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–788.
8. 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), p. 907.
9. USHMM, RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002 (Jewish Antifascist Committee Records from GARF), article titled "Korbones in eyn tog in shtetl Novozybkov" submitted to be published in *Eynikayt*.
10. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 142, gives January 18. "Korbones in eyn tog in shtetl Novozybkov" dates the Aktion on February 18.
11. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–787. This German court verdict, LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, March 29, 1965, however, estimated that only "700 Jews and other so-called potential enemies" were victims of the mass shooting in Novozybkov. See also USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 9 (GARF 7021-19). The ChGK estimated that 2,860 corpses were located in the seven pits in Karkhovsk Forest that it examined on the liberation of the town. The same document, however, also reported that 1,562 "peaceful citizens" were tortured and shot in Novozybkov and the Novozybkov raion.

OPOCHKA

Pre-1941: Opochka, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Opotschka, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Opochka, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Opochka is located about 125 kilometers (78 miles) west-northwest of Velike Luki on the Velikaia River. According to the 1939 population census in Opochka, which at that time was part of the Kalinin oblast', 289 Jews lived in the city (2.59 percent of the total population). The town was occupied on July 9, 1941, a little over two weeks after the initial German invasion of the USSR on June 22. At that time a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 200 Jews remained in the town under German occupation.

During the period of the occupation from July 1941 until July 1944, a German military commandant's office ran the affairs of the town. The German military commandant established a local administration and recruited a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) for security purposes from among the local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, German security forces murdered a number of Jews at the Jewish cemetery. The German military commandant issued an order calling for the registration and marking of the Jews. They were also forced to perform heavy labor. In August 1941, all the remaining 100 to

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200 Jews were resettled into a ghetto located in a half-burned barracks building.[1] The ghetto existed for more than six months. From November 1941 onward, groups of Jews were taken out and murdered near the villages of Maslovo and Pukhili. On March 9, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated, and German forces shot the last remaining 100 or so Jews.[2]

In the fall of 1943 the Germans dug up the bodies of their victims and burned them in an attempt to cover up the evidence.

SOURCES Documentation and witness testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of Opochka can be found in the following archives: GAPO; GARF (7021-20-18); and YVA. Additional information can be found 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), p. 938.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-20-18, pp. 2–3; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istoriia*, *Kul'tura*, *Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
2. N.I. Vasil'ev, A.V. Stepanov, and T.F. Fedorov, *Opochka: Putevoditel'* (Leningrad, 1973), p. 90.

PETROVICHI

Pre-1941: Petrovichi, *village*, *Shumiachi raion*, *Smolensk oblast'*, *RSFSR; 1941–1943: Petrowitschi*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Petrovichi*, *Russian Federation*

Petrovichi is located 90 kilometers (56 miles) south-southeast of Smolensk. On the eve of war in 1939, the several hundred Jews living in Petrovichi accounted for about half of the village's population. Some famous Jews were natives of Petrovichi: Isaac Asimov, who became a central figure in American science fiction, and Semen Lavochkin, who later became a designer of Soviet fighter aircraft.

German troops captured Petrovichi on August 2, 1941. Before the occupation, many Jewish families attempted to leave the village in horse-drawn carts. Almost all of them, however, were forced to turn back. Some Jews did not believe the Soviet propaganda and were in no hurry to evacuate. Only a few succeeded in escaping. One who did manage to leave with his family was Leib Ryskin, chairman of the Imeni Tret'ego Internatsionala (Third International) kolkhoz. His actions were influenced by a German leaflet that he happened to pick up along the road: "Pick up a stick, and drive the Yids back to Palestine!"[1]

The German troops established a ghetto soon after their arrival. It held approximately 400 Jews, including some people who had fled from other places or who had come to visit relatives during the summer vacation.[2] About 40 percent were women over the age of 16, and approximately one third of the ghetto's prisoners were children under 16, based on the lists of Jews who were shot.[3]

The ghetto consisted of a single street, and as many as five or six families lodged in each house. Overcrowding was intense—everyone slept on the floor in a single row. German soldiers, followed by the local police, looted most of the possessions the Jews had been forced to leave behind in their former homes. All Jews were required to wear a badge with the word "Jude" sewn on their outer garments. A small plaque with the same inscription was affixed to every house in the ghetto. A Jewish elder (starosta) was chosen and required to report to the Kommandantur for the assignment of work details to the Jews.

German soldiers and Russian police constantly made the rounds of the Jews' houses in the ghetto and robbed them of their meager belongings. Any attempt at resistance resulted in cruel beatings of the ghetto dwellers.

The oppressors subjected the Jews in the ghetto to refined taunts and seized any opportunity to kill them. Soon after the ghetto's establishment, some of the men were taken forcibly and transported to an unknown destination; they never returned. Observant elderly men were subjected to savage treatment. Some of them were shot, and others were tied to wagons by their beards and dragged through the village.[4]

If no other work could be found for them, the Jews were made to carry manure from one place to another. The women had to hold the stable dung in their skirts, while the men were forced to use their hands. An eyewitness of the events described the German atrocities in detail:

> Our stables all were about half a kilometer apart. And the Jews were ordered to pick up the manure with their hands and run, carrying it from one stable to another. Old men and young ones had to run and run without stopping. There was rain and slush. The children were crying. Even the mothers, grandmothers, and grandfathers were running, urged on by lashes, with manure in their hands. The people couldn't keep it up, of course. I remember how Khana-Rokhl Berman, a neighbor, came running up to a stable and pushed her children inside, and later she went in behind them.

The Germans forced the Jews to lie on boxes used to hold potatoes, then lashed them and beat them with sticks. The others had to stand there and watch. The beatings continued until the person's skin was stripped off, and pieces of scarlet flesh showed through. Sometimes they forced the Jews' own comrades to flay them.[5]

Semen Azimov, a former teacher of mathematics and physics, was subjected to malicious insults. He left the ghetto and wandered through the woods and villages, begging for a piece

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of bread. With the help of the local residents, the Russian policemen caught him, put him in a cage, and humiliated him, beating him mercilessly. He showed the Germans his letters from relatives in America, counting on favorable treatment, but his efforts only brought him additional blows.

At night the Russian policemen used to drag young girls out of Jewish houses and rape them—frequently, they also killed them. Instances of Germans raping Jewish girls also took place. For example, the two Novikov sisters, who had fled to Petrovichi from Smolensk, were brutally raped. Afterwards the ghetto residents found one of the sisters hanged and the other murdered.

Part of the non-Jewish population of Petrovichi and the neighboring villages treated the Jews sympathetically. Some brought bread, milk, and other foodstuffs to their Jewish friends and acquaintances in the ghetto. Occasionally, local residents helped Jews who had escaped from the ghetto and hid them or their children. In most cases, however, the local collaborationist Russian police (Ordnungsdienst, or OD) hunted down the escaped Jews and killed them.[6]

According to German data, on May 31, 1942, 107 Jews were transferred from Petrovichi to Roslavl'. One of them was killed during an attempt to escape.[7] The documents of the Smolensk Oblast' Commission contain a list of the names of 84 Jews sent from Petrovichi to the Roslavl' Gestapo.[8] In Roslavl', the Jews from Petrovichi were most probably shot by forces subordinated to Sonderkommando 7c within a short time.

In early June 1942, the approximately 230 Jews remaining in the Petrovichi ghetto were shot.[9] One week before the Aktion, they were rounded up and placed in five or six houses near the Jewish cemetery. Each house held about 40 people.

Thirty members of the local police (OD) who had come from Khislavichi, under the command of three Germans and the chief of the local police in Petrovichi, carried out the Aktion. Several dozen local inhabitants dug the pit. After the shooting, the same locals buried the victims' corpses. The shooting went on for three hours. The residents of Petrovichi were ordered to cover their windows and were forbidden to watch the Jews being led to their deaths. Later, those Jewish specialist workers who were kept alive at the time of the ghetto liquidation were also shot; they included several tailors, cobblers, and a saddler.

As the column of Jews moved towards the killing site, the student Sara Iasman, who had blue eyes and light, wavy hair, was repeatedly urged to leave, but she refused. Before she was shot, she cried out, "Fascists, you'll get what you deserve!"

Many Jews tried to run away once the mass shooting started, but they were mown down by submachine-gun fire. Sometime later, the Russian police found and shot young children who had escaped and were hidden before the ghetto prisoners were taken away to be shot. Those who had fled to other villages were caught and shot on the spot. Only one girl, who chanced upon a partisan detachment, and a 12-year-old boy managed to escape.

The inhabitants of the village of Stakhovshchina hid a woman doctor, Konikova, with her three sons. The chief of police in Shumiachi, Gavrilok (the Germans shot him along with his family), had given her a document certifying that her husband was a Russian. One year later, however, she was shot, and one month before the arrival of the Soviet forces, her children, whom the villagers had hidden, also were killed.

The day before the destruction of the ghetto, some 30 Jewish teens had left it. In the forest, they encountered a group of armed Soviet soldiers that happened to be in the area, and they formed a partisan detachment. Khaim Gurevich, an 18-year-old, became a platoon leader in the detachment, and his 15-year-old brother Lev was a scout. The detachment sabotaged railroads and highways, and it also engaged in heavy fighting against German units and detachments of the OD, which was receiving support from a portion of the local population. A betrayal resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the partisan detachment. Seriously wounded, Lev Gurevich was hidden by the family of Prokofii Ivanov, a teacher from the village of Kosachevki, and he spent eight months living in a hole dug beneath the cellar. Ivanov's wife was hanged.[10]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Petrovichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Petrovichi include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies and lists of Jews killed in Petrovichi; I. Agracheva, "Eto bylo ne so mnoi" (testimony of Lev Gurevich), *Vesti* (Israel), June 6, 1995; I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002); V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii 1941–42 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Petrovichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-635); GASmO (R-1630-1-337, R-1630-1-360, and R-2434-3-38); VHF (# 33553); and YVA (O-33).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. V. Maksimchuk, "Tragediia v Petrovichakh," in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, pp. 183–184.
2. GARF, 7021-44-635, p. 22; Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii," p. 157.
3. GASmO, R-1630-1-337, pp. 126–127, 130.
4. Testimony of Lev Gurevich.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.; and Maksimchuk, "Tragediia v Petrovichakh," pp. 183–185.
7. "Korück 559" report on antipartisan actions, May 25–31, 1942 (YVA, M-29, FR/38, p. 7).
8. GASmO, R-1630-1-337, p. 130.
9. GARF, 7021-44-635, p. 22.
10. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 369; and testimony of Lev Gurevich.

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POCHEP

Pre-1941: Pochep, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Potschep, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pochep, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Pochep is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the southwest of Briansk on the Sudost' River and on the railway line from Moscow to Kiev. By 1939, the number of Jewish residents in the city stood at 2,314 people (14.87 percent of the total population). An additional 266 Jews were counted in the villages of the Pochep raion.

Units of the German XLVIIth Panzer Corps occupied Pochep on August 21, 1941, two months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union. During these two months, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army. Up to 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

During the period of occupation, which lasted until September 21, 1943, the Germans set up a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) and a local administration in the city. They also recruited a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst, or OD) from among the local residents.

In March 1942, at the time of the mass killing, a 10-man detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) Unit 729 and a small detachment (2 or 3 men) of Sonderkommando 7a (part of Einsatzgruppe B) were based in the town.

Shortly after the start of the German occupation, the town administration organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform various forms of heavy labor.

Sometime at the start of 1942, the commandant's office in Pochep ordered the establishment of a ghetto. The ghetto consisted of a series of barracks on the grounds of a cabbage-pickling factory on the edge of the town, guarded by the OD.[1] It is possible that some Jews were also resettled into the ghetto from the outlying villages in the Pochep raion with the aid of the OD.

In March 1942, Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp based in Klintsy, organized the liquidation of the ghetto, shooting all the Jewish inmates. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, the number of victims was 1,854, including men, women, and children.[2] The shooting, which lasted several hours, was carried out by six men of Sonderkommando 7a, with the help of the OD who escorted the victims and members of the GFP 729 and Feldgendarmerie that cordoned off the area. The killing site was a large ditch, possibly prepared by the Russians as an antitank ditch, located less than 100 meters (328 feet) from the site of the ghetto.[3]

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of the city can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-4).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588. Extracts from the verdict have been published in Russian in A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220.
2. See GARF, 7021-19-4, p. 278, for the period January–March 1942.
3. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588.

POCHINOK

Pre-1941: Pochinok, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Potschinok, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pochinok, Russian Federation

Pochinok is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) southeast of Smolensk on the rail line from Orel to Riga. According to the 1939 census, 283 Jews were living in Pochinok (8.89 percent of the total population).

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 17, 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During these four weeks, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed Dr. Nikolai Nikitin mayor (Bürgermeister) of Pochinok[1] and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor.

Sometime in August 1941, the German administration established a ghetto on the site of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). German security forces, probably belonging to Einsatzkommando 9 or Trupp Smolensk, liquidated the ghetto on April 21, 1942,[2] when they shot up to 200 people.[3]

Basya Pikman, a Jewish woman who was fleeing from the Germans, was arrested by the Germans in Pochinok after the liquidation of most of the ghettos in the region. She was whipped and had her teeth knocked out as she was interrogated about her possible Jewish roots, but she remained silent. In Pochinok, she witnessed the Germans hang Russians. Fortunately she was released and managed to make her way further to the east and survive the occupation.

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pochinok can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-629); GASmO; and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

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1. NARA, RG-238, T-77, reel 1155, fr. 476, WiKdo zbV Hirschberg Gruppe La, Tätigkeitsbericht in der Zeit v. August 12–26, 1941, im Abschnitt Smolensk, August 27, 1941.

2. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.

3. P. Kurbatova, *O zlodeianiiakh nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov na Smolenshchine* (Smolensk, 1944), p. 24.

PSKOV

Pre-1941: Pskov, city and raion center, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Pleskau, initially Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord), then Gebiet Petschur, Generalkommissariat Estland; post-1991: Pskov, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Pskov is located 256 kilometers (159 miles) southwest of Leningrad on the Velikaia River. According to the 1939 census, 1,068 Jews lived in Pskov (1.77 percent of the total population).

On July 9, 1941, two and a half weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, units of the 4th Panzer Division occupied the city. A significant portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were mustered into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 25 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the city at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the city. A local administration was set up, and an auxiliary police unit (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from among the local population.

At the start of 1942, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Pskov became part of Gebiet Petschur. SA-Standartenführer Bombe became the Gebietskommissar. Major Warnholz of the Schutzpolizei became the SS- und Polizei-Standortführer (senior police leader) in the town. Leutnant Hermann Hidde of the Schutzpolizei became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. In turn, Gebiet Petschur was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Estland. Initially the residence of the Gebietskommissar was located in Petschur but it was moved to Pskov in 1942 and remained there until 1944.[1]

From July 10, 1941, the German Security Police detachment Sonderkommando 1a was located in Pskov. It was later reorganized into an outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Hauptaussenstelle), which was subordinated to SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Sandberger, the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Tallinn. The head of the Sipo-Hauptaussenstelle in 1941–1942 was SS-Obersturmführer Otto Bleymehl.

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the German military commandant's office ordered the registration of the Jews and the institution of forced manual labor. Jews were also required to wear a distinctive yellow patch on their clothing.

In August 1941, a ghetto was created in the city.[2] During the forced resettlement into the ghetto, 13 Jews were murdered.[3] The ghetto existed until some time between December and February 1942, when German forces liquidated the ghetto by shooting all the Jews in the nearby village of Vasilevo.[4] In June 1942, a number of Jewish doctors were murdered. They had been working in a hospital for those wounded in the war.[5] Under these various circumstances, according to German sources, the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) shot 232 Jews in total.[6]

In November 1941, the commander of Sonderkommando 1a, SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Sandberger, forcibly resettled more than 100 Jews from Estonia together with other prisoners into a labor camp near Pskov. From February to April 1942, Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Nord under the command of SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln was stationed in Pskov. Jeckeln's command ordered that these Jews from Estonia should be eliminated quickly.[7] The shootings were carried out by members of the Sipo-Hauptaussenstelle in Pskov with the assistance of the local police.

In September 1943, the Germans started to burn the bodies of the victims at the grave sites near Pskov in an effort to remove all traces of their crimes. The Red Army liberated the city in August 1944.

After the war, Otto Bleymehl was under investigation for some time, but the investigation was eventually discontinued.[8]

SOURCES Documents and witness statements regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Pskov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAPO (R-903-3-1 and 12); GARF (7021-97-881); and RGASPI (17-1-313).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, den 13. März 1942.

2. I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99.

3. P. Vagin and M. Nikitin, *Pod igom gitlerovskikh palachei* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1943), p. 4.

4. *Pskov: Ocherki istorii* (Leningrad, 1971), p. 291; 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), p. 1037. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 821, mentions that the Schutzpolizei unit in Pskov carried out a mass shooting of at least 150 Jewish men, women, and children on December 27–28, 1941, but does not mention the precise location of this Aktion (although it was probably in Pskov); see also Sta. Hamburg, 141 Js 220/61, indictment of December 12, 1961, against P. and others, p. 3.

5. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 251.

6. Annual report of the Security Police and SD commander in Generalkommissariat Estland from July 1, 1942,

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on affairs from July 1941 to June 30, 1942, appendix no. 12, GARF, 7021-97-881. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), around 1,000 Jews were shot in February 1942. However, this figure seems too high. See *Pskov: Ocherki istorii*, p. 291.

7. Testimony under oath by Martin Sandberger, November 19, 1945 (N-Doc., NO-3844); testimony under oath by Martin Sandberger, April 23, 1947 (N-Doc., NO-2891). The prison was probably established at the end of 1941 in the village of Mogilno, near Pskov. Prisoners of war and civilians were held captive there. The civilians included Jews and Gypsies (Roma). The total number of victims was around 700 people. Among them were 112 Jews: 14 men, 57 women, and 41 children; see RGASPI, 17-1-313, p. 114.

8. BA-L, ZStL/207 AR-Z 246/59 (Sonderkommando 1a—Bleymehl).

PUSTOSHKA

Pre-1941: Pustoshka, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Pustoschka, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Pustoshka, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Pustoshka is located 190 kilometers (118 miles) south-southeast of Pskov. According to the 1939 census for Pustoshka, the Jewish population stood at 308, comprising 11.9 percent of the total.

German units of Army Group North captured the town on July 15, 1941. During the intervening three weeks since the start of Germany's invasion of the USSR, many of the Jews had managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible males were ordered to report for military service in the Red Army. Around 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, from July 1941 to February 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military administration created a local authority and police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with badges. The Jewish population also was forced to perform various types of heavy labor. In early February 1942, all the remaining Jews in the town were moved into a ghetto, consisting of a single building, which was either fenced in or guarded.[1] The ghetto existed for several weeks, until late February 1942, by which time all the Jews had been shot. According to one source, the total number of Jewish victims was 58.[2]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pustoshka under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GAPO (R-481-2-65) and GARF (7021-39-334).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GAPO, R-481-2-65, p. 23; and Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 97, 99, 101.

2. N. Masolov, *Ballada o krasnom desante* (Moscow, 1967), p. 97.

ROSLAVL'

Pre-1941: Roslavl', town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Roslawl, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Roslavl', Russian Federation

Roslavl' is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) southeast of Smolensk. According to the 1939 population census, 2,935 Jews lived in Roslavl'.

Following heavy aerial bombardments of the town in June and July 1941, German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 3. Due to its location on a main east-west railroad, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east before the Germans' arrival. It is estimated that between 300 and 600 Jews remained in Roslavl' at the start of the German occupation. The German military administration established a local Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst), which not only maintained order but also carried out repressive measures against the local population.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Germans hanged 4 people in the center of Roslavl' who had been denounced as Communists.[1] According to Soviet sources, on August 5–6, 1941, German security forces murdered a group of Jews, possibly as suspected Communist activists.[2] German sources indicate that probably in the first half of September 1941, the 2nd Platoon of the 2nd Company, Reserve Police Battalion 9, which was attached to Einsatzgruppe B, came to Roslavl', where it arrested and then shot about 50 men (mostly Jews). The same unit subsequently conducted a second Aktion in Roslavl' in which about 25 Jews (including some women) were arrested by members of the SD and shot by members of the battalion on a command from their platoon leader.

In October (or possibly the first part of November) 1941, the German military administration established a ghetto or "Jewish residential area" (*Judenviertel*) on Red Fleet Streets # 1 and # 2. All the Jews were moved into several empty houses and were prohibited from having any contact with the other residents of the town. The area was enclosed and guarded day and night to ensure that nobody escaped.[3]

In the fall of 1941, Roslavl' came under the control of Feldkommandantur (V) 199, which was subordinated to Security Division 286. Other units based in the town included a unit of Feldgendarmerie commanded by Leutnant Vogt, an OT unit, a bakery company, and a Luftwaffe repair unit. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 commanded by Kriminalkommissar Wilhelm Döring arrived in Roslavl' in mid-November 1941. It remained there until the end of December

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1941, when it was replaced by a detachment of Sonderkommando 7c. German investigative records indicate that shortly after his arrival Döring received an unwritten order from Einsatzkommando 8 to shoot the Jews who had already been concentrated (ghettoized) in Roslavl'.[4]

According to Soviet sources, the German Security Police liquidated the ghetto in mid- or late November 1941.[5] Einsatzgruppen report no. 148, dated December 19, 1941, stated that a total of 510 Jews of both sexes were shot in Shumiachi and Roslavl', on grounds of "public security and order." Testimonies by members of the Feldgendarmerie unit subordinated to Feldkommandantur (V) 199, based in Roslavl', give the figure of at least 200 Jews being shot there in the winter of 1941–1942.[6]

These testimonies and information from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) permit a fairly detailed reconstruction of the ghetto liquidation Aktion in Roslavl'. A few days prior to the Aktion, a group of able-bodied Jews was selected from the ghetto and ordered to prepare a large pit under the supervision of the Russian Ordnungsdienst on the grounds of the Jewish cemetery. On the assigned day, men of the Feldgendarmerie were ordered to get up early in order to conduct a roundup in the Jewish quarter. These men claim that they thought initially the Jews were being assembled for transfer to a forced labor assignment. They searched the Judenviertel and collected together at one point about 200 Jews, including a number of women and children, who were then handed over to the men of the SD. The Jews were then escorted to a ditch about 6 meters by 5 meters and 2 meters deep (19.7 by 16.4 by 6.6 feet), which had been prepared at the cemetery, apparently located close to the POW camp on the southwestern edge of town. Here the Jews had to remove their outer clothing and were searched by the SD for any valuables. About seven or eight SD men then shot the Jews with machine pistols in groups of 2 to 5 people at the ditch. Children were thrown into the ditch and buried alive. The Feldgendarmes served as an external cordon to guard the site against escape attempts and prevent onlookers from approaching. The Jews remained calm throughout the Aktion, more or less resigned to their fate. Among the victims was Dr. Magidson of the children's hospital. Afterwards, Döring reported the date and the number of people shot back to the headquarters of Einsatzkommando 8.[7]

Local resident Nikolai Karpov recalled that after a few days it became known that the houses of the ghetto were empty again, and people who lived nearby reported with horror that all the inhabitants, including women, children, and the elderly, had been shot near the old Jewish cemetery and that the graves had been hastily covered with earth. Russian policemen then plundered the houses of the ghetto. He observed how one policeman attempted to remove the cow that had formerly belonged to the large family of a Jewish tailor, but the cow did not want to go with someone it did not know.[8]

In the two months following the Aktion, about 20 more Jews were brought into Roslavl' by Wehrmacht patrols in the surrounding countryside and placed in the SD prison. These Jews of all ages and both sexes had been denounced by local inhabitants and handed over to the Wehrmacht. They were subsequently shot together with other prisoners by the SD in the course of mass shootings conducted at irregular intervals to "make room" in the prison cells.[9]

The Red Army drove the Germans from Roslavl' on September 23, 1943. Only a handful of Jews from Roslavl' managed to survive on German-occupied territory, either hiding among the local population or serving with the Soviet partisans.[10]

SOURCES The memoir of forced laborer Nikolai Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter: Erzählung* (Münster: Ardey-Verlag, 2003), has a few pages on the start of the German occupation of Roslavl', including mention of the ghetto.

Documents on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Roslavl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); BA-L (ZStL/27282); GARF (7021-44-630 and 631); GASmO (1630-1-337); NARB (861-1-25); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10; and RG-53.002M); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 6.
2. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 125–127; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 310, 313.
3. NARB, 861-1-25, p. 77 V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159; Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 7.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 564, p. 712.
5. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–1942 gg.," p. 159; NARB, 861-1-25, p. 82. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 129, indicates that the Jews were shot on November 14, 1941, only three days after the establishment of the ghetto.
6. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 10; BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.
7. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, p. 712; NARB, 861-1-25, p. 80.
8. Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 7. (It may also have been a Jewish family named Schneider [tailor]).
9. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.
10. The Survivors' Registry of the USHMM has registered 40 survivors from Roslavl', but the overwhelming majority of them were evacuated from the town in time and spent the war on the Soviet side of the front.

RUDNIA

Pre-1941: Rudnia, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rudnja, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rudnia, Russian Federation

Rudnia is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) west-northwest of Smolensk on the railroad from Smolensk to Vitebsk. By 1939 there were 1,640 Jews living there.

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Because of the rapid advance of the German army, only a small number of Jews were able to evacuate or escape from Rudnia in an organized fashion. Some Jewish families tried to leave the town to the east on foot or in carts, but they were ordered to turn back. German airplanes dispersed leaflets with the message: "Take up the stick, and drive the Jew to Palestine." Local collaborators took the Jews' livestock, vehicles, and other belongings. Those Jews who refused to comply were killed.

German forces captured Rudnia on July 14, 1941. Shortly after the occupation began, the occupying authorities registered Jews. Jews were ordered to sew yellow rings onto the backs of their clothing. In the first days of the occupation, German propaganda organs actively promoted antisemitic agitation among the local population. Many residents of Rudnia took advantage of this lawlessness to rob the Jews.

In August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur issued an order for all the Jews in Rudnia to be resettled into a ghetto. Those who refused to comply were to be shot on the spot. Jews who owned farm animals, such as cattle or poultry, were not permitted to bring their animals with them. The local police (Ordnungsdienst) used physical force to intimidate the Jews and confiscate their clothing, watches, domestic items, gold, silver, and other jewelry. One woman who survived the ghetto observed that "nothing was off limits to any of them."[1]

The ghetto was established on one street in the town, and it consisted of 20 or so half-destroyed homes. It was fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by German soldiers and local police. Around 1,200 Jews, residents of Rudnia as well as Jewish refugees from the Baltic states and Belorussia, were assembled on the small market square and then crammed in the ghetto.[2] Initially, people could come and go freely, and some Jews received food brought by neighbors from outside the ghetto.[3] Judging from the list of those Jews who were subsequently shot, many families with multiple children resided in the ghetto. About half of the children were under the age of 16. There were also some elderly men living in the ghetto and many artisans of various professions, including 32 carpenters.[4]

In August, the Germans raided a home where the 17-year-old student Abram Dol'nik lived. At school, Dol'nik had been studying to be a radio technician, and he refused to hand over his equipment to the Germans. For this, they shot him and another 15 to 20 young Jews. In September, the Germans discovered in the courtyard of one of the homes in the ghetto a pistol obtained during the retreat of the Red Army. As a result, 100 Jews were shot, ostensibly for concealing military weapons.[5]

The inmates of the ghetto lived under conditions of great overcrowding and poor sanitation. They were subjected regularly to assault and degradation. Only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread were allotted each day to the prisoners. All Jews had to hand over any valuable items or face being shot. Those who were considered prosperous were taken hostage and held for ransom. The Jews were also taken out for forced labor. Young Jews had to do the heaviest physical work, including road and gas pipeline repairs. One of the few medically trained people in the ghetto, Ida Brion, fled eastward in the fall of 1941 after hearing from escapees of the Vitebsk ghetto that all the Jews would be shot unless they escaped.

On October 21, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 arrived in Rudnia from Vitebsk. With the help of the local police, the detachment shot a large number of ghetto inmates. The Jews were told that they were being transported to Vitebsk and that they should take enough food and belongings for two days. Drunken local policemen randomly assaulted the Jews. Before sending the Jews to the place of execution, the Germans shot young children, the infirm, and others hiding in the ghetto who had refused to leave. The column of ghetto prisoners included women, children, elderly persons, and young infants. The mass shooting took place in an antitank ditch on the outskirts of the town. Those persons wearing good clothing were ordered to strip down to their underwear. The Germans forced several people into the ditch and then shot them. The corpses were flung into the water. They threw children alive into the ditch and tossed infants up in the air and shot them. The killing went on for several hours. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 1,000 Jews were shot.[6] After the shooting, there were heartrending moans from down in the ditch. The Germans and their collaborators then threw down heavy stones and covered the grave with three layers of dirt.

The report of Einsatzgruppe B indicates that it had conducted a "large-scale Aktion" against the Jews in Rudnia because the Jews had "provided significant help to the partisans, spread subversive propaganda, occasionally refused to work, and would not wear distinguishing markings for Jews." The report states that 835 Jews were shot in total.[7]

Subsequently the Germans shot the chief of the local police in Rudnia, a man named Korotchenkov, on the same spot where the Jews were killed. The Germans tortured him in front of his underlings as a punishment for having concealed goods stolen from the Jews. The policemen threw his body on top of the corpses of the Jews who had been shot previously. The Germans then confiscated Korotchenkov's belongings from his apartment.[8]

A group of young Jews from the ghetto was taken out to work and they were not shot on October 21, the day of the mass shooting.[9] Instead, they were grouped together with a number of specialists: doctors, shoemakers, carpenters, painters, bakers, and others. These Jews remained in the Rudnia ghetto.

In the fall of 1941, the residents of the Jewish kolkhoz "The Path to Socialism" (Put' k sotsializmu) were also shot. Having captured Rudnia, the Germans took over the kolkhoz and forced the Jews to work there for them. One day in the fall, the Jews were taken out into the field to gather in the harvest, and after they were finished, they were shot. Only two children managed to survive.[10]

On February 24, 1942, the last prisoners of the ghetto in Rudnia were shot at the request of the local Ortskommandantur, Feldkommandantur 815, and also General Max von

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Schenckendorff, the commanding officer of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The victims included refugees from various raions of the Smolensk oblast' and from Belorussia. The remaining Jews in Rudnia were killed along with 200 Jews from the nearby ghetto of Mikulino and also Jews who had been brought in from other towns and villages of the Rudnia raion. When the Jews from Mikulino arrived, the Jews in the Rudnia ghetto understood that they were about to be shot, and many tried to escape. About 20 persons were killed inside the ghetto.[11] Those remaining were gathered into a column, taken out to the antitank ditch, and then shot.[12] According to the activity report of Einsatzgruppe B for the second half of February 1942, first 311 Jews were shot in Rudnia, then another 55 Jews and Communists.[13]

In 1941–1942, the Germans and their collaborators shot between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews in total in Rudnia.

Some members of the local population disapproved of the actions of the German occupying authorities. One witness recalled "an exchange with German soldiers from the Ortskommandantur on the question, 'Why in the world are they shooting innocent Jewish families?'" The Germans answered that "the Jews had betrayed Germany in the past, and that because they had kept the Germans down whenever they could, they were no longer allowed to live. They would only take vengeance on the German nation."[14] However, many of the residents of Rudnia supported the destruction of the Jews. After the liberation of Rudnia, one young housewife bluntly said to a soldier who stayed overnight in her home, "It was tough to live with the Germans. But they did something good by shooting the Jews. The Jews deceived us by supporting the Soviet powers."[15] She did not know, apparently, that the soldier was Jewish.

Not many Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto. On the night before the large-scale Aktion, two girls got away. One of them, Chaia Sheftlina, saw the mass shooting of October 21, 1941. She later gave her testimony to the ChGK. During the occupation, she hid in the home of a Russian friend in Rudnia.[16] A few Jewish children were also able to climb out from under the pile of corpses after the mass shooting and escape. One nine-year-old boy hid for a time with residents of Rudnia, then managed to escape from the town.[17]

Of the Jews who survived the ghetto, the majority ended up in partisan detachments. I.L. Finkel'shtein escaped from the ghetto together with his wife after the October shooting. Apparently, he was among the group of artisans who were spared on October 21. Because he was not called up for the war, he elected to join one of the partisan detachments that were active in the Smolensk oblast'. After he left the ghetto, the Germans hanged his wife and children. In the winter of 1941–1942, Finkel'shtein's detachment blew up several bridges and killed up to 100 German soldiers. One Jewish girl was a partisan agent in Rudnia. For two months she was inside the ghetto, but she escaped and again joined the partisans. Many young Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto at the time of the mass shooting on February 24, 1942, and were accepted into various partisan detachments.[18]

The ChGK documents indicate that a German punitive detachment of the Security Police and SD arrived from Vitebsk for the mass shooting of the Jews on October 21, 1941. It was headed by the chief of the Gestapo in Rudnia, a man named Walter Bruk (or Buk).[19] Tit Nikonov, the deputy head of the local police under Korotchenkov, was arrested and executed by the Soviet authorities in Smolensk after the liberation of Rudnia by the Red Army on October 29, 1943.[20]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Rudnia ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Rudnia include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; S. Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah yehudit be-Brit ha-Moasot," *Yalkut Moreshet*, no. 21 (1976): 89–100.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Rudnia can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-630); GASmO (R-1630-1-337 and R-2434-3-37); Ts-DNISO (8-1-426); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10; and RG-50.378*0006); VHF (# 27533, 34506, and 42985); and YVA (O-33).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 293.
2. Ibid., pp. 285 and reverse; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 79.
3. USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
4. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 287 and reverse; GASmO, R-1630-1-337, pp. 35–38 and reverse.
5. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 285 reverse; GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
6. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 286 and reverse; testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 74; Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah," p. 95.
7. Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 263.
8. Ibid.; testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75; USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
9. Testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75.
10. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 287; "Krov' zamuchennykh zovet k mesti," *Rabochii put'* (Organ of the Smolensk General Committee VKP (b)), April 7, 1942.
11. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 316; testimony of Guti Turk, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 85; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in idem, p. 81.
12. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 287, 293 reverse; GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
13. RGVA, 500-1-770, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B für die Zeit vom 16.-28.2.1942.
14. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 316.
15. Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah," p. 94.

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16. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 293 and reverse; "Zverstva nemtsev v gorode Rudnia," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 73.

17. Testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 80.

18. Ibid., pp. 77–78, 80; TsDNISO, 8-1-426, pp. 4–5.

19. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 286, 316.

20. Testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75.

RZHEV

Pre-1941: Rzhev, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast'; 1941–1943: Rschew, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Rzhev, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Rzhev is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of Kalinin on the Volga River. In 1939, the census recorded 457 Jews in the town, a scant 0.85 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Rzhev on October 14, 1941, more than three and a half months after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that time, a significant number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and the Soviets began to draft eligible men for military service. The Jewish population in Rzhev at the start of the German occupation was about one tenth of the pre-war figure.

A German military administration (Ortskommandantur I/532) governed the town during the entire period of occupation (October 1941 to March 1943). The Germans created a town council and an auxiliary police unit (Ordnungsdienst), both staffed by local inhabitants. Among German punitive organs in Rzhev from October to December 1941, and again from the end of April 1942, was a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B. By the end of October 1941, the German military commandant had ordered the registration of the Jews in Rzhev, and Sonderkommando 7a established a Jewish Council (Judenrat).[1] On November 13, 1941, the German military commandant required Jews to wear a distinguishing armband.

In the spring of 1942, the occupiers ordered all the Jews to resettle into a ghetto, which was located in a building that had formerly housed a nursery school. Some Jewish families were moved into the ghetto. In July 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. In a gully near the airfield, they shot all the Jews (38 persons) except a watchmaker, a tailor, and their families. Members of Sonderkommando 7a carried out the shooting, with the participation of the Russian police. The Germans subsequently shot the watchmaker and his wife, in February 1943.[2]

SOURCES Information concerning the extermination of the Jews of Rzhev may be found in the book by E.S. Fedorov, *Pravda o voennom Rzheve. Dokumenty i fakty* (Rzhev, 1995).

Documentation concerning the German occupation of Rzhev and the fate of the Jewish population can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); GATO (R-1925-1-5); and USHMM (RG-06.025*04, 693).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. See BA-BL, R 58/219, p. 83, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.

2. Fedorov, *Pravda o voennom Rzheve;* and GATO, R-1925-1-5.

SEBEZH

Pre-1941: Sebezh, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Sebesch, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Sebezh, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Sebezh is located 130 kilometers (81 miles) west-southwest of Velike Luki on the main railroad from Moscow to Riga. According to the 1939 population census, there were 845 Jews (14 percent of the total population) living in Sebezh.

On July 7, 1941, the town was captured by units of the SS-Motorized Division "Totenkopf," just over two weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this period, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Only about 15 to 18 percent of the pre-war Jewish population, composed now mainly of women, children, and the elderly, remained in the town at the onset of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation, from July 1941 to July 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. Initially, the commandant was an Austrian, and the Jews bribed him in an effort to ameliorate conditions. The German military administration created a raion council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among local residents. Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the council to organize the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also made to perform heavy physical labor, such as digging trenches and repairing railroad tracks.[1]

As early as the summer of 1941, the first 2 Jews were shot in the town as agitators.[2] In September 1941, a ghetto was created in Sebezh, and 100 to 150 Jews were forcibly relocated into it.[3] The ghetto existed until early March 1942, when the Germans ordered its liquidation.[4] During the liquidation Aktion more than 100 Jews were shot into pits.[5] The shooting of the Jews was carried out by Russian policemen, headed by the chief of police, a man named Buss. Afterwards local Russians filled in the pits and reported that many of those shot had not been killed outright and had moaned for some time, as the earth thrown over the corpses continued to move. One 12-year-old boy managed to escape from the mass shooting by hiding in a chimney and then made it to the village of Presni. However, despite his pleading, the head of the village handed him over to the Germans to be killed.[6]

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SOURCES Relevant documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Sebezh can be found in the following archives: GAPO; GARF (7021-39); and YVA (M-33/4654, 4655).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/4655, testimony of V. Burnosovaia, published in Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1945): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 214.
2. YVA, M-33/4654.
3. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istoriia*, *Kul'tura*, *Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
4. Ibid.
5. Iu.V. Kukanov, *Sebezh: Putevoditel'* (Leningrad, 1973), p. 108.
6. YVA, M-33/4654.

SHUMIACHI

Pre-1941: Shumiachi, village and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Schumjatschj, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shumiachi, Russian Federation

Shumiachi is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) south-southeast of Smolensk. According to the 1939 population census, 744 Jews lived in Shumiachi, comprising 21.5 percent of the population.

At the end of July or the beginning of August 1941, about five weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village. Shumiachi was bombed several times after the start of the invasion, and a number of buildings were also damaged in the fighting as the Germans entered the town. In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 350 Jews remained in Shumiachi at the start of the German occupation, including some refugees from Poland who had become trapped there.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military ordered the registration and marking of all Jews. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor, including clearing rubble and collecting trash. In October 1941, the German military administration established a ghetto, or "separate Jewish residential area," in the village.[1] Jewish families suffered from hunger in the ghetto.[2]

German forces of Einsatzkommando 8 liquidated the ghetto on November 18, 1941.[3] On that day, after arriving from Roslavl', they drove the Jews out of their houses in the ghetto and loaded them onto several trucks. From here they were taken to a prepared pit on the edge of the village, where the men of Einsatzkommando 8 shot 320 Jews.[4]

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B, dated December 19, 1941, 510 Jews of both sexes were shot in Shumiachi and Roslavl' altogether, on grounds of "public security and order." The same report noted that in Shumiachi 16 mentally ill Jewish and Russian children were also shot around this time. The children were from the children's home, which had been abandoned by the Soviet authorities. They were found living in filthy conditions with severe eczema on their bodies. The senior German doctor, Dr. Raefler, at the medical field hospital in Shumiachi (Feldlazarett 6/562), approved of the shooting, as the children's home and its inhabitants were viewed to be a dangerous source of disease.[5] The children, who were all under 10 years of age, were shot in the clay pit of a brick factory on the edge of Shumiachi by men of Einsatztrupp 5 (part of Einsatzkommando 8), which was based in Roslavl' under the command of Kriminalkommissar Wilhelm Döring.[6]

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Shumiachi can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-44-635), GASmO; USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10); VHF (e.g., # 35186); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159; I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 564 (LG Bonn, verdict of February 19, 1964 [8 Ks 2/62] against Wilhelm Döring), pp. 718–720.
2. VHF, # 35186, testimony of Fruma Sapozhnikova.
3. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.," p. 159.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, pp. 718–720.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 10; BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80, testimonies of members of FK (V) 199, based in Roslavl'. All give the figure of around 200 Jews shot there in winter 1941–1942; therefore, the number of victims in Shumiachi must have been around 300.
6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, pp. 712–713. Einsatztrupp 5 was most probably also responsible for the shooting of the 320 Jews in Shumiachi.

SMOLENSK

1938–1941: Smolensk, capital city, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Smolensk is located 419 kilometers (260 miles) west-southwest of Moscow on the Dnieper River and on the main railroad from Moscow to Minsk. According to the 1939 census, 14,812

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Wehrmacht and SS defendants sit in the dock during their trial in Smolensk for perpetrating war crimes against the Soviet people, 1945.
USHMM WS #79149, COURTESY OF RGAKFD

Jews were residing in the city (out of a total population of 156,900). The Smolensk ghetto was the largest in all the occupied territories of the Russian Federation and also the one that lasted for the longest time, one year. This reflected the need of the German army for labor in the city, as Smolensk was a strategically important railway junction directly on the main line of advance towards Moscow.

On July 16, 1941, the Germans occupied the greater part of the city, which lay on the left bank of the Dnieper River. The battle for the right bank of the river lasted until July 29. The majority of the Jewish population (about 12,000 people) was evacuated or managed to escape.

The German authorities issued the order to resettle the Smolensk Jews into a ghetto at the end of July, three days after the establishment of the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur, or FK, (V) 813).[1]

In August, the "advance squad Moscow" (Vorauskommando Moskau) of Einsatzgruppe B searched certain quarters of Smolensk for "officials, agents, criminals, members of the Jewish intelligentsia, and others." During this operation the Security Police arrested and shot 74 people.[2] Shortly afterwards, Einsatzgruppe B reported the shooting of "38 Jewish intellectuals, who had tried to create unrest and discontent in the newly established Smolensk ghetto."[3]

The ghetto was established in the northwestern area of the city known as the "Sadki" district, located on the right bank of the Dnieper River, not far from the Jewish cemetery and the railway. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire, and a local Russian police unit (Ordnungsdienst), under the overall command of a Russian named Umnov, guarded the perimeter.[4]

The ghetto was under control of the local Russian administration, which had been established by the German military administration. The notes of the mayor of Smolensk, B. Menshagin, regarding the establishment of the ghetto have survived:

[1-3 not included here.]

4. Excluding the Jewish district, the entire city shall be free of Jews by 4:00 P.M. on August 5, 1941.
5. All Jews who remain in the city after that designated hour shall be arrested and shot.
6. In the settlement area, Jews do not have the right to exit without special permission. This permission can be granted only by the official commandant of the city, or by the police.
7. The area for Jewish settlement shall be surrounded by barbed wire and by a certain date it has to be enclosed by walls.
8. Residences liberated from the Jewish population shall be administered by the head of the city in the interests of the local population.

[9 and 10 not included here.]

11. All Jews in Smolensk shall be prohibited from having any direct contact with the city's administrator and his headquarters, or with any Russian citizens. Contacts must be mediated through the Jewish Council [Judenrat].
12. All Jews over the age of 10 are obliged to wear a yellow Star of David, measuring 10 centimeters [4 inches] in diameter. The symbol shall be worn on the front and back of their clothing. Jews caught not wearing the yellow star after 4:00 P.M. on August 5, 1941, shall be arrested, locked up [in the building of the former NKVD], and shot.[5]

According to the city administration of Smolensk, there were some 1,200 people collected in the ghetto as of November 1, 1941.[6] That number subsequently increased a little. The Jews in the ghetto included those from Smolensk and the surrounding areas, as well as some refugees from Belorussia.

On the basis of a list containing the names of 1,364 Jews who were shot from the Smolensk ghetto, which Soviet authorities compiled after the liberation of the city, the breakdown of the ghetto inhabitants was roughly as follows: 350 men, 614 women, and 350 children less than 15 years old. Of the men, some 50 percent were over age 50. About 40 percent of the women were aged 19 to 39.

The commandant appointed Dr. Painson, a well-known dentist, as the elder in charge of the ghetto's affairs. In the words of one witness, he "complained many times about this onerous duty, which he had to carry out in the interests of the Jewish population but without any prospect of a good outcome."[7] He organized the Jews for forced labor in accordance with the commandant's orders and enforced security inside the ghetto. According to one German source, the Judenrat in Smolensk consisted of four or five people who spoke good German, including one woman, and was responsible for ensuring that the restrictions imposed on the Jews were strictly observed.[8]

About 70 small houses were located in the ghetto.[9] Each house contained several families. There was neither electricity nor sufficient space for people to sleep at night. Many people slept in a sitting position, still wearing their clothes.

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The Jews were able to leave the ghetto at times in order to barter possessions for food, although the Russian-speaking population was not supposed to associate with them. Approximately two months before the destruction of the ghetto, a much stricter regime was enforced, in which anyone entering and exiting the ghetto was closely monitored. That put an end to the vital trade between Jews and non-Jews.

During the first months after the ghetto was established, Jewish craftsmen received their work instructions from the labor office (Arbeitsamt). The commandant's office issued a few work permits for tailors and shoemakers to continue their trades. In October 1941, the mayor B. Menshagin received a directive ("Regarding the Jews") from the Feldkommandantur. It included the following instructions:

> Based on order no. 50023/41 issued by the Economic Inspectorate on October 22, 1941, it is determined that Jews shall be excluded from the list of workers available for employment. . . . Jews must be dismissed immediately by the Wehrmacht. After the exclusion of the Jews from the list, their equipment must be confiscated and handed into protective custody at the mayor's administrative headquarters. The mayor is obliged to consult with the labor registration office and distribute the confiscated equipment to Aryan craftsmen. . . . Any usable items found in the possession of Jews should be confiscated and stored. All Jews shall be confined in a ghetto.

The directive further emphasized that Jews should be gathered in groups for forced labor and assigned to the most demanding physical work.[10]

All able-bodied Jews went out daily to perform forced labor. Initially they cleared debris from the streets and repaired damaged buildings. Then, on the order of the Feldkommandantur, they began to work on the railway. They were escorted to work in columns of 50, 100, or more people, guarded by the Ordnungsdienst and Germans with dogs. At the railway station, Jews cleaned, unloaded, and loaded railway wagons. They hauled railway ties and cleaned toilets, even though they never received adequate tools for these tasks. In the winter they cleared snow from the tracks, the roads, and the air base. Weak and infirm Jewish workers were shot, and their coworkers were forced to bury them on the spot.

Jews in the ghetto did not receive any food rations. When Dr. Painson asked the commandant, "How are we to feed our families?" he answered that such trifles were not his problem.[11] According to the newspaper of the Smolensk City Committee, called *Rabochii put'* (The Worker's Way), people in the ghetto ate nettles to ward off starvation.[12] The prisoners exchanged personal items such as clothes, footwear, and valuables with local peasants for food or got it from friends and acquaintances. Workers received a ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread that consisted of bran dust mixed with turnips and beetroots. For those who could not leave the ghetto, the only hope was the children who sneaked out of the ghetto and foraged or begged. In the ghetto there was no running water, although it was bounded by the Dnieper River. Russian policemen and Germans frequently took water away from Jews or poured it on the ground, so the exhausted prisoners had to go and get more. Because of the lack of water and food, many diseases broke out and spread quickly. These included dysentery, typhus, and tuberculosis. In the winter of 1941–1942, because of famine, cold, and disease, more than 200 people perished, particularly young children and old men. It was forbidden to bury the dead in the cemetery, even though it was located nearby. Graves were dug randomly in the ghetto. The dead were buried naked, since those still surviving needed their clothes.

German Feldgendarmes repeatedly robbed the Jews in the ghetto. They stole watches, gold and silver items, and utensils. Starting in September 1941, they started to demand any warm clothing from the Jews. They took fur coats and fur caps and even peeled the fleece cuffs from some articles of clothing. Night searches were accompanied by beatings and shooting. On several occasions, the ghetto prisoners were ordered to pay taxes. They were required to hand over specific amounts of gold items, furs, clothing, and so forth.

Shortly before the liquidation of the ghetto, a very large fine was imposed on the Jews for not delivering a "contribution" to the German city administration. On July 5, 1942, Mayor Menshagin reported to SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Matschke of the Trupp Smolensk unit of Einsatzgruppe B: "On the order of the commandant's office, 60 complete sets of bedding and 3 sewing machines were requested from the ghetto. The Jewish Council was fined 5,000 rubles for the failure to deliver the requested bedding material on time."[13] One witness recalled that in June 1942 the mayor of the city ordered the Jews to bring 7,000 rubles in gold to the city administration.

Jewish girls and young women were subject to mockery and sexual violence from the Germans and Russian policemen. On one cold night the Germans rounded up Jewish girls, forced them to undress, lined them up, and then started to beat them. Several witnesses recalled that "the Germans regularly came into the ghetto and raped women at will."[14] Sometimes at night, old men and women stood guard to warn people of intruders. But Russian policemen conducted random inspections in the ghetto during the evenings and took away beautiful girls who did not always return.

Killings of Jews in Smolensk continued throughout the entire period of the ghetto's existence. The German Police Regiment "Mitte" shot 1 Jew in the first half of January 1942 during an attempted escape. In the first half of February 1942, 1 Jew was shot as a Communist and for not wearing the Star of David. In the second half of February 1942, 5 Jews were murdered for disseminating provocative rumors and for refusal to work. Around the same time, 3 Jews were killed for not wearing the Star of David and for being outside the ghetto without permission. In March 1942, "Trupp Smolensk" of Einsatzgruppe B shot 18 Jews.[15] Hostages were repeatedly taken from the ghetto on the pretext of having broken the regulations with the aim of extorting money or valuables. Most did not return.[16] A Soviet partisan source reported that "drunken German officers with

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the sanction of the commandant of Smolensk were able to shoot Jews without any fear of being brought to account."[17]

In the reports of witnesses, including those of ghetto survivors, there is only fragmentary information about Jewish resistance. One interesting source comes from a reconnaissance report by Soviet partisans. The following is noted:

> In the suburbs of Smolensk there are three or four prison camps for the Jews. No food is given to them. Many have no trousers or outer clothing, and are covered only with blankets. They have bartered their clothes for food. Owing to these conditions among the Jews, there were revolts during which they killed the guards and tried to escape. But they were caught and shot.[18]

Two Jewish women did manage to escape from the ghetto and hide in the city with Russian friends. Eventually they received new identity documents. Several children from mixed Russian-Jewish families were also rescued with the help of their Russian relatives and friends. There are also several other cases of Jews in Smolensk who were rescued with the help of the local population.

On the night of July 14–15, 1942, members of the Security Police and SD, German Feldgendarmerie, and Russian police arrived in the ghetto. The Russian policemen acted on the orders of G. Gandziuk, the first deputy to the mayor of Smolensk, and possibly also a man named Alferchik, who was the head of the 2nd (Political) Section of the Russian police.[19] They drove the Jews out of their homes and loaded them onto covered trucks. Throughout the day until the evening of July 15, 1942, the Jews were transported in groups to a prepared ditch in a wood near the village of Magalenshchina. According to the statements of local residents taken by officials of the military counterintelligence section (SMERSh), after the liberation of the city on September 25, 1943, some of the Jews were poisoned in three gas vans that transported them on four successive trips, and some were shot at the ditch.[20] The shooting was carried out by members of Trupp Smolensk.[21] An estimated 1,200 to 2,000 people were shot.[22] A few skilled worker-specialists were selected out and allowed to remain alive for a while longer. A small number of Jews managed to escape on the night of July 14, 1942, just as the loading of the trucks commenced.

Russian witnesses testify that the remaining property of the Jews in the ghetto was plundered by the Russian police. One German source indicates that the clothes and other items from the ghetto were distributed as follows: 25 percent for hospitals and the Russian police and 50 percent for the civilian employees of the Wehrmacht. Jewish woman Asia Shneiderman, who was living in Smolensk in 1942, testified that "items from the ghetto were brought to the Gestapo and used to dress the prostitutes in Smolensk."[23]

According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the following persons were identified and accused of the murder of the Jews: Erich Naumann, the head of Einsatzgruppe B from November 1941 until early in 1943; Franz-Josef Tormann, the head of the Security Police and SD unit Trupp Smolensk; Oberleutnant Schit, the chief of police; and von Schwetz, the military commandant of Smolensk.[24]

Portrait of Raisa Pisareva, who was honored in 1998 by Yad Vashem for saving Jewish lives in Smolensk during the Holocaust. Photo taken September 18, 1949 at the Pedagogical Institute in Smolensk.
USHMM WS #57692, COURTESY OF JFR

SOURCES There is an article on the Smolensk ghetto by L. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," *Krai Smolenskii*, no. 2 (1990): 40–48; in addition, the book published by I. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), contains several witness testimonies concerning the ghetto. The author's own article on ghettos in the occupied territory of the Russian Federation also includes a number of detailed references to events in the Smolensk ghetto; see V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

The Acts of the ChGK for the Smolensk province, including witness testimonies, are located in GARF (7021-44-15, 41, and 1092). The Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, are located in GASmO (1630-2-19). Witness testimonies by inhabitants of Smolensk, collected by members of the counterintelligence group "SMERSh," of

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the Western Front and other relevant survivor testimonies can be found in YVA (O-53/28 and record groups O-3 and O-33).

The Materials of the Commission for the Study of the Great Patriotic War pertaining to the occupation of Smolensk can be found in NAIRI. The witness testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii dated September 28, 1943, "Obshchaia kartina zhizni v Smolenske vo vremia nemetskoi okkupatsii," is located in AFSBSmO (case 9856-S, pp. 20–29). Additional materials from West German criminal investigations can be found in Sta. Kiel (2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65) and BA-L.

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel and Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-286/3 FK (V) 813, Abt. VI[I], situation report of August 1, 1941.
2. Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 67, August 29, 1941, cited in Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York, 1989), p. 116.
3. Ibid., p. 123, EM no. 73, September 4, 1941.
4. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818; testimony of Evgeniia Gromyko, in "Smolenskoe getto: Eshche odin svidetel'," *Smolenskie novosti* (Smolensk), October 25, 1995.
5. GARF, 7021-114-6, pp. 20–21.
6. I. Repukhov, "O sostave naseleniia Smolenska," *Smolenskii vestnik*, November 19, 1941.
7. Testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii, September 28, 1943, p. 28.
8. Testimony of Vladimir Khizver, GARF, 7021-44-15, pp. 228–29; Sta. Kiel, investigation of Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 1, p. 205, statement of Egon Noack, June 11, 1969.
9. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818.
10. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 44.
11. B. Kovalev, *Natsistskaia okkupatsiia i kollaboratsionizm v Rossii, 1941–1944* (Moscow: Izd-vo AST: Tranzitkniga, 2004), p. 247.
12. "Chto proiskhodit v okkupirovannom Smolenske," *Rabochii put'*, October 11, 1942.
13. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 45.
14. GARF, 7021-44-15, p. 27.
15. Arad, Krakowski, and Spector, *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 334, EM no. 194, April 21, 1942.
16. Testimony of Tat'iana Tret'iakova, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 44.
17. Intelligence report of Sublieutenant Sadchikov, commander of a group of partisan detachments from June 20–August 20, 1942, TsDNISO, 8-2-151, p. 52.
18. Ibid.
19. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 45; testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii from September 28, 1943, p. 29; *Report of the Investigations of War Criminals in Australia* (Canberra, 1993), pp. 83–84.
20. YVA, O-53/28, pp. 770–771, 818–819, 823–826, 828, 831–832, 834, 836, 844, 850. See also Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, GASmO, 1630-2-19, pp. 5 and reverse side; and the transcript of a conversation with L. Ya. Madziuk, in NAIRI, 2-2-15, pp. 3 and reverse side; see also Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65.
21. The report of Einsatzgruppe B for September 1942 indicated that 2,439 persons were liquidated by the Smolensk detachment. Probably the majority of the victims were Jews from the Smolensk ghetto. See YVA, M-53/243, p. 6; the testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, p. 819; and the testimony of Sergei Gorbachev, YVA, O-53/28, pp. 831–832. The overall Aktion was apparently organized by the head of Section IV of the Einsatzgruppe's Headquarters unit, Eduard Holste; see Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65.
22. Testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii from September 28, 1943, p. 29. Bazilevskii puts the estimate at 1,200 persons. In the transcript of a conversation with Secretary Mozynyi of the Smolensk City Committee (VKP(b)), in NAIRI, 2-2-24, pp. 6 and reverse side, he estimated 1,500 persons. In the report of Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, GASmO, 1630-2-19, p. 20, the estimate is 1,500 persons. L. Korobov in "Na Smolenskoi zemle," *Pravda*, October 21, 1942, has estimated 1,860 persons. In the documents found in GARF, 7021-44-1092, pp. 4–5, the estimate is 2,000 persons.
23. From a report by Asia Shneiderman, "Okkupirovannyi Smolensk," in the TsK (Central Committee) VLKSM from September 14, 1942, RGASPI, 69-1-935, pp. 43 and reverse side.
24. GARF, 7021-44-41, p. 14.

SOL'TSY

Pre-1941: Sol'tsy, town and raion center, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Solzy, Rear Area, Sixteenth Army, Army Group North (Heeresgruppe Nord); post-1991: Sol'tsy, Novgorod oblast', Russian Federation

Sol'tsy is located 78 kilometers (48.5 miles) southwest of Novgorod on the Shelon' River. According to the 1939 census, there were 156 Jews living in Sol'tsy, accounting for 1.74 percent of the total population.

German armed forces of the LVI Motorized Corps occupied the town on July 13, 1941. On July 16, 1941, the Germans withdrew from Sol'tsy as a result of a Soviet counteroffensive, but they retook it on July 22, 1941. By the time the town was occupied, some of the Jews had succeeded in evacuating to the eastern regions of the USSR, and men liable for military service had been conscripted into the Red Army. No more than 100 Jews remained in the town.

Throughout the occupation period (from July 1941 to January 1944), a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration set up a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German commandant's office ordered the town authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. They were obliged to wear a white armband with a yellow six-pointed star. The

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Jews also were used for various types of forced labor, and all their valuables were confiscated. In the fall of 1941, all the Jews who remained in the town were concentrated and isolated in one place, to which Jews from surrounding towns and villages also were resettled. In 1941, all the Jews were shot in a nearby forest.[1]

In 2007, a monument was erected at the site where the Jews were shot. Funds for the memorial were collected by the Jewish community of Novgorod.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Sol'tsy can be found in the following archives: AFSBNO; GANO; and GARF (7021-34-360).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. According to ChGK documents (GARF, 7021-34-360), several dozen Jews were shot. According to data from the Novgorod Jewish Culture Society (http://novgorod.allnw.ru/soletsky/news/43769), about 150 Jews were shot in December 1941 and 104 on January 17, 1942; about 500 Jews are said to have been living in Sol'tsy before the war. In the author's opinion, these figures are too high.

STARAIA RUSSA

Pre-1941: Staraia Russa, *town and raion center*, *Leningrad oblast'*, *RSFSR; 1941–1944: Staraja Russa*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Staraia Russa*, *Novgorod oblast'*, *Russian Federation*

Staraia Russa is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) south of Novgorod on the Polist' River, to the south of Lake Il'men'. According to the 1939 census, there were 828 Jews living in Staraia Russa, accounting for 2.2 percent of the population.

Units of the German 16th Army occupied the town on August 9, 1941, seven weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. In that time, some Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Approximately 15 to 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

Throughout the occupation (August 1941 to February 1944), a German military commandant was in charge of the town. For much of the occupation, Feldkommandantur 820, under Oberstleutnant Colonel Mossbach, was based in Staraia Russa. The German military administration established a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents. An ethnic Estonian was named as chief of police: Alexander Kiutt (in 1948 a Soviet tribunal sentenced him to 25 years in prison). The police force was made up of men of various nationalities, including Pavel Goldt (employed in the investigative division), who had one Jewish parent and posed as an ethnic German. Especially active in persecuting Jews was the town's deputy mayor, Vasilii Bykov (arrested and sentenced in 1944), whose responsibilities included oversight of "Jewish affairs."[1]

Among the German security units operating in the town were the Feldgendarmerie, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 820, and a detachment of Einsatzkommando 1b of Einsatzgruppe A. This detachment was sent to the town immediately after its occupation[2] and was active there until November or December 1941; it probably organized most of the shootings of Jews.

In the first few days of September, the German military commandant's office in Staraia Russa ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews, requiring them to wear a white armband with a yellow six-pointed star. Jews were also used for various kinds of forced labor, and all their property was confiscated. A few days after the registration, the Germans arrested all the Jews and placed some in the prison and the rest into a monastery, which served as a temporary ghetto for them.[3] The liquidation of the ghetto, accomplished by shooting all the Jews gathered in the monastery, apparently was carried out on October 15, 1941; around 80 people were shot.[4] One month later, Jews who were married to non-Jews were arrested. These Jews, some 30 in total, were shot between December 6 and 10, 1941.[5] A former employee of the town police, Tamara Finagina, questioned after the war in connection with these events, stated:

> I also know that under Kiutt's leadership, the police arrested up to 30 Jews in December 1941; initially, after the Germans came, these people had been left alone because they had Russian husbands or wives. In August and September 1941, the Germans exterminated Jewish families in which there were no Russians. All these Jews were herded by the police and Gendarmes into the monastery and shot inside the ruined walls by the police and Gendarmes. That was told to me by policemen, whose names I don't recall.[6]

Besides the above-mentioned shootings, it is likely there were other shootings of Jews in the town. In total, about 150 to 200 Jews were shot in Staraia Russa in the period from August to December 1941.

A number of townspeople, at great danger to themselves, hid Jews in their homes. Some of them paid for it with their lives. On September 21, 1941, the sisters Anna and Taisia Degtarev were sentenced to death for hiding Jews. Two days later, several others were publicly executed for concealing Jews: Ivan Nikolaevich Burmagin, 69, a carpenter; Ol'ga Sergeevna Burmagin, 68, a housewife; Nina Ivanovna Burmagin, 40, a teacher; Anna Egorovna Voskoboinikov (age not specified), a member of the church choir; and Sidor Timofeevich Voskoboinikov, 64, a church elder.[7]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Staraia Russa can be found in the following archives: AFSBNO (file 1/6995); GANO; GARF (7021-34-361 and 765); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. G. Nasurdinova, "Pamiat' i bol' kholokosta," *Novgorodskie vedomosti*, no. 45, September 27, 2003; and G. Nasurdinova, "Zakat na ulitse Betkhovena," *Novaia Novgorodskaia Gazeta*, no. 9, 2007.
2. See BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 71, September 2, 1941.
3. Nasurdinova, "Pamiat'"; Nasurdinova, "Zakat"; and GARF, 7021-34-361.
4. See official diary of Police Chief Alexander Kiutt (AFSBNO, investigative file in the case against Alexander Kiutt).
5. Ibid.
6. Cited in B.N. Kovalev, "Svidetel'skie pokazaniia v ugolovnykh delakh kollaboratsionistov v Rossii," *Vestnik Novgorodskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, no. 33 (2005): 111. Another source states that the Germans shot the Jews in the courtyard of the prison in groups of 25 to 30 while the other victims looked on, awaiting their fate; see GARF, 7021-34-765.
7. Nasurdinova, "Zakat."

STARODUB

Pre-1941: Starodub, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Starodub is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Briansk. In 1939, there were 1,629 Jews in Starodub (12.96 percent of the total population).

The German army occupied the town on August 18, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the USSR. In this period men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, and some Jews decided to evacuate to the east, but others hesitated. The Soviet authorities tried to calm civilians with radio broadcasts calling on them not to panic, claiming that the Red Army's counterattack would start very soon. This information served to confuse the inhabitants of Starodub, as the growing flood of refugees fleeing from the western borderlands brought quite different rumors—of the rapid German advance. The last group of evacuees left town on August 17, consisting mainly of members of the Jewish collective farm "Red Star." By this time, however, it was too late. Germans forces blocked their path, and the Jews were captured and brought back to Starodub. About two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population came under German occupation.[1]

During the occupation, a German military commandant (Ortskommandant) administered the town. The military commandant also established a local town administration and a Russian police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Shortly after the occupation of Starodub, the local authorities organized the registration of the town's Jews and assigned them to perform hard labor. The German military authorities issued numerous orders and decrees that circumscribed Jewish daily life, such as the wearing of distinguishing marks on clothes and by creating an atmosphere of hopelessness and humiliation. The Jews' last remaining valuables were invariably looted by either the Germans or their collaborators.

At the end of September 1941, the Jews of the town were forced to relocate to a ghetto within 24 hours. The ghetto consisted only of a few cottages and sheds designed for farm animals and surrounded by barbed wire in the suburb of Belovshchina, on the edge of town, from which the Germans had expelled the farmers.[2] The ghetto was probably established on the orders of Sonderkommando 7b (commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Rausch). According to a German report, at the time of the resettlement, Sonderkommando 7b shot 272 people on September 25, 1941, allegedly on the grounds of resistance to ghettoization by Jews. Accounts by local witnesses indicate that the Germans lined up all the Jewish males over 14 years of age, some 400 people in all, gave them shovels, and then marched them under close armed guard in the direction of the villages of Brezgunovka and Sokolovka to "work." The men were ordered to dig "antitank ditches" in the Galye swamps that were actually mass graves. Then they were stripped naked and shot with submachine guns.[3]

The Jews left after this Aktion, consisting of a few men and many women and children of all ages, were confined inside the ghetto for more than five months. Overcrowding in the ghetto was appalling, as the Jews were packed together with 65 or 70 people to each small cottage, while those who could not be accommodated in the cottages had to live in stables and pigsties. Russian policemen of the Ordnungsdienst guarded the ghetto.

The daily ration for the ghetto inmates was only about 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread. As leaving the ghetto to go to the marketplace was forbidden, the inmates were starving. Some occasionally ventured out, at the risk of their lives, to the surrounding fields for some vegetables. Several mothers were killed as they sneaked out to the vegetable plots next to the Babinetz River, looking for something edible to bring back to their children. Some sympathetic local policemen looked the other way, enabling the Jews to smuggle a little food into the ghetto. Due to starvation, exposure, and beatings, the mortality rate from hunger and disease was very high; 153 people died in the ghetto prior to its liquidation.

On February 22, 1942, the inhabitants of the ghetto were awakened by the sound of explosions nearby. The policemen tried to calm the panic among the inmates, assuring them it was only part of German fortification efforts. In reality the Germans were preparing huge mass graves only 500 meters (1,640 feet) from the ghetto, using explosives to break the frozen ground.[4]

A subunit of Sonderkommando 7a under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Matschke shot the remaining several hundred Jews on March 1, 1942.[5] The local Russian police under the command of Nikolai I. Molodzhevsky played an active role in guarding the Jews during the mass shooting.[6]

Several Jews managed to escape the massacre, but most were captured by policemen the next day on the edge of the forest. The Germans ordered the captives to dig a grave, then to undress, after which they shot them. Two survivors from

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this group of escapees were the Israeliev sisters who reached the village of Shniaki where they convinced a local policeman to help them. They hid in the cellar of an elderly couple of Baptists. The family's son was a brutal member of the local police living in the same house, who remained ignorant of their presence. Once the policeman had left for work, the Jewish girls were able to come out of the cellar for warmth each day. They managed to survive until the Red Army liberated Starodub on September 22, 1943.[7]

SOURCES There are accounts of the Starodub ghetto and the destruction of its inhabitants in the following publications: Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, truzhenikam tyla, uznikam fashistskikh kontslagerei i getto, zhivym i pavshim posviashchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 338–344; and Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 201–202.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Starodub can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-3); LG-Ess (trials of Albert Rapp [29 Ks 1/64] and Kurt Matschke et al. [29 Ks 1/65]); and USHMM (RG-31.018.M, reel 5, fr. 8889-8960, trial of Ivan Mikhailovich Tereshchenko).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Stefan Stoev and Ksenia Krimer

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1. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by,* pp. 338–344. This account is based on the testimony of Grigory Sigalov from Starodub.
2. GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 201–202.
3. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. In the report, Starodub is misspelled as Sadrudub; see also Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 6 der Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in der UdSSR (Berichtszeit v. 1.10.-31.10.1941), published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188), allegedly some 400 Jewish men aged over 14 years were shot; GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 192. See also Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
4. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
5. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588. On the basis of Matschke's own testimony, it is assumed that at least 200 Jews, including men, women, and children of all ages, were shot. For a summary in the Russian language, see also A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Bryanshchiny v 1941–1943 gg," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220. On February 10, 1966, Matschke was sentenced to five years' imprisonment by the court in Essen; GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188; see also Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
6. USHMM, RG-31.018.M, reel 5, fr. 8889-8960, trial of Ivan Mikhailovich Tereshchenko.
7. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.

STODOLISHCHE

Pre-1941: Stodolishche, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Stodolischtsche, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Stodolishche, Russian Federation

Stodolishche is located 76 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Smolensk on the railroad from Smolensk to Briansk. According to the 1939 census, there were 232 Jews in Stodolishche, accounting for 10.37 percent of the total population.

German units of Army Group Center occupied the village on July 19, 1941, 28 days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, in late July and early August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a community leader (starosta) of Stodolishche and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. According to one source, German security forces shot a few Jews in Stodolishche during the second half of July 1941. The remaining Jews were forced to move into a ghetto to concentrate them in one place and isolate them from the rest of the population. In April 1942, the Ortskommandantur in Stodolishche was OK (I) 364. The ghetto was liquidated in May 1942, when German security forces shot all the remaining Jews.[1]

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. I. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), p. 435; and "Stodolishche," 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), p. 1246.

SURAZH

Pre-1941: Surazh, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Surash, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Surazh, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Surazh is located about 42 kilometers (26 miles) north-northeast of Klintsy on the railway line from Unecha to Orsha. The 1939 census showed 2,052 Jews in the town, comprising 22.8 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Surazh on August 17, 1941, almost two months after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union (on June 22, 1941). During this intervening period, a number of the town's Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and all men obligated to serve in the military were called up to the Red Army. When the Germans occupied the town, only around 30 percent of the Jewish population was still there.

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The town remained under the jurisdiction of the Wehrmacht throughout the occupation and was run by a German military commandant, who set up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. Soon after the occupation of Surazh, the town administration organized the registration, marking, and exploitation of Jews for various kinds of hard labor.

In the late autumn of 1941, a ghetto was established. Several dozen Jews died there from hunger, cold, and sickness. On March 27, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, 560 people were shot in the village of Kislovka.[1] The shooting was carried out by Sonderkommando 7a, which was headed at the time by SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp.[2]

After the war the bodies were dug up and reburied in a common grave at the Jewish cemetery.

SOURCES The ghetto is mentioned 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), p. 1265.

Documents about the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Surazh can be found in the following archives: GABrO; GARF (7021-19-6; 7021-19-1); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-19-6, p. 342; see also USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 9 (GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 18).

2. Rapp was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court (Landgericht) in Essen on March 29, 1965. See LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979). Rapp denied any knowledge of the shooting in Surazh, but an Aktion (probably in Surazh) in March or April 1942 is mentioned by other witnesses; see idem, 20:775–778.

SVIATSK

Pre-1941: Sviatsk, village, Novozybkov raion, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Swjatsk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sviatsk, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Sviatsk is located 202 kilometers (126 miles) southwest of Briansk directly on the border with the Republic of Belarus'. According to the 1926 census, there were 588 Jews living in Sviatsk.[1] The results of the 1939 census reveal that the Jewish population had been roughly halved from the 1926 figure. This decline was due primarily to the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied the village on August 16, 1941, about two months after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that time, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men who were eligible for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Only about 150 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the period of occupation (from August 1941 until September 1943), a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration appointed a village elder (starosta) and policemen who were local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the local authorities organized the registration and marking of the Jews and arranged for their use in various kinds of forced labor. German security forces conducted a first Aktion about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the village of Sviatsk on October 12, 1941, when they shot 27 people (23 Jews, 2 Communists, and 2 prisoners of war). The remaining Jews were moved into a ghetto, which remained in existence until January 25, 1942. On that day, the Jews were gathered in the courtyard of the village administration building where they were forced to wait stark naked in the freezing cold for several hours before being taken out to be shot on the grounds of an old brick factory.[2] German security forces (probably a detachment subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B), assisted by the Russian local police, shot 116 people on this day, and 9 more Jews on the following day.[3]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sviatsk can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-1 and 2).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda. Tom 2* (Moscow, 1926), p. 40.

2. GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 6. See also Benjamin Pinkus, *Jews and the Jewish People, 1948–1954: Collected Materials from the Soviet Press* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Centre for Documentation of East European Jewry, 1973), p. 147; and 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), p. 1269.

3. GARF, 7021-19-2, pp. 141, 146; see also *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6: 460; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 321.

SYCHEVKA

Pre-1941: Sychevka, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Sytschewka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sychevka, Russian Federation

Sychevka is located 70 kilometers (43 miles) north of Viaz'ma on the Vazuza River. According to the 1939 census, Sychevka had a Jewish population of 138, or 1.64 percent of the total.[1]

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on October 10, 1941, approximately 16 weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During

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that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in October 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor (Bürgermeister) of Sychevka and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. To concentrate the town's remaining Jews in a single place and isolate them from the rest of the population, the Germans ordered them to be moved into a ghetto.[2] The Jews may have been separated out from among 4,500 civilians, which the Secret Field Police Group 580 (GFP-Gruppe 580) had temporarily placed in a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Sychevka by the end of October 1941.[3]

The ghetto was liquidated on January 1, 1942, when the town commandant, Oberleutnant Kiesler, ordered all the Jews—probably around 100 mainly women, children, and the elderly—to be shot in the village of Piskovo, outside of Sychevka.[4] It is most likely that a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, which had been based in the town in October and November 1941 and again from late April 1942, carried out the Aktion. Sonderkommando 7a, which at that time was under the command of Kurt Matschke, retreated hastily from Kalinin via Staritsa, Rzhev, Sychevka, and Gzhatsk to Viaz'ma between mid-December 1941 and January 7, 1942, in response to the Soviet winter offensive. This would have placed the unit in Sychevka on around January 1, 1942, corroborating the date given in the Soviet military investigation report.[5] Russian policemen also took an active part in the shooting.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sychevka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-43, 637); GASmO (R-1630-1-324); NARA (N-Doc., USSR-279); TsGAMORF (208/2526/264); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 32.
2. GASmO, R-1630-1-324, pp. 101–102.
3. Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 188.
4. TsGAMORF, 208/2526/264, Akt gorod Sychevka (military investigation), March 8, 1943, this source gives the date of January 1, 1942, and states there were up to 250 victims. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov. Dokumenty. Vypusk 10* (OGIZ, 1943), p. 5. Another source (Sychevka Raion Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, October 23, 1943) indicates that 27 Jewish families were shot in Sychevka as early as November 1941. NARA, N-Doc. USSR-279, mentions that there were 100 Jewish victims in the town.
5. On the details of the retreat of Sonderkommando 7a, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 558, p. 727, and vol. 23 (1998), Lfd. Nr. 620, pp. 147–150. Kurt Matschke, on interrogation, denied that any executions were carried out during the retreat; but the temporal coincidence is striking.

TATARSK

Pre-1941: Tatarsk, village, Monastyrshchina raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Tatarsk is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) south-southwest of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census, there were 819 Jews living in what then comprised the raion of Monastyrshchina (excluding the village of Monastyrshchina itself). The majority of these Jews (around 600 people) were inhabitants of the village of Tatarsk.[1]

German forces occupied Tartarsk in July 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During these four weeks, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. Approximately 400 Jews remained in Tatarsk at the start of the German occupation.

Just after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the registration and marking of the Jews and also the exploitation of Jews for various kinds of forced labor. The commandant's office also established a local auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) and appointed a local Russian mayor.

In September 1941, a detachment of the Vorkommando Moskau (a small squad subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B), commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Woldemar Klingelhöfer and assisted by SS-Hauptsturmführer Egon Noack, arrived in Tatarsk from Smolensk. On arrival, they met with the local mayor and the head of the Ordnungsdienst, to set up a ghetto in Tatarsk. The local authorities defined two streets containing about 10 houses, to which all the Jews had to move. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence and guarded by the Ordnungsdienst, but initially Jews were able to leave fairly easily, as the Russian guards were not strict. During this first visit (probably in mid-September 1941), Noack and Klingelhöfer collected all fur items of clothing from the Jews and organized the shooting of about 50 male Jews in a ditch. It was probably at this time that a Judenrat consisting of not more than 3 people was established.[2]

Living conditions in the ghetto were deplorable. The Jews received only the bare minimum necessities for subsistence. Between 7 and 10 families, or between 35 and 50 people, had to share living quarters in each house.[3] The conditions were so bad that soon the Jews tried to leave the ghetto and return to their old homes. The German Security Police viewed this as an act of subversion against the established order, and in early October 1941, on orders from the head of Einsatzgruppe

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B, SS-Gruppenführer Arthur Nebe, Klingelhöfer and Noack returned to carry out a second anti-Jewish Aktion.[4]

In Security Police Report (Ereignismeldung UdSSR) no. 124, issued on October 25, 1941, these events are described as follows:

> The staff unit (Gruppenstab) [of Einsatzgruppe B] and Vorkommando Moskau carried out an operation against the Jews in Tatarsk. The Jews had begun to leave the ghetto of their own volition, and return to their former residences. Russians had occupied their apartments in the meantime, and the Jews tried to drive them out. Therefore, the place was systematically searched and the Jews gathered in the market square. Some of them had fled, and had to be hunted out of the nearby forest. In punishment for not following the orders of the German Security Police, all the Jewish men in Tatarsk and three women were shot.[5]

According to postwar accounts given by Klingelhöfer, some 200 Jews were rounded up on this second occasion, and the remaining 30 or so male Jews were among those shot.[6] According to one source, the Germans and their collaborators continued to hunt down those Jews in hiding and shot another 10 or 15 Jews uncovered over the following weeks. In total, at least 300 Jews are estimated to have been murdered in Tatarsk.[7]

A non-Jewish local inhabitant, Petro Rashkeev, witnessed the murder of Jewish children. It was a cold, rainy day, and the children were grabbed out of their houses naked and driven to the grave site with whips. Here, the Germans hit some babies on the head with iron rods and threw them into a pit without checking to see whether or not they were still alive. The children died, buried in the damp, blood-saturated earth.[8]

Local witnesses recall efforts by several individuals to rescue Jews in Tatarsk, but only a few Jews succeeded in evading capture. Lev Sorin hid in the pharmacy during the second Aktion and received help from a Communist. He noted that the Russian police played an active part in the killing. Subsequently, he obtained papers that helped him to pass as a Russian.[9] A man named Klimov hid a Jewish woman but was denounced to the Germans. The Germans tortured him to death, but he refused to reveal where the Jewish woman was hiding. A 70-year-old man tried unsuccessfully to protect four Jewish boys by saying they were his grandsons. The Germans suspected they were Jewish and killed them and then almost beat the man to death.[10]

SOURCES A brief article on the annihilation of the Jews of Tatarsk can be found in B. Vest, ed., *Be-hevlei kelaya: Yehudei Russia ha-sovietit be-shoa ha-nazit, 1941–1943* (Tel Aviv, 1963), p. 265. The short article "Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske," submitted to *Eynikayt* by Meyor M. Rabinovich, can be found in USHMM (RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002, Jewish Antifascist Committee Records from GARF, 8114-1-418, transl. Sonia Isard) and YVA.

Documents about the persecution and elimination of the Jews of the village can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); GARF (7021-44-628); GASmO (R-2434-3-37); NARA (NO-4235); SHLA (Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1); VHF (# 17264); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin; and Rabinovich, "Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske"; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 64.
2. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235, testimony of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, July 2, 1947, published in Henry Monneray, ed., *La persecution des juifs dans le pays de l'Est, présentée à Nuremberg: Recueil de documents* (Paris: Editions du Centre, 1949), pp. 275–276; Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 119; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1 (Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63, investigation of Egon Noack), vol. 1, pp. 49–50, and vol. 4, pp. 152 ff., statement of Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin.
3. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 164.
4. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1, vol. 1, pp. 49–50.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.
6. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1, vol. 1, pp. 49–50. Rabinovich, "Krovavaya reznya v Tatarske," gives the figure of around 200 Jews shot during the second Aktion in the courtyard of the "Trudovik" Jewish kolkhoz. According to the Einsatzgruppen reports, between September 29 and around October 12, 1941, the staff unit and Vorkommando Moskau (VKM) shot 428 persons; it is likely that these numbers included the Jews killed in Tatarsk.
7. Rabinovich, "Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske," states the figure of up to 600 victims, but this reflects the pre-war population.
8. Ibid.
9. VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin.
10. Rabinovich, "Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske."

TOROPETS

Pre-1941: Toropets, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1942: Toropez, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Toropets, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Toropets is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-northeast of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, there were 500 Jews living in the town, at that time a raion center in the Kalinin oblast'. The Jewish population then accounted for 3.87 percent of the town's total population.

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German forces of Rear Area, Army Group Center occupied Toropets on August 29, 1941, two months after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that interval, a large number of Jews from Toropets had succeeded in evacuating to the east. Meanwhile, the Soviets began drafting eligible men into the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, probably less than 100 Jews remained in the town.

A German military administration governed Toropets throughout the occupation (from August 29, 1941, until January 21, 1942). The German commandant appointed local citizens to a newly created Rayon authority and established a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from non-Jewish local residents.

On September 20, 1941, the chief of the local police, invoking the authority of the German military commandant, ordered that lists be prepared for him of all the Jews in the town, specifying their ages; that they all be resettled into a designated section of the town (a ghetto); and that they be checked to verify whether they were all wearing identifying armbands.[1] To house the Jews, the authorities selected a building belonging to a local flax mill on the edge of town. They chose a dentist as the ghetto elder. The ghetto elder was responsible for organizing forced labor details for the German authorities.[2]

A weekly report by the responsible commandant's office Ortskommandantur (OK) I/532 in Toropets, probably from the end of September 1941, noted that a "Jewish quarter" (*Judenviertel*) had been established and that the Jews had been marked and registered (21 male and 25 female Jews, out of a total population of 5,724).[3]

On October 23, 1941, OK I/851, under the command of Major Hirschberg, took over the administration of Toropets from OK I/532.[4] Shortly afterwards, on October 28, 1941, servicemen of the SS-2nd Cavalry Regiment raided the ghetto, "confiscating" items of women's clothing and money.[5] Also stationed in the town at this time were elements of Police Reserve Battalion 131.

The ghetto, which contained about 75 people, remained in existence for about three months.[6] Postwar testimony by German servicemen reveals a number of additional details about the ghetto and its liquidation, some of which is corroborated by several of the witnesses. According to Hauptmann Pohl, the intelligence officer (Ic) with OK I/851, the Jews consisted mainly of women and children, including a number of young women, and the flax mill was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews all wore white armbands bearing numbers.[7]

In early November 1941, a detachment of Geheime Feldpolizei (GFP)-Gruppe 710 consisting of 15 to 20 men arrived in Toropets under the command of Feldpolizeisekretär Blohm. In early or mid-December, Blohm received a written order to shoot all the Jews in the ghetto, including the women and children. Several German witnesses maintain that in order to avoid having to shoot the roughly 20 Jewish children in the ghetto, the local commanders planned for a German doctor to kill them using poison or a lethal injection, according to one account, in the context of a "Christmas celebration." The doctor, however, refused to comply, reporting himself sick.[8]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in the second half of December 1941.[9] The Jews were escorted on foot from the flax mill to a gravel pit only a few hundred meters away, where there was a trench about 10 meters long and 3 meters wide (33 by 10 feet). Here the Jews were ordered to undress and place their clothes in a pile. They also had to surrender any valuables, and some Jews were found to have been hiding money in their shoes. The Jews then had to kneel in the ditch in groups and were shot in the back of the neck. The mass shooting was carried out by men of GFP-Gruppe 710. Some of the clothing was distributed to local Russian women who worked for the Germans.[10]

A mixed family with a Jewish wife who lived outside the ghetto was initially spared from the massacre. The Germans shot the entire family a short time later, stealing their property.[11] Within a few weeks of the ghetto's liquidation, the Soviet winter counteroffensive had driven German forces out of Toropets by January 21, 1942, seizing this important supply base in the rear of the German 9th Army.

SOURCES Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews of Toropets can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/27220); GARF (7021-20-24); GATO (1925-1-5); and NARA (N-Docs. NO-4415 and NOKW-1319 and 2385).

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NOTES

1. GATO, 2757-1-2, p. 10.
2. GARF, 7021-20-24, p. 1; GATO, 1925-1-5, p. 2. On Jewish forced labor, see Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 95, citing NOKW-2385.
3. NARA, RG-238, T-1119, reel 18, fr. 0270-71, NOKW-1319, OK I 532, Toropez, Wochenbericht der Abteilung I, n.d.
4. BA-L, B 162/27220, p. 62.
5. Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), p. 202.
6. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 326, states that differing sources report either 75 or 59 inmates of the ghetto; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
7. BA-L, B 162/27220, pp. 63–66, summary of testimony by Hauptmann Pohl.
8. Ibid., pp. 60–66. Different versions of the plan for the doctor to kill the children are given by witnesses Orth, Arnold, Dr. Christ (Adjutant of OK I/851), and Pohl.
9. Ibid., pp. 60–73; *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty* (OGIZ-Voenizdat, 1942), 3:79–80, dates the Aktion, however, on November 13, 1941.
10. BA-L, B 162/27220, pp. 60–73; witnesses Orth, Arnold, Hirschberg, Dr. Christ, Pohl, Kirsten, Vogt, Witt, and

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Witte all mention the mass shooting. The German investigation cautiously estimated that at least 25 people were shot.

11. Ibid., p. 66, testimony of Pohl.

UNECHA

Pre-1941: Unecha, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Unetscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Unecha, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Unecha is located on the Unecha River approximately 120 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of Briansk. According to the 1939 census, 1,708 Jews lived in Unecha (comprising 12.24 percent of the total population).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 17, 1941, almost two months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. The advent of war led to panic in the marketplace, making it difficult to buy provisions. Based on information from Polish refugees, as well as heavy German bombing, some Jews decided to evacuate. Since Unecha was an important railway junction, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to escape to the east. However, the local government only organized the evacuation of specific groups of workers, and Soviet regulations made it difficult for others to flee.[1] Men of eligible age were called up to enlist in the Red Army. It is estimated that around 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Unecha under German occupation.

Shortly after the arrival of German forces, the Germans established a military commandant's headquarters (Ortskommandantur), which was responsible for the administration of the town. They also recruited a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. In the summer of 1941, the authorities compelled the Jews to wear six-pointed stars made out of white cloth, and they were forbidden to leave the town limits.[2] Police tasks in the area were also carried out by German forces of the Field Gendarmerie (Feldgendarmerie) and by a detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP); beginning in the fall of 1941, GFP-Gruppe 729 was based in Unecha.

In October 1941, all Jews remaining in the town were resettled into a ghetto close to the railway line. The ghetto area was based around an old poultry factory and surrounded by a wooden fence.[3] Any Jews caught outside the ghetto were shot. The ghetto was unsanitary, particularly because dead bodies were not removed from the area. All Jews over the age of 15 had to perform difficult and dirty forced labor from morning until night. The ghetto inmates were composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly. Some additional women and children were brought into the ghetto after the male members of their families had been arrested and shot. The local Russian police frequently robbed the Jews. It was difficult to obtain water in the ghetto, and there was hardly any food, only a few old potatoes, so some Jews risked leaving the ghetto to barter things with local peasants in exchange for food.[4]

In mid-March 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto.[5] Just prior to the ghetto's liquidation, about 70 Jews from the village of Zhudilovo (in the direction of Pochep) were brought into the ghetto, as were a number of Gypsies (Roma) transported on sleds.[6] On the afternoon of March 15, the German-led forces assembled the Jews into a column and escorted them to the edge of town where a 10-meter-long (33-foot-long) ditch had been prepared. Men of the Feldgendarmerie and from GFP-Gruppe 729 cordoned off the killing site. Four or five SD men, probably a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a that was based in Klintsy (in March 1942 under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp) then shot the Jews in the back of the neck with pistols.[7] All the Jews (including some who had converted to Christianity) and Roma were shot. In total, probably around 342 persons were murdered on that day not far from the Unecha railroad station.[8]

Solomon Bazhalkin, then 14 years old, escaped from the ghetto just prior to its liquidation. He knocked on people's doors in the surrounding villages, saying he was an orphan. Some local inhabitants offered him food and occasionally shelter for a short while; but usually he had to move on again soon, as people suspected that he was a Jew. On one occasion he was denounced to the police, but he successfully convinced them he was an orphan and was released. Subsequently he linked up with the Soviet partisans. The Red Army liberated the region during its offensive in September 1943.[9]

SOURCES The ghetto in Unecha is mentioned in the following publications: Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannyoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 158–159; Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 98, 262–264; and Emmy E. Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents: Children Witness World War II* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000), pp. 32–33.

Documentation on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-4); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9); and VHF (# 29265). Additional information can be found in the trial verdict against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin, May 6, 1997.
2. Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents*, pp. 32–33.
3. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin, May 6, 1997; Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents*, pp. 32–33, citing Yuri Kirshin, a non-Jewish child in Unecha who corroborates the accounts of Jewish survivors; Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii," p. 174.
4. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

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5. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannyoi territorii," p. 159. According to another source, the shooting took place on March 18, 1942; see *Partizany Briansbchiny* (Tula, 1970), p. 96.

6. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

7. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 794–795. The description of the killing Aktion is based on testimony by members of GFP-Gruppe 729.

8. GARF, 7021-19-4, pp. 237–238; see also GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 8. 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), p. 1361, give the figure of 342. According to partisan sources cited by Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, pp. 262–264, the number of victims was considerably higher, but the figures given in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports are likely more accurate, as *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 794–795, estimates the number of ghetto inmates at around 300.

9. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

USVIATY

Pre-1941: Usviaty, village and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Uswjati, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Usviaty, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Usviaty is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) south-southeast of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, 136 Jews were living in Usviaty (5.46 percent of the total population). In the villages of the Usviaty raion, there were another 10 Jews.[1]

German armed forces occupied the settlement in July 1941, approximately three weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. In those three weeks, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up for service in the Red Army.

During the course of the occupation, from July 1941 until January 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The Ortskommandantur appointed a village head and recruited a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from local residents.

Shortly after the occupation began, the local administration organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also exploited for various kinds of heavy labor.

At the end of September 1941, a ghetto was created in the village. A few homes that had been emptied of their Russian residents were designated for this purpose, and the "Jewish quarter" was surrounded with barbed wire. Jews in the ghetto did not receive provisions. Food rations were issued only to Jews who performed labor, and they received only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day.[2] Most sources estimate that around 160 Jews were living in the ghetto, but the actual number was probably less than this.[3] The ghetto existed for about four months. The German security forces did not have time to liquidate the ghetto. On January 28, 1942, the Red Army liberated the remaining Jews in the ghetto in the course of their winter counteroffensive. Unfortunately about 30 Jews perished in the ghetto from cold and starvation just before the arrival of the Red Army.[4]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the ghetto in Usviaty can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-20-25); GASmO (R-1630-1-369); and YVA (M-62/55 and O-33/3275).

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trans. Steven Seegel

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1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 64.

2. GARF, 7021-20-25, p. 113.

3. Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159. The number of Jews in the ghetto given by these sources is probably too high. There were only 136 Jewish residents before the war, and some of these people were able to evacuate the area. Therefore, one can surmise that there were probably around 100 people in the ghetto.

4. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 99.

VELIKE LUKI

Pre-1941: Velike Luki, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1942: Welikije-Luki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Velike Luki, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Velike Luki is located on the Lovat' River, about 220 kilometers (137 miles) south-southeast of Pskov. According to the 1939 census, 1,519 Jews were living in Velike Luki, at that time a raion center in the Kalinin oblast'. The Jewish population then accounted for 4.34 percent of the town's total population.

German forces of Army Group Center first captured the town on July 19, 1941, but they were then temporarily driven out by a Soviet counterattack. The Germans recaptured the town on August 24, 1941, but this temporary reprieve in the meantime had enabled a large number of Velike Luki's Jews to evacuate to the east.[1]

A German military administration (Ortskommandantur) asserted authority in the town, assisted by a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants. From September 4 to around September 17, 1941, Ortskommandantur (OK) 1/302 and Feldkommandantur (V)/181 were based in the town, subordinated to Korück 582 of the German 9th Army. From the start of September until mid-October 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a, comprising 20 or 30 men, and a subordinated group of Waffen-SS men were based in Velike Luki. Also present in the area to guard the railway lines was part of Police Reserve Battalion 131, which

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assisted Sonderkommando 7a in the arrest and shooting of suspected Communists and Jews.[2]

Soon after occupying the town, the German military administration established a ghetto in Velike Luki, which was located on a single street.[3] Information on the ghetto and its inhabitants is sparse. According to documents in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission files, the German commandant (Ortskommandant) soon appointed a Jewish headman, the 65-year-old dentist Labas, who was made responsible for the Jews. He had to report in writing every day that all the Jews were present and correct. If any Jews were missing, Labas would be beaten. German records indicate that in September 1941, there were 59 Jews registered in Velike Luki.[4]

From the accounts of German servicemen based in the town in September 1941, it appears that the Jews of the ghetto (at least 50 men, women, and children) were shot in one or more small Aktions conducted during the month of September, as were a number of Jews uncovered in neighboring villages at this time. The members of the Sonderkommando were assisted in these Aktions by members of 2nd Company Police Reserve Battalion 131, the Ordnungsdienst, the Feldgendarmerie, and possibly also a detachment of Latvian auxiliaries. The total number of Jews shot in the region by members of Sk 7a may have been 175 to 200 people.[5] Il'ja Al'tmann indicates that the Germans had completely liquidated the ghetto by October 1941.[6]

Velike Luki was also the location of a German camp for Soviet prisoners of war, as around 30,000 men had been captured in the region at the time of the German offensive in late August 1941.[7] According to a report to Korück 582, on October 4, 1941, German Wachbataillon 720, which was in charge of a Soviet POW camp in Velike Luki, handed over to the Security Police "three Soviet prisoners of Jewish nationality," who they then shot following an interrogation. According to German sources, there was reportedly a strong Soviet partisan resistance in the area at this time, which led Sonderkommando 7a to shoot a number of people as suspected partisans or partisan helpers at around the same time as the shooting Aktions against the Jews.[8]

SOURCES The contents of some of the German court–related testimonies on the ghetto and the murder of the Jews in Velike Luki are briefly summarized in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311.

Documentation regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Jews in Velike Luki can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; GARF (7021-26-4); NARA (e.g., N-Doc., NOKW-1303); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

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1. 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), p. 1381.

2. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311.

3. Ibid., pp. 301–306; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 129.

4. GARF, 7021-26-4, p. 1 reverse, as cited by Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 150–151 (see also pp. 127–130); Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1381.

5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–306. The official records of Einsatzgruppe B, however, record a smaller number of Jewish victims who may have been murdered in Velike Luki; for this period see BA-BL, R 58/216-18, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 73, 92, and 108. On the role of Reserve-Polizeibatallion 131, see also Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), pp. 607–608, 819.

6. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 127–130.

7. Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 209.

8. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311; see also NARA, RG-238, N-Doc., NOKW-1303, report dated October 5, 1941.

VELIZH

Pre-1941: Velizh, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Welish, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Velizh, Russian Federation

Velizh lies on the banks of the Western Dvina River, 125 kilometers (78 miles) north-northwest of Smolensk and 80 kilometers (50 miles) northeast of Vitebsk. The Jewish population stood at 1,788 in 1939.

On July 13, 1941, units of German Army Group Center captured Velizh. At the end of July and the start of August 1941, the occupying authorities established a Judenrat and ordered the Jews to register and to wear a yellow patch for identification.[1]

Jews were not permitted to socialize with Russians or to appear at the market. Some of the Russian population began to treat the Jews with unconcealed hostility. One witness reported that the Russians viewed the Jews mainly as an opportunity to extract booty.[2]

Each day, Jewish men ages 15 to 60 had to appear before the Kommandantur, where they were given shovels for different forced labor projects. Generally they worked repairing the Velizh-Demidov-Smolensk highway. At work, they were beaten and humiliated. Occasionally, the guards ordered their victims to squat down and get up 100 times while holding an axe or shovel.

Jewish women also had to perform heavy labor, hauling bricks, logs, or beams, or cleaning toilets. Others had to do pointless tasks, such as gathering stones and putting them into a pile, then the next day dispersing them again. Sometimes they had to do more grueling work, such as collecting water from the river, carrying it up a hill, pouring it on the earth, and then

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climbing down the hill to get more. The guards often whipped the women.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7a (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B) shot a Jewish woman and eight former Komsomol members from Velizh for sabotage at the Voroshilov kolkhoz 17 kilometers (11 miles) from Velizh. They were accused of having "attempted to intimidate the population by spreading false rumors."[3] From September 4 to the start of October 1941, Sonderkommando 7a was based in Velizh, where it apparently played a key role in the persecution of the Jews. In September 1941, on the pretext of a work assignment, the Germans gathered approximately 150 Jewish men ages 18 to 35, took them out of the city, and shot them. Shortly afterwards, 50 young women were brutally beaten with rifle butts for trying to run away through the streets.

At the end of September 1941, the Kommandantur issued an order for the Jewish population to be resettled into a ghetto. They were allowed to bring with them only essential items, namely, basic foodstuffs and warm clothing. The Jews' remaining property was to be turned over to the Russian policemen and redistributed. The ghetto was set up on the edge of the city, next to a large pig farm. A fence surrounded the ghetto, reinforced with barbed wire. Men of the Russian police (Ordnungsdienst) guarded the perimeter.[4]

There were 1,400 to 1,500 Jews in the ghetto. About 1,000 people lived in just 27 houses. The living conditions were atrocious, and many people were unable to wash themselves. About 500 people lived in the pigsty, in which rows of bunk beds, two or three tiers high, stood around one oven, with hardly any room to sleep. Food had to be prepared over bonfires.

Jews were forbidden from leaving the ghetto on pain of death. Non-Jews were also not allowed to enter it. Russian policemen, upon spotting someone trying to escape, would run after them, shouting: "Catch the Jew [*zhid*]!" Those whom they caught were brutally beaten. They chased the ghetto inmates out of their dwellings and made them watch the executions. The one exit from the ghetto was usually locked; only trucks carrying corpses to the Jewish cemetery were permitted to pass through.[5]

Sources are scarce on the Judenrat's activities in the Velizh ghetto. The foreman (starosta) in charge was the teacher Mendel' Itkin. One witness recalled that "the leaders of the Judenrat did not have any detailed or reliable information. . . . [T]hey were unfortunate people themselves."[6] The main task of the Judenrat was to pass on German orders to the ghetto population. The foreman assigned people to labor tasks according to the demands of the occupying authorities.

Initially, the Jews lived on whatever they had brought from their homes into the ghetto. But most of the goods spoiled, and famine set in. Many of the inmates were refugees from Belorussia and other places, and without any supplies, these people suffered badly. People grew swollen from hunger, and many young Jews died in the streets. The more fortunate with regard to rations were those in mixed families, as they generally received help from their Russian kin. Neighbors and friends gave some assistance to the ghetto, providing the inmates with potatoes and bread. Sometimes ghetto inhabitants, having removed their yellow markers, managed to get out of the ghetto and obtain foodstuffs from people they knew. They bartered gold and silver items for food.

Winter came, and in the pigsty it was unbearably cold. The Jews were unable to obtain firewood for heating; instead, they broke up the bunk beds. Living conditions deteriorated further. The prisoners used kerosene lamps until the fuel ran out. Several people died each day of hunger, cold, and typhus. Some elderly people fell out of their high bunk beds and died. There was no medicine. The Russian doctor Vasilii Zhukov lived in the ghetto with his Jewish wife and their three children. He was responsible for treating everyone.

Many ghetto inmates owned gold and silver items. Some of the Russian policemen who guarded the ghetto accepted such things in exchange for a little food. But the Germans found out about the barter and shot those policemen. Then the guards started to rob the Jews more systematically.

Witness testimonies provide little information about forced labor by ghetto inmates. They indicate that the Jews were taken out in convoys to work from morning to evening. As a rule, they performed heavy physical and menial jobs. Some Jewish tailors had to mend clothing for the Germans.

On several occasions in December 1941 and January 1942, the Russian police took young Jewish girls and teenagers for work in the city and shot them after they had finished. In a Smolensk court in March 1960, Piotr Sychev, who worked with the German Secret Field Police (GFP), recounted how he had participated in these shootings on three separate occasions.[7]

The Jews did not see any prospect of being rescued from their hopeless situation. A former ghetto inmate recalled that in the ghetto "they gathered in groups and sat silently in the darkness. They didn't want to speak with each other."[8] Jews who came back to the ghetto observed the silence and tried to support the inmates who remained behind each day.[9]

There were some incidents of resistance during the course of an Aktion carried out against the young men. According to testimonies gathered by the Soviet 4th Shock Army, "an unidentified Jew tried to organize a resistance movement armed with axes, but the Germans shot him and his associates before they could realize their plans."[10] A group of young Jewish girls also escaped from the ghetto and joined Soviet partisan detachments.

With the advance of the Red Army close to the city in late January 1942, some Jews escaped from the ghetto. They hid with acquaintances in the town or went across the front line. Two days before the destruction of the ghetto, the Russian doctor Vasilii Zhukov managed to get his family out and save them.

On the morning of January 30, 1942, the 4th Shock Army attacked Velizh from three sides. Fighting was heavy until February 2, 1942, when Soviet forces successfully liberated the northwestern part of the city up to the Western Dvina River. Then their advance was halted.[11]

On January 30, the Germans and Russian police sealed all the exits from the pigsty, poured gas on it, and set it on fire.

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Then they burned down the houses in the ghetto where other Jews were still living. The police opened fire on any Jews who tried to escape from the flames.[12] Maria Savinskaia, one of the ghetto inmates, recalled at a trial in Smolensk in March 1960: "I saw my mother's black hair catch fire. We got her out through a small window. Then shots were fired. I was wounded, but my friends did not make it. We could only save ourselves. For a long time . . . there was the stench of charred corpses and burnt hair. I've never been able to forget that smell."[13]

Approximately 100 people managed to escape from the pigsty, and of that number, most were wounded or later killed. Dozens of Jews who escaped from the ghetto and hid in the basements of town buildings were discovered and shot by members of the Ordnungsdienst. About 600 people were killed during the liquidation of the ghetto.[14] Some of those who initially escaped from the burning ghetto were killed subsequently during the fighting in the town. Only a few dozen Jews survived, including the teenagers and young women who fled and joined the Soviet partisans.[15] The report of the Velizh District Commission in August 1944 indicates that not 1 Jew remained in the town.[16]

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) assigned responsibility for the crimes against Soviet citizens to the local German military administration in Velizh (Ortskommandantur 849); the Wehrmacht officers Kohlman, Agement, Lugash, and Rosenfeld; Bidiukov, the mayor of Velizh; and Murashkin, the chief of the Russian police.[17] The Soviet authorities tried a number of Russian policemen who took part in the murder of the Jews. In March 1960, a Smolensk court sentenced two former policemen to death, and a third received 15 years in prison.[18]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Velizh ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Velizh include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1965); F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 65–66; and Leonid Koval, *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2: 42–44.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Velizh can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-20-25; 7021-44-619); GASmO (R-1630-1-314 and R-2434-3-36); TsGAMORF (32/11302/32, p. 81); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/4389 and O-33/3275).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GASmO, R-1630-1-314, p. 8; Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York, 1989), p. 117; *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, (Moscow, 1942) 5:61; V. Abramov, "Gitlerovskie liudoedy," *Rabochii put'* (organ of the Smolensk district Communist Party Committee—VKP), August 21, 1942, p. 2; testimony of Vera Fainshtein, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 117; and Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiut*, p. 65.
2. Testimony of Vera Fainshtein, p. 117.
3. Arad, Krakowski, and Spector, *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 117.
4. A. Bordiukov, "Tragediia Velizhskogo getto," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 123; testimony of Vera Fainshtein, pp. 117–118; and GASmO, R-1630-1-314, p. 16.
5. Testimony of M. L'vin, YVA, O-33/3275, p. 3; testimony of Issak Bruk, YVA, O-33/3275, p. 7; and testimony of Emma Kudrianovich, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, pp. 114–115.
6. Testimony of Issak Bruk, p. 8.
7. Testimony of A. Bordiukov, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 124.
8. Testimony of Emma Kudrianovich, p. 115.
9. Testimony of Issak Bruk, pp. 6–7.
10. YVA, M-40, MAP/103, p. 28.
11. Yeremenko, *V nachale voiny*, pp. 445–455.
12. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, 5:62.
13. Testimony of A. Bordiukov, pp. 124–125.
14. Abramov, "Gitlerovskie liudoedy," p. 2.
15. Testimony of Vera Fainshtein, p. 118; testimony of M. L'vin, p. 3; and testimony of Issak Bruk, pp. 10–11.
16. GASmO, R-2434-3-36, p. 55.
17. Ibid., p. 57
18. A. Bordiukov, "Litso velizhskikh banditov," in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 126.

VYRITSA

Pre-1941: Vyritsa, town, Gatchina raion, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Wyritsa, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Vyritsa, Russian Federation

Vyritsa is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south-southeast of Leningrad. In 1926, there were 49 Jews living in Vyritsa, and in 1939, the census recorded 138 Jews, representing 1.2 percent of the total population of the town.[1]

German forces of Army Group North captured the settlement on August 31, 1941, more than two months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the East, and the eligible males were required to report for military service in the Red Army. About one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Vyritsa at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a local council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Kommandantur ordered the council to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various types of heavy labor. In October or November 1941, all the remaining Jews in the settlement were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, for which a barn was allocated. This ghetto contained around 50 people. German security forces soon liquidated the

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ghetto, probably in November 1941, when all the Jews were shot in the forest outside the town.[2]

SOURCES Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Vyritsa can be found in the following archives: GALO and GARF (7021-30-242).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. 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), p. 1418; and Mondechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 30.
2. Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101.

YESSENTUKI

Pre-1942: Yessentuki, town, Ordzhonikidze krai, RSFSR; August 1942–January 1943: Jessentuki, Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Yessentuki, Stavropol' Krai, Russian Federation

Yessentuki is located about 150 kilometers (93 miles) southeast of Stavropol'. According to the 1939 population census, there were 581 Jews living in the town.[1] After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jewish population initially decreased, as men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. However, about 1,500 Jews—out of several thousand Jews who were evacuated at the start of the war from the western regions of the USSR to the northern Caucasus—arrived in the town, and most were unable to flee in the summer of 1942 due to the rapidity of the German advance.

On August 11, 1942, German armed forces occupied Yessentuki. Throughout the town's occupation, which lasted until January 11, 1943, a German military administration ran the town. In August 1942, the Ortskommandant in Yessentuki was Oberstleutnant von Beck. The German military created a town administration and an auxiliary police force, recruited from among local residents.

The murder of the Jews of the town was organized by the Security Police of Einsatzkommando 12 (Einsatzgruppe D). This detachment was stationed in Piatigorsk, and it was headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Wiens, who went missing from the military at the end of the war.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, Ortskommandant von Beck ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council, or Judenrat, which consisted of five members. The Judenrat was responsible for carrying out the registration of all the Jews in the town. The results indicated 507 able-bodied Jews and around 1,500 deemed unfit to work, including children and elderly people.[2] Other regulations excluded Jews from receiving bread rations, and able-bodied Jews were exploited for various kinds of heavy physical labor, including the cleaning of military hospitals. On September 7, 1942, all Jews except those in mixed marriages were ordered to appear on September 9 at a school on the outskirts of the town, on the pretext of being resettled to sparsely populated areas. Most of those who obeyed the instruction were taken out in the early morning of September 10, 1942, and murdered in an antitank ditch near the glass factory at Mineral'nye Vody.[3]

It appears from the sparse information available that the several hundred able-bodied Jews in Yessentuki were temporarily spared and returned to the school building, which may have served as a form of remnent ghetto or labor camp for six more weeks. According to one source, this camp was liquidated on October 29, 1942, when 483 Jews were shot in a nearby forest. About 15 Jews from mixed marriages were excluded from the antisemitic measures and survived in Yessentuki, although these people also went into hiding during the last days of German occupation, fearing that the Germans might kill them too before they retreated.[4]

SOURCES Published accounts on the fate of the Jews in Yessentuki during the brief German occupation include Vasilii Grossman and Il'ya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga o zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuza i v lagerakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945* (Kiev, 1991), pp. 279–280—available in English as *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945*, trans. John Glad and James S. Levine] (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981); and I. Al'tman and Sh. Krakovskii, *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev (1941–1944)* (Jerusalem, Moscow, 1993), pp. 389–390—published in English translation by Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 271–272.

Relevant documentary sources can be found in the following archives: GARF; Sta. Mü I (119c Js 12/69); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. "Yessentuki," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:434.
2. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 279–280; A. Tol'stoi, "Korichnevyi Durman," *Pravda*, August 5, 1943. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 618, names the head of the Jewish Council as the physician Grigory Konievich; but other sources state it was a Jewish lawyer.
3. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 279–280. According to A. Tol'stoi, the extermination of the Jews took place on the night of September 6–7, 1942.
4. Testimony of the artist L.H. Tarabukin and his daughter D. Gol'dshtein, published in Al'tman and Krakovskii,

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Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga, pp. 389–390; I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 94, 100, 101, 273, 281. In nearby Kislovodsk, the Germans also temporarily kept alive a few cobblers and tailors; see Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 269.

ZAKHARINO

Pre-1941: Zakharino, village in the Khislavichi raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Zacharino, Chislawitschi Rayon, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Novoe Zhakarino, Russian Federation

Zakharino is located a few kilometers to the southeast of Khislavichi. In 1925, there were 550 Jews living in Zakharino, representing 92 percent of the village's population. In the 1930s, Zakharino was Jewish national sel'sovet within the Khislavichi raion.[1] By 1941, the number of Jews had dropped to only about 275,[2] primarily as a result of the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German forces captured the village on August 1, 1941, more than one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a few Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were required to report for military service in the Red Army. More than 90 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, a German military administration was responsible for the Chislawitschi Rayon, including the village of Zakharino. The German administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various forced labor tasks such as clearing snow in winter. During the first weeks of occupation, Germans stole poultry and would humiliate Jews by forcing them to fetch water from the well, then pouring it away. Later Germans came from Khislavichi and shot into Jewish homes, killing several Jews. In another incident, two fat Germans forced a Jew to pull them on a cart through the village, as if he were a horse, before they hanged him on an old broom tree.[3]

The Germans established a Judenrat in Zakharino, which was responsible for passing on German orders and regulations to the Jewish population. In October 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, for which several streets were designated.[4]

A number of Jews arrived in Zakharino who had fled from towns in Belorussia, including Minsk, Vitebsk, and Mstislavl'. According to one fugitive, the Jewish children in Mstislavl' had been buried alive. After hearing such stories, the Jews of Zakharino lived in fear. German Gendarmes and local collaborators periodically entered the Jews' houses to conduct searches. During these searches, they robbed items, raped girls, beat people, and dragged away Jewish men for purposes unknown. In February 1942, a large punitive squad arrived and ordered the Jews to pile up their clothing, cooking utensils, and bed linen in several designated huts. The Germans then transported away these vitally needed possessions in the depth of winter.[5]

The ghetto existed until May 9, 1942, when German security forces liquidated it by shooting all the Jews. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, there were more than 260 victims, of which the names are known for about 215 people.[6] After the Aktion, local policemen continued to search for Jews hiding in nearby villages and in the forests, as they received the victims' clothes and several packets of tobacco as a reward from the commandant for every Jew they brought in. These Jews would be escorted to the ravine and shot. Very few Jews from the village survived. The Germans took away the remaining horses and cows and set fire to the village just before their retreat. The Red Army liberated Zakharino on September 27, 1943.[7]

SOURCES A personal account describing the fate of the Jews in Zakharino, prepared by a Russian woman who was married to a Jew, can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 386–397.

Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Zakharino can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-634 and 8114-1-960); GASmO; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. "Zakharino," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 2000), 4:475.

2. According to the 1939 census, there were 292 Jews living at that time in the Khislavichi raion (excluding Khislavichi); most of them lived in Zakharino.

3. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 387–388.

4. I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:475.

5. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 388–389.

6. I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 475–477. See also "The Jews of Zakharino, Chislavichi District of Smolensk Region, Russia, Shot by the Nazis on May 9, 1942," compiled by Shlomo Gurevich, available at www.jewishgen.org/belarus/jews_of_zakharino.htm, which includes an English translation of the list of names with gender and ages from a copy of the ChGK report held at YVA; and "Zakharino," 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), p. 1483. Ibid., Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 393, however, estimates the number of victims at around 500.

7. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 393–397.

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ZLYNKA

Pre-1941: Zlynka, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Slynka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zlynka, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Zlynka is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Gomel' on the highway to Briansk, which lies 200 kilometers (124 miles) to the east-northeast. The town lies close to the point where the borders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus now meet. The 1939 census indicated a decline in the town's Jewish population to 432 (5 percent of the total). This reduction was primarily due to the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German troops of Army Group Center occupied Zlynka on August 25, 1941, two months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. The morning that the war started, a loudspeaker announced the news, leading to a general panic. Frightened residents quickly bought as many groceries as they could afford, causing long lines to form. People also exchanged items of clothing to obtain food. At the same time, young people volunteered or were mobilized for the front. During the intervening period before the Germans arrived, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Slightly more than half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation, approximately 230 in total.[1]

During the entire period of the occupation until September 26, 1943, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a town council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. Soon after the occupation, the town council organized the registration and marking of the Jews with stars on their chests, as well as the recruitment of Jews for various forms of heavy labor.

In early September 1941, in the first Aktion against the Jews of Zlynka, Sonderkommando 7b arrested 27 Jewish men as alleged "terrorists." The men were taken about 10 or 15 kilometers (6 or 9 miles) outside the town and shot.[2] Shortly after this, by October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto about 3 kilometers (almost 2 miles) outside the town on the premises of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS).[3] The Zlynka ghetto existed for around four months. A few Jews who had fled from other towns, including Novozybkov and Gomel', were also settled within the Zlynka ghetto.[4] The ghetto was composed of two barracks, a few nearby houses, and a bathhouse. The rabbi lived in one of the houses. There was a Jewish elder in charge of the ghetto who organized the collection of valuables and other items demanded by the Germans. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence, but the Jews were forbidden to leave. Due to severe hunger in the ghetto, sometimes Jews would remove their stars and sneak into nearby villages where local inhabitants gave them food. Some young people in the ghetto celebrated the New Year in 1942 with a tree, music, and singing.[5]

On February 15, 1942,[6] German-led security forces liquidated the ghetto. When the German and Russian police first arrived and surrounded the ghetto, many Jews gathered in an apartment to pray.[7] All the remaining Jews were shot and buried in a pit; the total number of victims was 190. The alleged pretext for the ghetto's destruction was that the Jews had established contact with the partisans, after 12 Jews from Zlynka had joined Soviet partisans operating in the region.[8] However, the German Einsatzgruppen had instructions to murder all Jews in the region. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (Trupp Schulz) probably organized the liquidation of the ghetto, but local witnesses mention that local Russian police also participated in the shooting. During the Aktion, one boy vehemently maintained that his parents were Russian, but nobody paid attention to his pleading, and he was shot together with the others.[9]

SOURCES Published sources mentioning the destruction of the Jews of Zlynka include *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–788; and Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 263.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the town's Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); BA-L; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-4); RGVA (500-1-770); USHMM; and VHF (# 37382 and 38878).

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 37382, interview with Mikhail Liubkin, May 30, 1997; Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 96.
2. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941; VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
3. GARF, 7021-19-4, pp. 11–12; and VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
4. VHF, # 37382, interview with Mikhail Liubkin, May 30, 1997.
5. Ibid., # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
6. GARF, 7021-19-4, p. 3.
7. VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
8. See RGVA, 500-1-770, report of Einsatzgruppe B, March 1, 1942, on its activities from February 16 to 28, 1942.
9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–788. This source cites only 60–70 Jews and Communists as victims and is uncertain as to the date of the Aktion. Also see Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 263.

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SECTION VIII

GERMAN-OCCUPIED GREECE

Following Germany's invasion of Greece from the north in April 1941, in support of its ailing Italian Axis partner, German forces secured control of the Greek mainland by early May 1941. Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria then partitioned Greece into three occupation zones. The Italians became responsible for the bulk of mainland Greece until the surrender of Italian forces in September 1943. The Bulgarians were awarded a strip of territory in the northeast, comprising part of Macedonia and much of Thrace. To the east of this Bulgarian sector there was a small strip along the border with Turkey, which remained under German control. The main block of German-occupied land lay in the center of northern Greece, around the city of Thessalonikē. The Germans were also responsible for Athens and a small area around it, for several islands in the Aegean Sea, and also for most of Crete.

Until September 1943, the German administration in occupied Greece consisted initially of the theater command Military Commander Southeast (Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Südosten), which was exercised by Army High Command 12 (Armeeoberkommando 12). At the start of 1943, Army Group E (Heeresgruppe E) took over this responsibility. Directly in charge of the area around Thessalonikē was the commander for the Thessalonikē-Aegean region (Befehlshaber Saloniki-Ägäis). Under his authority, the German officer primarily responsible for occupation policy in Thessalonikē was Kriegsverwaltungsrat Colonel Dr. Max Merten.

German SD officers subordinated to Adolf Eichmann ordered the establishment of a ghetto consisting of three sections in Thessalonikē in March 1943. No other ghettos were created in German-occupied Greece. Following ghettoization, almost all the Jews of this ancient city were deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp within six months. Northern Greece was liberated by Allied forces at the end of 1944, although on some of the islands, German forces held out until May 1945.

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THESSALONIKĒ

The adult Jewish male population of Thessalonikē is assembled at Eleftheria (Freedom) Square by German troops, July 11, 1942.
USHMM WS #33097, COURTESY OF DAVID SION

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THESSALONIKĒ (AKA SELÂNIK OR SALONIKI)

Pre-1940: Thessalonikē, city, Macedonia periferias, Greece; 1941–1944: Salonika, capital, Besatzungszone Saloniki-Ägäis; post-1945: Thessaloniki, capital, Thessaloniki prefecture and Central Macedonia periferias, Greece

Thessalonikē is located about 300 kilometers (186 miles) north-northwest of Athens. The Jewish population of the city in 1940 was about 50,000.

The German army entered Thessalonikē on April 9, 1941. In the first 10 days the German authorities closed down Jewish community offices, shut down the Jewish press, and imprisoned the Jewish communal council and other community leaders. Immediately thereafter, they confiscated their communal archives, which contained community and member financial data. In a separate operation, the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg scoured Thessalonikē's Jewish libraries and archives, seizing property and sending it back to the Reich. Thessalonikē's chief rabbi, Tzevi Koretz, was arrested in Athens and transported to the Gestapo prison, Hotel Metropole, in Vienna. He returned to Thessalonikē in February 1942.[1]

Until July 1942, the German authorities did not implement racist legislation against Thessalonikē's Jews. However, in April 1941, some Thessalonians initiated the placement of signs forbidding entry to Jews, stating that their presence was unwelcome in all restaurants and coffee shops in the city. From the outset, the Germans permitted only antisemitic newspapers. The new newspaper *Nea Europi* (*New Europe*) joined the already established, pro-German *Apoyevmatini* in publishing scurrilous, defamatory, and historically inaccurate articles against Thessalonikē's Jews. Local rumors spread of a secret referendum, according to which the Thessalonians importuned the German authorities to apply racial legislation. The German officer who became responsible for the city of Thessalonikē in August of 1942, Kriegsverwaltungsrat (KVR) for the Saloniki-Aegean Theater, Colonel Dr. Max Merten, referred to this rumor to blackmail the Jews.

In July 1942, General Kurt von Krenzski ordered all Jewish males, aged 18 to 45, except for Italian or Spanish passport holders, to appear at Freedom Square (Plateia Eleftherias) at 8:00 A.M. on Saturday, July 11, threatening dire penalties for nonconformity. The Jews soon found out they were to be used in forced labor for military work and road construction. Dozens of Greek municipal employees under German supervision registered some 6,000 to 9,000 Jews.[2] During this assembly the German authorities mistreated and humiliated the Jews, with beatings, penal exercises, and assaults by guard dogs. In the days that followed, the men received cursory medical examinations by Greek physicians. By September 1942, some 2,000 to 3,000 Jewish laborers were engaged in building military roads, under the supervision of the German Müller construction firm. From the outset, living conditions were so bad that medical assistance was needed immediately. The forced laborers worked for more than 10 hours a day, primarily in quarries. Physical abuse was routine. Summer heat, malaria, and the lack of basic hygiene contributed to the spread of epidemics. The first dead engendered uproar in Thessalonikē's Jewish community and prompted immediate intervention.

From August 20, 1942, the task of relieving the hard-pressed forced laborers fell, with the agreement of Merten and Müller, on the Jewish community's Central Coordinating Committee for Welfare Works. Exempted from forced labor were men who fell into the categories of sole breadwinners and high school or university students, while exemptions could be purchased for a minimum of 1 million drachmas. It is estimated that in its first 20 days of operation the liaison office drafted 3,000 new laborers, established buyout fees for 500 draftees, and exempted 6,000 students plus 1,000 others. The buyouts raised approximately 7.5 billion drachmas, held in trust by the Jewish community.

Meanwhile, Organisation Todt (OT), the Nazi construction organization, dispatched Jewish laborers to various sites in Chalkidiki. The OT work supervisors' savagery resulted in escapes, arrests, and on-the-spot executions. Due to the high number of deaths, the Central Coordinating Committee sent Yomtov Yakoel to visit the works in Gida, Methoni, Aghios Dimitrios, and elsewhere with Müller and Greek General Lavranos. So shaken was Yakoel that he wrote a report, contrasting the peasants' compassion with the OT's cruelty. After witnessing the forced laborers' miserable condition, Müller proposed the replacement of Jewish workers by non-Jewish road builders. He estimated that if an amount of 2 billion drachmas could be collected from the Jewish workers' buyout fees, it would suffice to pay the non-Jewish workers' wages. Merten endorsed the idea of replacing the Jewish workers but raised the ransom to 3.5 billion drachmas. Meanwhile, Koretz, recently released from a second stint in German custody, and the committee members replied that they could not collect this huge sum in such a limited time. Merten thereupon recommended that the Jewish community pay 2 billion drachmas in cash; the balance was to be taken in the form of the

A German corporal leads three Jewish men in forced calesthenics at Eleftheria (Freedom) Square in Thessalonikē, July 11, 1942.
USHMM WS #33097, COURTESY OF DAVID SION

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Jewish community relinquishing its claims to the Jewish cemetery, which was to be used for military purposes. In responding to Merten's blackmail the committee members wrote that an amount of 2 billion drachmas could be collected and that it was up to Merten to decide whether military considerations necessitated the Jewish cemetery's destruction.

Acting on a request by Macedonian General Governor Vassilis Simonidis, the Thessalonikē-Aegean military command sent a letter to the Jewish community to collaborate with the municipality in the Jewish cemetery's transfer, which like the Greek Orthodox cemetery was located in the city's center. But the 10 days allotted to relocate the remains were insufficient to perform such a huge operation, as the old cemetery measured 350,000 square meters (86.5 acres) and contained nearly 300,000 graves. On December 6, 1942, the municipality dispatched thousands of workers who destroyed the cemetery, in the process ignoring German instructions to set aside certain tombs of high archaeological and historical value. The municipality used the tombstones to repair sidewalks and the Church of St. Demetrius and to build a swimming pool for German officers. The cemetery's demolition was a political, not a military, act, since Merten thought it would bring the non-Jewish population over to his side. Destroying the Jewish cemetery, subsequently the site of the Aristotelian University of Thessalonikē, completed the city's Hellenization.

In December 1942, Chief Rabbi Dr. Tzevi Koretz replaced Sabi Saltiel as head of the Jewish community. In the early months of 1943, Koretz served as de facto Jewish elder over the communal council and from February had to meet twice weekly with representatives from the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo). Appointed chief rabbi of Thessalonikē in 1932, his behavior as Jewish community president during the Holocaust prompted accusations of collaboration, but subsequent historical accounts have begun to reassess his role. Indeed, Koretz's name headed a list of Jewish collaborators drawn up after the war and submitted to the Special Court of Thessalonikē.[3] In a memoir secretly written during the deportations, Yakoel blamed Koretz for moral blindness: "At the head of this multifarious and multifaceted organization [the communal council] stood the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Koretz, occupying himself personally, from morning till late at night, with the smallest and least important details, neglecting the examination of the greater problem: the fate that awaited the Jewry of Salonika."[4] A Polish Jew, Koretz held a doctorate from the University of Vienna and spoke German, Greek, and Spanish. As historian Minna Rozen has recently argued, he was a useful scapegoat for the Sephardic community: not only was he viewed as an Ashkenazi outsider, but his uncovering of financial irregularities that implicated the community's leaders in the mid-1930s created lasting enemies. As historian Steven Bowman has argued, it is difficult to imagine how another community leader could have done any more than Koretz, given the impossible situation the Germans created.

A British army lieutenant colonel views tombstones from the desecrated Jewish cemetery in Thessalonikē, November 11, 1944. The official caption reads, "Indian Units arrived by sea at Salonika on 11th Nov., 1944. A German strongpoint, with slit trenches lined with tombstones from Jewish graves. In the background can be seen the concrete emplacement adjoining the slit trenches."
USHMM WS #49979, COURTESY OF JOSEPH EATON

In January 1943, SS-Sturmbannführer Rolf Günther of the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA) IV B 4 (Jewish Affairs) arrived to prepare for the destruction of Thessalonikē's Jews. At Adolf Eichmann's behest, he demanded the compilation of a historical, demographic, and economic report on the Jewish community and its members.[5] Following Günther's mission, on February 6, 1943, Eichmann's specialists, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dieter Wisliceny and SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner, came to Thessalonikē. Requisitioning a Jewish house at 42 Velissariou Street, near the Jewish community offices, they established the headquarters for the Special Detachment for Jewish Matters of the Security Police Saloniki-Aegean (Sonderkommando für Judenangelegenheiten der Sicherheitspolizei, Saloniki-Ägäis). Early accounts of the Holocaust in Thessalonikē erroneously referred to their mission as the "Rosenberg Kommando." At the International Military Tribunal, Wisliceny self-servingly testified that Brunner handled the "technical" (i.e., railway) aspects of the "Final Solution" and therefore did not answer to him.[6]

The destruction process in Thessalonikē took only five weeks from the badging order to ghetto formation and the first deportation. In carrying out the Final Solution, as historian Hans Safrian points out, Eichmann's team got vital assistance from the Wehrmacht, in particular Merten, whose signature appeared on many orders. On February 6, Wisliceny and Brunner ordered that Jews not carrying a foreign passport had to wear the yellow star from age five and for all Jewish property to be marked with Greek and German labels. Additionally, the order required the Jews to move to certain

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defined areas (ghettos) by March 6, 1943, while all other areas were barred to them.[7] These laws restricted the Jews' movement and simultaneously forbade their entry into cafés and travel by tram or motor vehicle and mandated their return to the ghetto before sundown. Failure to obey these orders resulted in on-the-spot shooting.

The short notice given to implement the measures prompted community leaders to ask Merten for more time, but to no avail. The Jews had to register all belongings and to submit household goods to the occupation authorities. The communal council worked indefatigably to move 7,500 families, who formerly lived throughout the city's neighborhoods, to the confines of three ghettos.

Three predominantly Jewish areas served as ghettos in Thessalonikē. From north to south, the first "ghetto," known as Baron Hirsch, comprised the Aghia Paraskevi quarter, the Regie Vardar and surrounding streets, and the Baron Hirsch quarter. Some accounts do not classify Baron Hirsch as a ghetto at all but as a concentration or transit camp. In 1939, the Baron Hirsch quarter comprised an area of 30,000 square meters (7.4 acres) and 593 rooms. In 1940, new housing facilities were built in the Aghia Paraskevi quarter for homeless Jews. Although the three areas were in close proximity, they were not adjacent but are still considered a single ghetto. A label in German, Greek, and Judeo-Spanish identified the Baron Hirsch ghetto's three exits, two leading to two different streets and one to the adjacent freight railway station from where the deportation trains left. E.D. Gebin, a young Nazi, headed the transit camp, and Vitali Hasson served as his interpreter.

Further south, the second ghetto, Syngrou, was in the center and northwest side of the city and was named after the Monasteriote Synagogue on Syngrou Street. It formed a parallelogram with Egnatia Avenue in the west, the Chalkeon Square in the south, the Kyverneion Street in the east, up to the "Viozah" factory and the Langada Street in the north. The third ghetto was situated in the center and southeast of the city in the Campagnas district (Greek: Exoches) and extended in the west from Vassilissis Sofias Avenue to Vassileos Georgiou Avenue, Evzonon Street in the north, and 25 Martiou Street to the south, including the Kalamaria working-class district in the east to Papaphi Street.

Non-Jews continued to reside in the Syngrou and Campagnas ghettos, while Jewish domiciles were marked with black Stars of David. Jewish houses situated along the ghettos' peripheries were likewise marked with black Stars of David. Many Jews who did not find rooms to rent had to move in with family members who lived in the areas prior to their ghettoization. Non-Jewish policemen and Jewish volunteers wearing yellow armbands inscribed "Jüdischer Ordnerdienst" (Jewish Order Police; Greek: *politofylakes*) guarded ghetto entrances.[8] The Jewish militia chief was Salis, a former Greek army officer from Chalkis. Vitali Hasson's right-hand man, Iossef (Jacques) Albala, like Hasson notorious for brutalizing fellow Jews, was assigned the post of Jewish Police chief by Eichmann's Sonderkommando. He organized the 250 members of the Jewish Police and reported daily to the Gestapo. The German authorities' numerous restrictions, effectively turning the Jews into prisoners, drove some to disguise themselves, leave the ghettos, and flee to the Italian occupation zone and Athens by train. Most Jews, however, followed Koretz's instructions for strict obedience to German orders.

As of March 1, 1943, the Jews were required to register their personal property for statistical purposes. From March 6 they were strictly forbidden to leave the ghetto, and all exits were guarded by German police (Schutzpolizei, Schupo) and Greek police. During the first weekend after enclosure, they went hungry until the communal council was able to distribute some food. Relief came from soup kitchens organized at the beginning of the occupation by certain community leaders and from members of Matanoth Laevionim (Gifts to the Needy, an association founded in 1901 by a group of Jewish leaders and doctors that established several soup kitchens). These organizations were subsequently able to distribute up to 5,000 portions daily, thanks to help from the International and Hellenic Red Cross.

The Baron Hirsch ghetto's proximity to the railway station meant that its 2,315 inhabitants were among the first deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp. The first transport also included 85 Jews from the village of Langadas and from the Campagnas ghetto. Among the Campagnas ghetto families were the Kounios, who, as fluent German speakers, became interpreters. On March 17, the Aghia Paraskevi's inhabitants were deported, after which came Regie Vardar's turn. After March 19, when the Aghia Paraskevi–Regie Vardar–Baron Hirsch areas were emptied, the Baron Hirsch quarter became a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for the remaining Jews in Thessalonikē. The camp was fenced in by high wooden boards reinforced by barbed wire and guarded by machine guns.

Every couple of days the Germans marched approximately 3,000 Jews to the Baron Hirsch camp from either of the two remaining ghettos, from which they were quickly deported. Most convoys consisted of 40 goods wagons designed to hold no more than 40 men each. Yet the Germans managed to cram up to 70 to 80 people in each, with at least 2,800 per convoy. Deaths occurring in the Baron Hirsch camp and during the deportation went unrecorded. Of the 19 convoys that left from Thessalonikē between March 15 and August 10, 1943, 5 left from March 15 to 27, 9 from April 3 to 28, and 2 in May. According to statistics provided by Hellenic Railways, 42,830 people were deported by May 9.

Koretz unsuccessfully tried to persuade the Greek authorities, including the collaborationist prime minister Ioannis Rallis, to intervene. This attempt led to his third imprisonment, this time in the Baron Hirsch camp.[9] Some 150 Thessalonikē jurists protested against the deportations and submitted a petition to request that the convoys would be diverted to other parts of Greek territory. The intelligentsia of Athens, including Archbishop Damaskinos, also tried to intercede in favor of the Jews.

In the last two major convoys of May 1943, 2,034 Jews from the smaller communities of Florina, Veria, Didymoticho, Soufli, and Nea Orestiada were included since these towns were

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part of the Thessalonikē-Aegean occupation zone. Another 820 "privileged" Jews—communal council members and collaborators—departed on June 1 not for Terezín (Theresienstadt), as was rumored, but for Auschwitz II-Birkenau.

Some 74 Greek Jewish communal leaders, including Koretz and his family, and another 367 Jews of Spanish citizenship were deported to the Bergen-Belsen camp on August 2.[10] (Koretz died of typhus in June 1945.) Finally, on August 10 the last convoy with 1,800 Jewish slave laborers, dispatched in March 1943 to repair the railway's north-south Boetia line, was also deported to Auschwitz.

With the exception of some escapees who joined the Greek resistance or hid in cities of the Italian Zone with the help of non-Jewish friends, a few Turkish Jewish citizens, and others who escaped to Palestine, the only ones to escape the German "Final Solution" were several hundred Spanish and Italian Jews who had the right of repatriation. But the Spanish Jews had to hand over their valuables before being deported to Bergen-Belsen, while the Italian Jews were sent to Athens.[11]

Nineteen convoys consisting of 45,891 people left the city within five months. Of those, 37,387 were gassed on arrival in Auschwitz II-Birkenau; most of the others died in forced labor at Auschwitz. At the end of August 1943, Thessalonikē, the Jerusalem of the Balkans, with more than 2,000 years of active Jewish life, had become *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews). Only 4 percent of the Jews living in Thessalonikē in 1940 returned after the war.

Documentation from various diplomatic consulates and from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) underscored the German authorities' difficulty in keeping word of the Thessalonikē Jews' fate from the outside world. Not only did the U.S. State Department gather testimony about the deportations from Turkish Jewish returnees in Istanbul, but consuls representing Axis and neutral governments, including Lucillo Merci of Italy, were able to gather detailed information on the Eichmann Sonderkommando's decrees within days of their issuance.[12] Especially well informed was Fridolin Jenny, the former Swiss consul in Thessalonikē, who repeatedly dispatched reports to Geneva, pleading for relief for Thessalonikē's Jews.[13]

To date, Alois Brunner has escaped justice for his role in the Holocaust, but the Czechoslovakian government executed Dieter Wisliceny in 1948. In 1957, chief Greek prosecutor Andreas Toussis had Max Merten arrested during the latter's visit to Athens. Charged with 15 counts of extortion and murder, Merten was found guilty of most charges and condemned to 25 years' imprisonment, but he only served a minimum of his sentence in Greece: the government of Konstantine Karamanlis released him as soon as it was politically convenient to do so, in the name of preserving good trade relations with West Germany. In 1945, the Thessalonikē Special Court, formed to try collaborators, convened two trials against the journalists of *Apoyevmatini* and *Nea Europi*, which led to many convictions. The most important Jewish collaborator to be tried in Thessalonikē was Vitali Hasson, who was executed in 1946.

SOURCES To date there is not a monograph-length study of the Thessalonikē ghettos. The following secondary sources address aspects of these ghettos and the destruction of Thessalonikē's Jewish community: Andrew Apostolou, "'The Exception of Salonika': Bystanders and Collaborators in Northern Greece," *HGS* 14:2 (Fall 2000): 165–196; Joseph Ben, "Jewish Leadership in Greece during the Holocaust: Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe," *Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979): 335–352; Rika Benveniste, ed., *I Evraioi tis Ellados stin katochi* (Thessalonikē: Vanias, 1998); Steven B. Bowman, *The Agony of Greek Jews, 1940–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Steven B. Bowman, "Greek Jews and Christians during World War II," in Yehuda Bauer et al., eds., *Remembering the Future: Working Papers and Addenda, Jews and Christians during and after the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: Pergamon Press, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 215–223; Gila Hadar, "Space and Time in Thessalonikē on the Eve of World War II and the Expulsion and Extermination of Thessalonikē Jewry (1939–1943)" [in Hebrew], *Yalkut Moreshet* 82 (October 2006): 9–37; Eleni Haidia, "The Punishment of Collaborators in Northern Greece, 1945–1946," in Mark Mazower, ed., *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943–1960* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 42–61; Michael Matsas, *The Illusion of Safety: The Story of the Greek Jews during the Second World War* (New York: Pella, 1997); Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430–1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Michael Molho, "El cemeterio Judio de Thessaloniki, verdadero museo epigráfico, historico y arqueológico," *Sefarad*, no. 9 (1949): 1–24; Michael Molho and Joseph Nehama, *In Memoriam: Hommage aux victimes juives des Nazis en Grèce*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonikē: Communauté Israélite de Thessalonique, 1988); Bernard Pierron, *Juifs et Chrétiens de la Grèce moderne: Histoire des relations intercommunautaires de 1821 à 1945*, preface by Vidal Séphiha (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); Minna Rozen, "Jews and Greeks Remember Their Past: The Political Career of Tzevi Koretz (1933–43)," *Jewish Social Studies History, Culture, and Society* 12:1 (Fall 2005): 111–166; Minna Rozen, ed., *The Last Ottoman Century and Beyond: The Jews in Turkey and the Balkans, 1808–1945*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2002); Hans Safrian, *Eichmann und seine Gehilfen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995), also available in English as *Eichmann's Men*, trans. Ute Stargardt (New York: Cambridge University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2010); and Susanne-Sophia Spiliotis, "'An Affair of Politics, Not Justice': The Merten Trial (1957–1959) and Greek-German Relations," in Mazower, *After the War Was Over*, pp. 293–302.

Published primary sources on Thessalonikē begin with the collection of German documents, with French translations, found in Molho and Nehama, *In Memoriam*. Wisliceny's self-serving testimony on Thessalonikē at Nuremberg may be found in International Military Tribunal, ed., *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nuremberg, 1967), vol. 4, pp. 363–367. Additional sources may be found in Irith Dublon-Knebel, ed., *German Foreign Office Documents on the Holocaust in Greece (1937–1944)* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, 2007); and Alexandros Kitroeff, "The Jews in Greece,

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1941–1944: Eyewitness Accounts," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 12:3 (1985): 5–32. The latter consists of U.S. diplomatic and intelligence documents, some of which pertain to Thessalonikē. A useful published diary is Joseph Rochlitz, ed., "Excerpts from the Salonika Diary of Lucillo Merci (February–August 1943)," introduction by Menachem Shelach, *Yad Vashem Studies* 18 (1987): 293–323. An important collection of published testimonies by Yomtov Yakoel, Isaac Aaron Matarasso, and Salomon Mair Uziel is Steven Bowman, ed., *The Holocaust in Salonika: Eyewitness Accounts*, trans. Isaac Benmayor (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 2002). Another significant testimony is Jacques Stroumsa, *Violinist in Auschwitz: From Salonica to Jerusalem, 1913–1967*, trans. James Stuart Brice, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartnung-Gorre, 1996). Also see Renee Levine Melammed, "The Memoirs of a Partisan from Salonika," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues* 7 (Spring 2004): 151–173. A compelling open letter by an anonymous witness to the unfolding deportations in Thessalonikē, unfortunately of unknown provenance, may be found in Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Shoah*, trans. Marice Tszorf, foreword by Yehuda Bauer (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag; Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2006), pp. 106–108.

Major archival holdings on Thessalonikē may be found in A-ICRC, CAHJP, JCTh, and YVA. At USHMM, major collections on Thessalonikē include RG-11.001M.21 (ERR, microfilmed from RGVA); RG-11.001M.51 (Records of the Jewish Community of Saloniki, Greece, microfilmed from RGVA); RG-19.045M (ICRC, Commission of Prisoners, Internees, and Civilians; Jews=Israélites, 1939–1961); RG-45.001 (Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jewish Collection, 1885–1957); and the digitized ITS holdings, especially 01 (CNI) and 1.1.47.1 (Various Concentration Camps [VCC]). The USHMMPA has an extensive collection of photographs relating to the public humiliation of Jews at Freedom Square.

Rena Molho and Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. On Koretz's imprisonment in Vienna, see the CNI card for his cell mate, Dr. Hinko Gottlieb, USHMM, ITS Collection 0.1, document No. 23040595; and Hinko Gottlieb, *The Key to the Great Gate: A Novel*, trans. Fred Bolman and Ruth Morris, illustrated by Sam Fischer (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947), p. 4, which integrates portions of his experience in captivity, including his time as cell mate with Dr. Tzevi Koretz in the Vienna city jail.

2. See the panoramic photograph of the assembly, USHMMPA, WS #33097 (Courtesy of David Sion), July 11, 1942.

3. "Salonika Jews Sponsor Trial of Collaborators (1945)," available at www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org.

4. Quoted in *The Memoir of Yomtov Yacoel*, reprinted in Bowman, *The Holocaust in Salonika*, p. 120.

5. The reports for Günther were probably based on JCTh (unclassified documents in a private collection), Daoud Levy, "Notas Historicas sovre la Communidad Judia de Thessaloniki, 1870–1940" (unpub. MSS, 1942); Daoud Levy, "Peri proelefsseos merous tis akinitou perioussias tis Israilitikis Kinotitos tis Thessalonikis" (Of the origin of part of the real estate property of the Jewish community of Thessalonikē), trans. D. Benveniste (unpub. MSS, 1942).

6. IMT, *TMWC*, vol. 4, p. 363 (quotation).

7. Befehlshaber Saloniki-Ägäis Abteilung Militärverwaltung (Merten) an die Jüdische Kultusgemeinden Saloniki, February 6, 1943, reproduced in Molho and Nehama, *In Memoriam*, p. 151.

8. For Jüdische Ordnerpolizei, see the stamps on Passierschein zwecks Entlassung eines Häftlings aus dem Judenlager "Baron Hirsch," May 25, 1943, USHMM, ITS Collection, 1.1.47.1 (VCC).

9. Sonderkommando für Judenangelegenheiten der Sicherheitspolizei, Saloniki-Ägäis, April 15, 1943, Wisliceny, to Commander Saloniki-Ägäis KVR Merten re: Chief Rabbi Tzevi Koretz; Deutsche Generalkonsulat, signed Dr. Schönburg (no. 2933391 and 2933392), April 6, 1943, to Wisliceny, for Plenipotentiary Günther Altenburg for the Reich in Athens, both in YVA, Microfilm Doc. no. 2933300, Stamped 8002527.

10. CNI for Dr. Heinrich [*sic*] Koretz ("Chief Rabbi of Greece" [*sic*]), USHMM, ITS Collection 0.1, Document ID 28176883; Verschiedene Gefangenenlisten, die von Hilfs-Komitees 1944/1945 aufgestellt wurden, ferner eine Nachkriegsaufstellung betreffend Patienten im kath. Krankenhaus Celle und eine 1954 mit Begleitschreiben WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS übersandte Liste (Nachkriegsaufstellungen), ITS Collection 1.1.3.1, Document ID 3393870.

11. Sonderkommando der Sicherheitspolizei für Judenangelegenheiten Saloniki-Aegaeis, Wisliceny, to Generalkonsul of Saloniki, Dr. Schönburg, June 1, 1943, attached to Dr. Schönburg's letter forwarding the above on June 2, 1943, to Deutsche Gesandtschaft Athens, concerning a list of Jews with citizenship of enemy powers, both in YVA.

12. On Turkish Jews as witnesses to the deportations, see, for example, U.S. Consulate-General, Istanbul, to State Department, Report no. 1083 (R-992), August 7, 1943, reproduced in Kitroeff, "Documents: The Jews in Greece", 18; and Joseph Rochlitz, ed., "Excerpts," in *YVS* 18 (1987): 300 (entry for February 19, 1943).

13. See, for example, Fridolin Jenny to M. Schwarzenberg, March 18, 1943, USHMM, RG-19.045M, ICRC, Commission of Prisoners, Internees, and Civilians; Jews=Israélites, 1939–1961, reel 12, G59/8/53–341, "Déportés de Salonique, 11.02.1943-20.01.1950," frames 0702–0703.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (Archive of New Documents), Warsaw
Abt.	Abteilung (section)
ÄdJ	Ältestenrat der Juden (Jewish Council of Elders)
AEG	Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (German General Electric Co.)
AEL	Arbeitserziehungslager (work education or discipline camp)
AFSBNO	Arkhiv FSB Novgorodskoi oblasti (Archive of the Federal Security Service for the Novgorod Oblast')
AFSBSmO	Arkhiv FSB Smolenskoi oblasti (Archive of the Federal Security Service for the Smolensk Oblast')
AG	Aktiengesellschaft (public company)
AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Central Archive of Historical Records), Warsaw
AgB	Akta gminy Białobrzegi (Files of the community of Białobrzegi)
AGK	Archiwum Głównej Komisji (Main Commission Archives; also IPN)
A-HIS	Archiv des Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung (Archive of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research), Hamburg, Germany
A-ICRC	Archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross
AIZP	Archiwum Instytutu Zachodniego w Poznaniu (Archive of the Institute of Western Studies in Poznań)
AJA	Jacob Rader Marcus Center of American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, OH
AJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (aka "the Joint," or AJJDC)
AK	Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army)
aka	also known as
AMS	Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof (Archives of the Stutthof Museum), Sztutowo, Poland
AMv	Archiv Ministerstva vnitra (Archives of the Czech Ministry of the Interior), Prague
AMVDGO	Arkhiv MVD Gomel'skoi oblasti (Archives of the Ministry of Interior for the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
ANA	Australian National Archives, Canberra
AOKBZH	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich (Files of the Regional Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes)
AOKBZHŁ	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Łodzi (Files of the Regional Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Łódź)
AOKBZHW	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich we Wrocławiu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław)
APB	Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku (Białystok State Archives)
APC	Archiwum Państwowe w Częstochowie (Częstochowa State Archives)
APGd	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (Gdańsk State Archives)
APK	Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach (Kielce State Archives)
APKat	Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (Katowice State Archives)
APKra	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (Kraków State Archives)
APL	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (Lublin State Archives)
APL-Chełm	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Chełmie (Lublin State Archives, Chełm branch)

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APL-Kraśnik	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Kraśniku (Lublin State Archives, Kraśnik branch)
APL-Radzyń	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Radzyniu Podlaskim (Lublin State Archives, Radzyń Podlaski branch)
APŁ	Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (Łódź State Archives)
APŁmż	Archiwum Państwowe w Łomży (Łomża State Archives)
APMM	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku (Archives of the State Museum at Majdanek)
APMO	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimiu (Archives of the State Museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau)
APO	Archiwum Państwowe w Otwocku (Otwock State Archives)
APP	Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (Poznań State Archives)
APPł	Archiwum Państwowe w Płocku (Płock State Archives)
APPrz	Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu (Przemyśl State Archives)
APR	Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu (Radom State Archives)
APSi	Archiwum Państwowe w Siedlcach (Siedlce State Archives)
APSuOE	Archiwum Państwowe w Suwałkach—Oddział w Ełku (Suwałki State Archives—Branch in Ełk)
APSz	Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (Szczecin State Archives)
APT	Archiv Památník Terezín (Archive of the Terezin Memorial)
APW	Archiwum Państwowe m.st. Warszawy (State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw)
APZ	Archiwum Państwowe w Zamościu (Zamość State Archives)
ARC	Aktion Reinhard Camps (Web site)
ASBUDO	Arkhiv SBU Donetskoi oblasti (Archive of the Ukrainian State Security Service for the Donetsk Oblast')
ASG	Ankieta Sądów Grodzkich (Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos)
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
AUKGBRBBO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Brestskoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Brest Oblast')
AUKGBRBGO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Gomel'skoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Gomel' Oblast')
AUKGBRBGrO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Grodnenskoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Grodno Oblast')
AUKGBRBMO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Minskoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Minsk Oblast')
AŻIH	Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
BA	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)
BA-B	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives in Berlin)
BA-BL	Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (German Federal Archives in Berlin-Lichterfelde)
BA-DH	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (German Federal Archives External Branch Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten)
BA-K	Bundesarchiv Koblenz (German Federal Archives in Koblenz)
BA-L	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg (German Federal Archives External Branch Ludwisgburg)
BA-MA	Bundesarchiv—Militärarchiv (German Federal Military Archives), Freiburg

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BCh	Bataliony Chłopskie (Chłopskie Battalion)
Bd.	Band (Volume)
BDC	Berlin Document Center (now BA-B and at NARA)
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei (Commander of the Security Police and SD)
BelGRES	Belorusskaia gosudarstvennaia raionnaia elektrostantsiia (Belorussian State Regional Electric Power Station)
BG	Bezirksgericht (District Court, GDR)
BGH	Bundesgerichtshof (Federal (formerly West) German Supreme Court of Appeals)
BLH	Beth Lohamei Hagettaot (Archive of the Ghetto Fighters' House, also GFH), Israel
BLHA-(P)	Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (State Main Archive of Brandenburg), Potsdam
BNA	British National Archives (see also NA)
BSSR	Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
BStU	Bundesbeauftragter für die Unterlagen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of State Security of the Former GDR)
BuF	Abteilung für Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge (Population and Welfare Department)
BWSL	Baden-Württembergisches Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (State Archives of Baden-Württemberg in Ludwigsburg)
BŻIH	*Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Bulletin of the Jewish Historical Institute)
CAHJP	Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CAHS	Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC
CAKCPZPR	Centralne Archiwum Komitetu Centralnego Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej (Central Archive of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party)
CD	Compact Disc
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
CENTOS	Centralne Towarzystwo Opieki nad Sierotami i Dziećmi Opuszczonymi (Central Organization for Orphan Care)
ChGK	Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia (Soviet Extraordinary State Commission)
CHC	Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone, Munich
CHS, MJH	Center for Holocaust Studies, Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust, New York
CKŻP	Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Central Committee of Jews in Poland, see also ŻIH)
CNI	Central Name Index (ITS abbreviation)
CSSD	Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Chief of the Security Police and SD)
CZA	Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem
CŻRSWGS	Centrala Żydowskich Rad Starszych na Wschodnim Górnym Śląsku (Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia)
DACgO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernighivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Chernighiv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAChO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Cherkass'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Cherkassy Oblast'), Ukraine
DADO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Dnipropetrovs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast'), Ukraine

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DADnO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Donets'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Donets'k Oblast'), Ukraine
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)
DAI-FO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Ivano-Frankivs'k Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKherO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khersons'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kherson Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKhkvO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khar'kivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Khar'kiv Oblast), Ukraine
DAKhO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khmel'nyts'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Khmel'nyts'ky Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKiO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kyiv (Kiev) Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kirovohrads'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kirovohrad Oblast'), Ukraine
DALO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the L'viv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAMO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Mikolaivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Mykolaiv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAPO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Poltavs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Poltava Oblast'), Ukraine
DARMARK	Derzhavnyi arkhiv pry Radi Ministriv Avtonomnoi Respubliky Krym (State Archives of the Ministerial Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea), Ukraine
DARO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Rivnens'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Rivne Oblast'), Ukraine
DASBU	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service), Kyiv, Ukraine
DASBU-Lu	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy, Lutsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Lutsk, Ukraine)
DASBU-Kh	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy, Khar'kiv (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Khar'kiv, Ukraine)
DASO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sums'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Sumy Oblast'), Ukraine
DATO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ternopils'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Ternopil' Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVINO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnyts'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Vinnytsia Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volyns'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Volyn' Oblast'), Ukraine
DAZO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhytomyrs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Zhytomyr Oblast'), Ukraine
DAZPO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zaporiz'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Zaporizhzhia Oblast'), Ukraine
DCRO	Durham County Record Office, United Kingdom
DDR-JuNS-V	*DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die deutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*
DG	Durchgangsstrasse (Highway)
doc.	Document
Dok. Bd.	Dokumenten Band (Documents Volume)
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Archives of the Austrian Resistance), Vienna
DP	Displaced Person(s)
DR	Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj (Government Delegation for Poland)
DRK	Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross)

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Dulag	Durchgangslager (Transit Camp)
EEJA	*East European Jewish Affairs*
EG	Einsatzgruppe (deployment group (of the Security Police) (murder squad))
Ek	Einsatzkommando (deployment squad (of the Security Police) subdivision of EG)
EKO	Evreiskoe kolonizatsionnoe obshchestvo (Jewish Colonization Association)
EM	Ereignismeldung (Events Report)
ERA	Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archives), Tallinn
e.V.	eingetragener Verein (Registered Association)
EWG	Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftstelle Getto (Ghetto Economic and Food Office)
Fa.	Firma (Company)
FGM	*Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*
FK	Feldkommandantur (Field Commandant's office)
FPO	Fareynikte Partizaner Organizatsye (United Partisan Organization)
fr.	frame of microfilm
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FSB	Federal'naia sluzhba bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation)
FVA	Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
GAARK	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv avtonomnoi respubliki Krym (State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea), Ukraine
GABO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Brestskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Brest Oblast'), Belarus
GABrO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Brianskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Briansk Oblast'), RSFSR
GAGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Grodnenskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Grodno Oblast'), Belarus
GAGOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Gomel'skoi oblasti (State Archives of the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
GAK-BR	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kabardino-Balkarskoi respubliki (State Archives of the Kabardino-Balkaria Republic), RSFSR
GAKO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kurskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Kursk Oblast'), RSFSR
GALO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Leningradskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Leningrad Oblast'), RSFSR
GAMINO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Minskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Minsk Oblast'), Belarus
GAMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Mogilevskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Mogilev Oblast'), Belarus
GANO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Novgorodskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Novgorod Oblast'), RSFSR
GAOOGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv obshchestvennykh ob"edinenii Gomel'skoi oblasti (State Archives of Public Associations of the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
GAOOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv obshchestvennykh ob"edinenii Mogilevskoi oblasti (State Archives of Public Associations of the Mogilev Oblast'), Belarus
GAPO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Pskovskoi oblasti v Pskove (State Archives of the Pskov Oblast' in Pskov), Russia
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (State Archives of the Russian Federation), Moscow
GASBU	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service), Kiev

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GASBU-Dn	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Dnepropetrovsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Dnepropetrovsk)
GASBU-Do	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Donetsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Donets'k)
GASBU-L	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, L'viv (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, L'vov)
GASBU-Lu	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Lutsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Lutsk)
GASmO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Smolenskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Smolensk Oblast'), RSFSR
GATO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Tverskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Tver Oblast'), RSFSR
GAVO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Vitebskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Vitebsk Oblast'), Belarus
GDL	Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin (Governor of the Lublin District)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (also DDR)
Gend.	Gendarmerie (rural branch of the German Order Police)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GFP	Geheime Feldpolizei (Secret Field Police of the Wehrmacht)
Gk	Generalkommissariat (General Commissariat)
GkWP	Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien (Volhynia and Podolia Region)
GKBZHwP	Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland; now IPN)
GKŚZpNP	Główna Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (a division of IPN))
GL	Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard, Polish communist armed underground organization)
GLA-K	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (General Regional Archive in Karlsruhe)
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung (Limited Liability Company)
GPK	Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office (of the Security Police))
GPU	Gosudarstvennoye Politicheskoe Upravlenie (State Political Directorate, part of the NKVD)
G Sta. Berlin	Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Berlin (State Prosecutor's Office at the Regional Court in Berlin)
GUS	Główny Urząd Statystyczny (Central Statistical Office), Poland
GV	Gettoverwaltung (German Ghetto Administration, Łódź)
GZ	Gestapo Zichenau (Archives of the Ciechanów-Płock Gestapo (held at IPN))
HADSBU	Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy (Divisional State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine)
HASAG	Hugo Schneider AG (Hugo Schneider Corp.)
HGS	*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*
HHStA-W	Hessiches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archive), Wiesbaden
HI/MID	Hoover Institution (Register of the Poland Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji Records, 1939-1945)
HJ	Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth)
HKP	Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (Army Vehicle Repair Park)
HOBAG	Holzbau Aktiengesellschaft (Wood Construction Public Company)
HSSPF	Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (Higher SS and Police Leader)
HStADü	Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf (Main State Archive Düsseldorf)

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HTO	Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East)
HVT	Holocaust Video Testimony
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History), Munich
IMT	International Military Tribunal
IPN	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Remembrance), Warsaw (formerly GKBZHwP)
IPN-Bi	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Białymstoku (Institute of National Remembrance, Białystok branch)
IPN-Kat	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Katowicach (Institute of National Remembrance, Katowice branch)
IPN-Kos	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Koszalinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Koszalin branch)
IPN-Lu	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Lublinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Lublin branch)
IPN-Ł	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Łodzi (Institute of National Remembrance, Łódź branch)
IPN-R	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Radomiu (Institute of National Remembrance, Radom branch)
IPN-Rz	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Rzeszowie (Institute of National Remembrance, Rzeszów branch)
IPN-Szcz	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Szczecinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Szczecin branch)
ITS	International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany
JCTh	Jewish Community of Thessalonikiė
JFO	Jewish Fighting Organization
JFR	Jewish Foundation for the Righteous
Julag	Judenlager (Camp for Jews)
JuNS-V	*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*
JUS	Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle (successor organization to JSS)
JSS (or ŻSS)	Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe (Jewish Social Self-Help)
JSS–CC	Jewish Social Self-Help–Coordinating Commission
Kav. Rgt.	Kavallerie-Regiment (Cavalry Regiment)
KAW	Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza (National Publishing Agency)
KdG	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (Commanding Officer of the Gendarmerie)
KdGL	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie Lublin (Commanding Officer of the Gendarmerie Lublin)
KdO	Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (Commanding Officer of the Order Police)
Kdo.-Stab	Kommando-Stab (Headquarters)
KdS	Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD)
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security in the USSR; successor to NKVD)
KL or KZ	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
Korück	Kommandant des rückwärtigen Armeegebietes (Commandant of the Army Rear Area)
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist Party)
KPP	Komunistyczna Partia Polski (Communist Party of Poland)

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Kripo	Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police)
KŚZpNP	Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People)
KrZ	*Krakauer Zeitung*
KTB	Kriegstagebuch (War Diary)
KWK	Kabelwerk Krakau (Cable Works Kraków)
LA-BW	Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (State Archive in Baden-Württemberg)
LAF	Lithuanian Activist Front
LBI	Leo Baeck Institute (partä of the Center for Jewish History), New York
LCVA	Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (Lithuanian Central State Archives), Vilnius
LG	Landgericht (State Court)
LG-Arns	Landgericht Arnsberg (State Court in Arnsberg)
LG-Aur	Landgericht Aurich (State Court in Aurich)
LG-Be	Landgericht Berlin (State Court in Berlin)
LG-Biel	Landgericht Bielefeld (State Court in Bielefeld)
LG-Bo	Landgericht Bochum (State Court in Bochum)
LG-Bonn	Landgericht Bonn (State Court in Bonn)
LG-Brem	Landgericht Bremen (State Court in Bremen)
LG-Darm	Landgericht Darmstadt (State Court in Darmstadt)
LG-Dort	Landgericht Dortmund (State Court in Dortmund)
LG-Duis	Landgericht Duisberg (State Court in Duisberg)
LG-Düss	Landgericht Düsseldorf (State Court in Düsseldorf)
LG-Ess	Landgericht Essen (State Court in Essen)
LG-Frei	Landgericht Freiburg im Breisgau (State Court in Freiburg im Breisgau)
LG-Gie	Landgericht Giessen (State Court in Giessen)
LG-Hag	Landgericht Hagen (State Court in Hagen)
LG-Hamb	Landgericht Hamburg (State Court in Hamburg)
LG-Hann	Landgericht Hannover (State Court in Hannover)
LG-Kais	Landgericht Kaiserslautern (State Court in Kaiserslautern)
LG-Kass	Landgericht Kassel (State Court in Kassel)
LG-Kiel	Landgericht Kiel (State Court in Kiel)
LG-Kö	Landgericht Köln (State Court in Cologne)
LG-Mai	Landgericht Mainz (State Court in Mainz)
LG-Man	Landgericht Mannheim (State Court in Mannheim)
LG-Mem	Landgericht Memmingen (State Court in Memmingen)
LG-Mü I	Landgericht München I (State Court in Munich I)
LG-Münst	Landgericht Münster (State Court in Münster)
LG-Old	Landgericht Oldenbourg (State Court in Oldenbourg)
LG-Reg	Landgericht Regensburg (State Court in Regensburg)
LG-Sa	Landgericht Saarbrücken (State Court in Saarbrücken)
LG-Stad	Landgericht Stade (State Court in Stade)
LG-Stutt	Landgericht Stuttgart (State Court in Stuttgart)
LG-Trau	Landgericht Traunstein (State Court in Traunstein)
LG-Tüb	Landgericht Tübingen (State Court in Tübingen)
LG-Ulm	Landgericht Ulm (State Court in Ulm)

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LG-Verd	Landgericht Verden (State Court in Verden)
LG-Wien	Landgericht Wien (State Court in Vienna)
LG-Wies	Landgericht Wiesbaden (State Court in Wiesbaden)
LG-Würz	Landgericht Würzburg (State Court in Würzburg)
LMAB	Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka (Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Library)
LS	Landesschützen (German Home Guard)
LVA	Latvijas Valts arhivs (Latvian State Archives), Riga
LVOA	Lietuvos visuomeninių organizacijų archyvas (Archives of Lithuanian Public Organizations, now part of LYA)
LVVA	Latvijas Valts Vestures arhivs (Latvian State Historical Archives), Riga
LYA	Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (Lithuanian Special Archives), Vilnius
MA	Moreshet Archives, Israel
MIGS	Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies
MKW	Muzeum Kujawskie we Włocławku (Kujawskie Museum in Włocławek)
MMŻ	Muzeum Martyrologiczne w Żabikowie (Martyrs' Museum in Żabikowo)
MOR	Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie (Regional Museum in Rzeszów)
MSS	manuscript
M Sosn	Akta Miasta Sosnowca (Files concerning the city of Sosnowiec)
MTS	Machine Tractor Station
MVD	Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del (Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs)
NA	National Archives, Kew, Great Britain (formerly PRO)
NAIRI	Nauchnyi arkhiv Instituta Rossiiskoi Istorii Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (Scientific Archives of the Institute of Russian History in the Russian Academy of Sciences)
NA(P)	Narodni Archiv (Praha) (Czech National Archives, Prague)
NARA	United States National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (formerly NARS, National Archives and Records Service, and NARUS, National Archives of the United States)
NARB	Natsional'nyi arkhiv Respubliki Belarus' (National Archives of the Republic of Belarus), Minsk
NCO	Noncommissioned Officer
n.d.	No date
N-Doc.	Nuremberg Document
NG-	Nuremberg Government (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
NI-	Nuremberg Industrialist (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
NID-	Nuremberg Industrialist-Dresdner Bank (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NIK-	Nuremberg Industrialist-Krupp (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, Soviet police predecessor of the KGB)
NMO	Niemieckie Materiały Okupacyjne (German materials concerning the occupation)
NO-	Nuremberg Organization (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NOKW-	Nuremberg OKW (Nuremberg Armed Forces High Command Document prefix)
n.p.	unpaginated
NS	Nationalsozialismus/Nationalsozialistische (National Socialism or National Socialist)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, or Nazi Party)

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NSHStAH	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Hannover (Main State Archive of Lower Saxony in Hanover)
NSKK	Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps (National Socialist Motor Corps)
NSV	Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National Socialist People's Welfare)
NSY	New Scotland Yard, see WCU
NSZ	Narodowe Siły Zbrojne ((Polish) National Armed Forces, a right-wing antisemitic underground organization)
NTN	Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy (Supreme National Tribunal)
NYCMA	New York City Municipal Archives
OK	Ortskommandantur (office of the local military commandant)
OKBZH-Bi	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Białymstoku (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Białystok)
OKBZH-Kr	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Krakowie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Kraków)
OKBZH-Ł	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Łodzi (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Łódź)
OKBZH-R	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Radomiu (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Radom)
OKBZH-Rz	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Rzeszowie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Rzeszów)
OKBZH-S	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Sanoku (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Sanok)
OKBZH-Si	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Siedlcach (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Siedlce)
OKBZpNPL	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Lublinie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People in Lublin)
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command)
OKŚZpNPBi	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Białymstoku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Białystok)
OKŚZpNPGd	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Gdańsku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Gdańsk)
OKŚZpNPŁdz	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Łodzi (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Łódź)
OKŚZpNPPoz	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Poznaniu (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People in Poznań)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command)
Orpo	Ordnungspolizei (Order Police)
OSI	Office of Special Investigations, United States Department of Justice, Washington, DC
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archive, Vienna)
OT	Organisation Todt (Todt Organization)
OUN	Orhanizatsiia Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists)
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the German Foreign Office), Berlin

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PAAKag	Personal Archive of Albert Kaganovich
PAAKru	Personal Archive of Alexander Kruglov
PAAR	Personal Archive of A.E. Raychonok
PAAS	Personal Archive of Anne Speckhard
PADC	Personal Archive of David Chapin
PADV	Personal Archive of Diana Voskoboynik
PAEK	Personal Archive of Eduard Kopówka
PAGV	Personal Archive of Gennadii Vinnitsa
PAIH	Personal Archive of Imke Hansen
PAIMSh	Personal Archive of Ilya M. Shenderovich
PALC	Personal Archive of Laura Crago
PALS	Personal Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky
PAPP	Powiatowe Archiwum Państwowe w Piasecznie z siedzibą w Górze Kalwarii (Powiat State Archive in Piaseczno in Góra Kalwaria)
PAP-Tarn	Powiatowe Archiwum Państwowe w Tarnowie (Powiat State Archive in Tarnów)
PARI	Personal Archive of Rachel Iskof
PARK	Personal Archive of Robert Kuwałek
PAVD	Personal Archive of Vadim Doubson
PAWL	Personal Archive of Wendy Lower
PGT	poselok gorodskogo tipa (town-like settlement)
PISM	Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum
Pol. Ordn.	Polen Ordner (file containing material concerning Poland)
POW	Prisoner of War
PPS	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)
PRO	Public Records Office in Kew, Great Britain (now British National Archives; in United States Army: Public Relations officer)
PS-	Paris-Storey (Nuremberg Document prefix)
PUST	Polish Underground Study Trust, London
PWN	Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (State Academic Publishing House)
Pz. Div.	Panzer Division (German Armored Division)
RAB	Reichsautobahn (German National Freeway)
RAW	Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railway Repair Works)
Rb	Regierungsbezirk (German administrative unit, literally Government District)
RFSS	Reichsführer-SS (Reich Leader of the SS (Heinrich Himmler))
RFSSChdP	Reichsführer-SS und Chef der Polizei (Reich Leader of the SS and Head of the Police (Heinrich Himmler))
RGAE	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (Russian State Archive of Economics)
RGAKFD	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv kinofotodokumentov (Central State Archives for Documentary Film and Photography)
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (former Special [osobyi] Archive, see RGVA), Moscow
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archives, (former Special [osobyi] Archive)), Moscow
Ring	Ringelblum Archives (original located at AŻIH)
RK	Reichskommissariat (Reich Commissariat)

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RKO	Reichskommissariat Ostland (Reich Commissariat Ostland)
RM	Reichsmark (unit of German currency)
RMO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebieten (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)
RNNA	Russkaia Natsional'naia Narodnaia Armiia (Russian National People's Army, a force of pro-Nazi Russian collaborators)
RSD	Reichssicherheitsdienst (Reich Security Service—Hitler's personal bodyguards)
RSFSR	Rossiiskaia Sovetskaia Federativnaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic)
RSGŻDG	Rada Starszych Gminy Żydowskiej w Dąbrowie Górniczej (Jewish Council of Elders in Dąbrowa Górnicza)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (SS-Reich Security Main Office)
RTKIDNI	Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History (Former Communist Party Archives)), Moscow
SA	Sturmabteilung (Storm Detachment, Storm Troopers)
ŠAA	Šiaulių apskrities archyvas (Šiauliai Regional Archives)
SAB	Sąd Apelacyjny w Białymstoku (Court of Appeal in Białystok)
SAGd	Sąd Apelacyjny w Gdańsku (Court of Appeal in Gdańsk)
SAK	Sąd Apelacyjny w Kielcach (Court of Appeal in Kielce)
SAk	Schutzpolizei Abschnittskommando (Section command of the Municipal Police (Schupo))
SAL	Sąd Apelacyjny w Lublinie (Court of Appeal in Lublin)
SAOl	Sąd Apelacyjny w Olsztynie (Court of Appeal in Olsztyn)
SAP	Sąd Apelacyjny w Poznaniu (Court of Appeal in Poznań)
SAPMO-DDR	Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (Foundation Archives of Parties and Mass Organizations of the GDR)
SAWr	Sąd Apelacyjny we Wrocławiu (Court of Appeal in Wrocław)
SAZG	Sąd Apelacyjny w Zielonej Górze (Court of Appeal in Zielona Góra)
SBU	Sluzhba Bespeky Ukrainy (State Security Service of Ukraine)
Schupo	Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police, section of the Orpo)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service)
SDA-L	Statni oblastni archiv v Litoměřicich (State Regional Archive Litoměřice, Czech Republic)
SGO	Samodzielna Grupa Operacyjna (Independent Operational Group)
SHLA	Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesarchiv (State Archive of Schleswig Holstein)
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SIU	Australian Special Investigations Unit (War Crimes)
Sk	Sonderkommando (special detachment (of the Security Police), subdivision of EG)
SMERSH	Smert' Shpionam (Death to Spies—Red Army Counter-Intelligence Section)
SN	Stronnictwo Narodowe (National Party, Poland)
SNW	Sąd Najwyższy w Warszawie (Supreme Court in Warsaw)
SOB	Sąd Okręgowy w Białymstoku (Białystok District Court)
SOCz	Sąd Okręgowy w Częstochowie (Częstochowa District Court)
SOE	Sąd Okręgowy w Ełku (Ełk District Court)
SOGd	Sąd Okręgowy w Gdańsku (Gdańsk District Court)

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SOJG	Sąd Okręgowy w Jeleniej Górze (Jelenia Góra District Court)
SOKr	Sąd Okręgowy w Krakowie (Kraków District Court)
SOL	Sąd Okręgowy w Lublinie (Lublin District Court)
SOŁ	Sąd Okręgowy w Łomży (Łomża District Court)
SOŁdz	Sąd Okręgowy w Łodzi (Łódź District Court)
SOMł	Sąd Okręgowy w Mławie (Mława District Court)
SOOl	Sąd Okręgowy w Olsztynie (Olsztyn District Court)
SOP	Sąd Okręgowy w Poznaniu (Poznań District Court)
Sopade	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands im Exil (German Social Democratic Party in Exile)
SOPi	Sąd Okręgowy w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim (Piotrków Trybunalski District Court)
SOPł	Sąd Okręgowy w Płocku (Płock District Court)
SORd	Sąd Okręgowy w Radomiu (Radom District Court)
SOSn	Sąd Okręgowy w Sosnowcu (Sosnowiec District Court)
SOSz	Sąd Okręgowy w Szczecinie (Szczecin District Court)
SOT	Sąd Okręgowy w Tarnowie (Tarnów District Court)
SOTW	Sąd Okręgowy w Toruniu, Wydział we Włocławku (Toruń District Court, Włocławek Branch)
SOW	Sąd Okręgowy w Warszawie (Warsaw District Court)
SOWr	Sąd Okręgowy we Wrocławiu (Wrocław District Court)
SOZ	Sąd Okręgowy w Zamościu (Zamość District Court)
SP	Sąd Powiatowy (Local Court)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPK	Sąd Powiatowy w Kole (Koło Local Court)
SPT	Sąd Powiatowy w Tarnowie (Tarnów Local Court)
SPW	Starostwo Powiatowe Warszawskie (Kreishauptmann Warschau-Land)
SS	Schutzstaffel (Protective Corps)
SSHO	SS Hängerordner (BDC collection, miscellaneous files)
SSKGd	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Special Criminal Court)
SSKL	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Lublinie (Lublin Special Criminal Court)
SSO	SS-Offiziersakte (SS officer file)
SSPF	SS- und Polizeiführer (SS and Police Leader)
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
SS-WVHA	SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt (SS Business Administration Main Office)
StA	Staatsarchiv
Sta.	Staatsanwaltschaft (State Prosecutor's Office)
StA-Det	Staatsarchiv Detmold (State Archive in Detmold)
Stalag	Stammlager (Main POW Camp)
StA-Lud	Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (State Archive Ludwigsburg)
StA-Münc	Staatsarchiv München (State Archive Munich)
Sta. Mü	Staatsanwaltschaft München (State Prosecutor's Office, Munich) (with Roman numeral designating court)
StA-Mü(st)	Staatsarchiv Münster (State Archive Münster)
StA-N	Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (State Archive Nuremberg)
Stapo	Staatspolizei (State Police)

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StA-Wfb	Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel (State Archive Wolfenbüttel)
SWA	Simon Wiesenthal Archive, Vienna
SWB	Sąd Wojewódzki w Białymstoku (Białystok Regional Court)
SWCA	Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives, Los Angeles
SWGd	Sąd Wojewódzki w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Regional Court)
SWKsz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Koszalinie (Koszalin Regional Court)
SWOl	Sąd Wojewódzki w Olsztynie (Olsztyn Regional Court)
SWP	Sąd Wojewódzki w Poznaniu (Poznań Regional Court)
SWSz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Szczecinie (Szczecin Regional Court)
SWW	Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie (Warsaw Regional Court)
SWWr	Sąd Wojewódzki we Wrocławiu (Wrocław Regional Court)
sygn.	sygnatura (archival record group (Polish))
TAZ	Towarzystwo Akcyjne Zawiercie (Name of a large textile factory in Zawiercie, producing Luftwaffe uniforms)
TMWC	International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949)
TOZ	Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce (Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland)
TsAFSB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv FSB (Central Archives of the FSB)
TsAKGBRB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv KGB Respubliki Belarus' (Central Archives of the KGB, Republic of Belarus'), Minsk
TSD	*Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*
TsDAHOU	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukrainy (Central State Archives of Ukrainian Social Associations), Kiev
TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta Upravlinnia Ukrainy (Central State Archives of Higher Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine), Kiev
TsDIAL	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine), L'viv
TsDNISO	Tsentr dokumentatsii noveishei istorii Smolenskoi oblasti (Documentation Center for Modern History of the Smolensk Oblast')
TsGAMORF	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ministerstsva oborony rossiiskoi federatsii (Central State Archives of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation), Podol'sk
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollektsii (Center for the Preservation of Historical Documentary Collections, see also RGVA), Moscow
UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, USSR)
UK	United Kingdom
UM-DOHA	University of Michigan-Dearborn, Oral History Archive
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
UPA	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
US	United States
USCK	Urząd Stanu Cywilnego w Koninie (Department of Civil Documents in Konin)
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC
USHMMPA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photographic Archives, Washington, DC
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (aka Soviet Union or UdSSR)

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UWZ	Umwandererzentralstelle (Central Transfer Office)
VHAP	Vojensky historicky archiv Praha (Military Historical Archives, Prague)
VHF	Visual History Archive of the Shoah Foundation
VKM	Vitebskii kraevedcheskii muzei (Vitebsk Museum of Local Lore)
VoMi	Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (Office for Ethnic German Affairs)
WAPKOB	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Oddział w Bochni (State Archives for the Kraków Province, Bochnia Branch)
WASt	Wehrmachtauskunftstelle (Military Information Office, now Deutsche Dienststelle (German Agency)), Berlin
WCU	Metropolitan Police War Crimes Unit, New Scotland Yard (these records are now held in the National Archives in Kew (NA))
WeWiKdo	Wehrwirtschaftskommando (military economic detachment)
WFDIF	Wytwórnia Filmów Dokumentalnych i Fabularnych (Documentary and Feature Film Company, Warsaw, Poland)
WiN	Wolność i Niezawisłość (Freedom and Independence, a Polish underground anti-communist organization)
WL	Wiener Library
WS	Worksheet (USHMMPA internal reference)
WSRB	Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy w Białymstoku (Military Regional Court in Białystok)
WSRW	Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy w Warszawie (Military Regional Court in Warsaw)
WVHA	See SS-WVHA
YAKPA	Committee for Jewish Assistance
YIU	Yahad-In Unum, Paris
YIVO	Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York)
YVA	Archive of the National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Yad Vashem, Israel
ZAL	Zwangsarbeitslager (Forced Labor Camp)
ZALfJ	Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden (Forced Labor Camp for Jews)
z.b.V.	zur besonderen Verwendung (for special purposes)
ZdL also ZStL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office for State Justice Administrations), Ludwigsburg (now BA-L)
ZEORK	Zakłady Energetyczne Okręgu Radomsko-Kieleckiego (Radom Kielce Regional Electric Company)
ZGABO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Baranovichakh (Zonal State Archives of the City of Baranovichi), Belarus
ZGAGO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Orshe (Zonal State Archives of the city of Orsha), Belarus
ZGAMO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Mozyre (Zonal State Archives of the city of Mozyr'), Belarus
ZHO	Zentralhandelsgesellschaft Ost (Central Trading Company East)
ŻIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
ŻKOP	Żydowski Komitet Opiekuńczy Powiatowy (Jewish Relief Committee for the powiat)
ŽmP	Židovské muzeum v Praze (Jewish Museum of Prague)
ZNiO	Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich (National Ossoliński Institute)
ŻOB	Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization)
ŻOS	Żydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Społecznej (Jewish Welfare Association)

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ZSSta-D	Zentralstelle, Dortmund (Central Office for the Investigation of National-Socialist Crimes in Dortmund) (= ZSD)
ŻSS	Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jewish Social Self-Help, aka JSS)
ZStL also ZdL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen, Ludwigsburg (Central Office of the Federal Judicial Administrations), Ludwigsburg (now BA-L)
ŻTOS	Żydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Społecznej (Jewish Social Welfare Association)
ZUV	Zentraler Untersuchungsvorgang (Central Investigation)
ŻZW	Żydowski Związek Wojskowy (Jewish Military Union)

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Adler, Eliyana: (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Starye Dorogi
Anders, Edward: *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)* —Liepāja
Bartov, Omer: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Buczacz
Bender, Sara: (*Białystok Region)*—Białystok; *(Radom Region)*—Chmielnik, Kielce
Blodig, Vojtěch: *(Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia)*—Terezín
Boneh, Nahum: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Pińsk
Borejsza-Wysocka, Ania: *(Warsaw Region)*—Warka
Brandon, Ray: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Włodzimierz Wołyński
Brewing, Daniel: *(Warsaw Region)*—Piaseczno
Brooks, Crispin: *(Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions)*—Fraidorf; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Berezów; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Dashev
Browning, Christopher R.: Introduction
Bubnys, Arūnas: *(Lithuania Region)*—Šiauliai, Žagarė
Cassedy, Ellen: *(Lithuania Region)*—Jurbarkas
Chapin, David: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Derazhnia, Letichev, Medzhibozh, Zen'kov
Crago, Laura: *(Białystok Region)*—Białystok Region, Augustów, Bielsk Podlaski, Boćki, Czyżewo, Dąbrowa Białostocka, Drohiczyn, Druskieniki, Goniądz, Grajewo, Grodno, Grodzisk, Indura, Janów Sokólski, Jedwabne, Jeziory, Kamieniec Litewski, Kamionka, Kleszczele, Knyszyn, Krynki, Krzemienica Kościelna, Kuźnica Białostocka, Łapy, Łomża, Łunna, Marcinkańce, Michałowo, Milejczyce, Narew, Nurzec, Orla, Ostryna, Piaski, Piątnica, Porozów, Porzecze, Prużana, Radziłów, Rajgród, Różana, Siemiatycze, Skidel, Śniadowo, Sokółka, Sokoły, Sopoćkinie, Stawiski, Suchowola, Świsłocz, Szczuczyn, Trzcianne, Wołkowysk, Wołpa, Wysokie Litewskie, Zabłudów, Zambrów, Zelwa; *(Lublin Region)*—Lublin Region, Baranów nad Wieprzem, Bełżyce, Bilgoraj, Bychawa, Chełm, Chodel, Cieszanów, Irena, Janów Podlaski, Kazimierz Dolny, Kock, Komarów, Komarówka Podlaska, Końskowola, Konstantynów, Kraśnik, Krasnystaw, Kurów, Łęczna, Łomazy, Łuków, Markuszów, Międzyrzec Podlaski, Opole, Ostrów, Parczew, Puławy, Rossosz, Ryki, Sławatycze, Szczebrzeszyn, Tarnogród, Tomaszów Lubelski, Tyszowce, Urzędów, Wąwolnica, Wisznice, Zamość, Zwierzyniec; *(Warsaw Region)*—Kosów Lacki, Łochów, Mordy, Siedlce, Sobienie Jeziory, Sokołów Podlaski, Sterdyń, Węgrów; *(Warthegau Region)*—Łódź
Crisci, Caterina: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Lubaczów; *(Kraków Region)*—Biecz, Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Dukla, Limanowa, Radomyśl Wielki, Ropczyce, Rymanów, Sędziszów Małopolski, Tarnobrzeg; *(Lublin Region)*—Zaklików; *(Radom Region)*—Opatów, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski; *(Warthegau Region)*—Żychlin
Dean, Martin: *(Białystok Region)*—Brańsk, Ciechanowiec, Czyżewo, Drohiczyn, Gródek Białostocki, Jasionówka, Kleszczele, Krynki, Marcinkańce, Milejczyce, Orla, Ostryna, Prużana, Siemiatycze, Wysokie Mazowieckie; *(Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Eastern Belorussia Region, Batsevichi, Belynichi, Borisov, Bykhov, Chausy, Gorodets, Grodzianka, Kholopenichi, Klichev, Krasnoluki, Krugloe, Lapichi, Liuban', Mar'ina Gorka, Mstislavl', Naprasnovka, Obchuga, Ozarichi, Parichi, Pukhovichi, Riasno, Rossasno, Shepelevichi, Tal'ka; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Eastern Galicia Region, Bolechów, Borysław, Bursztyn, Busk, Chodorów, Dolina, Drohobycz, Gwoździec, Horodenka, Janów Lwowski, Jezierzany, Komarno, Kopyczyńce, Kosów, Kozowa, Mikołajów, Mikulińce, Mościska, Mosty Wielkie, Narajów, Podhajce, Radziechów, Rawa Ruska, Rudki, Sokal, Stryj, Tarnopol, Tłumacz, Tłuste, Trembowla, Tyśmienica, Zborów, Złoczów, Żurawno; *(Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region)*—Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region, Beopol'e, Bogodukhov, Khar'kov, Cherkassy; *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)*—Eastern Upper Silesia Region, Bielsko-Biała, Kłobuck, Olkusz, Sławków, Strzemieszyce, Trzebinia, Wadowice; *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)*—Estonia and Latvia Regions, Bauska, Jelgava, Riga, Tartu, Varakļāni; *(German-Occupied Greece)*—German-Occupied Greece; *(Kiev Region)*—Piatigory, Tal'noe; *(Kraków Region)*—Kraków Region, Bochnia, Działoszyce, Gorlice, Grybów, Jasło, Kolbuszowa, Kraków, Nowy Sącz, Pilzno, Rzeszów, Słomniki; *(Lithuania Region)*—Lithuania Region, Akmenė, Alsėdžiai, Anykščiai, Ariogala, Babtai, Batakiai, Biržai,

Butrimonys, Bystrzyca, Daugieliszki, Dukszty, Eržvilkas, Gargždai, Garliava, Gudogaj, Hoduciszki, Holszany, Ignalino, Jonava, Joniškis, Jurbarkas, Kaltinėnai, Kamajai, Kėdainiai, Kelmė, Kiemieliszki, Kražiai, Krekenava, Krewo, Kuršenai, Lazdijai, Linkuva, Lygumai, Łyntupy, Marijampolė, Mejszagoła, Merkinė, Michaliszki, Naumiestis, Nowe Święciany, Obeliai, Onuškis, Ostrowiec, Oszmiana, Pajūris, Pakruojis, Palanga, Panevėžys, Pasvalys, Pašvitinys, Podbrodzie, Rietavas, Rokiškis, Rudamina, Rumšiškės, Šeduva, Semeliškės, Šiluva, Soly, Subačius, Švėkšna, Święciany, Świr, Telšiai, Troki, Utena, Užventis, Vabalninkas, Vainutas, Vendžiogala, Viduklė, Viekšniai, Vievis, Virbalis, Vyžuonos, Widze, Wilno, Worniany, Zapyškis, Žiežmariai, Župrany; *(Lublin Region)*—Biała Podlaska, Bychawa, Dubienka, Grabowiec, Hrubieszów, Izbica (nad Wieprzem), Lublin, Rejowiec, Uchanie, Zaklików; *(Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions)*—Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions, Aleksandrovka, Bobrinets, Fraidorf, Ingulets, Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia, Novomoskovsk; *(Occupied Russian Territory)*—Occupied Russian Territory, Demidov, Dmitriev-L'govskii, Gusino, Kaluga, Krasnyi, Nevel', Roslavl', Toropets, Velike Luki; *(Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia)*—Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia; *(Radom Region)*—Biała Rawska, Białobrzegi, Denków, Garbatka-Letnisko, Gniewoszów, Janowiec nad Wisłą, Klimontów, Koprzywnica, Małogoszcz, Piotrków Trybunalski, Sandomierz, Tomaszów Mazowiecki; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Volhynia and Podolia Region, Bar, Bereżce, Berezne, Berezów, Boremel, Brześć, Chomsk, Czetwiertnia, Derazhnia, Domaczów, Drohiczyn, Dunaevtsy, Dywin, Gorodok, Horodno, Hoszcza, Ialtushkov, Iarmolintsy, Iziaslav, Janów Poleski, Kamień Koszyrski, Katrynburg, Kiwerce, Klewań, Kobryń, Kołki, Kostopol, Kożangródek, Krasilov, Kul'chiny, Kupel', Łanowce, Łokacze, Lubieszów, Łuck, Maciejów, Małoryta, Mielnica, Mikaszewice, Mikhalpol', Min'kovtsy, Młynów, Mokrowo, Moroczna, Murovannye Kurilovtsy, Novaia Ushitsa, Orinin, Ostropol', Ostrożec, Poczajów, Polonnoe, Poryck, Powórsk, Radziwiłłów, Ratno, Rożyszcze, Serniki, Sienkiewiczówka, Smotrich, Snitkov, Staraia Ushitsa, Starokonstantinov, Stolin, Szumsk, Tomaszówka, Torczyn, Tuczyn, Turzysk, Vin'kovtsy, Volochisk, Warkowicze, Werba, Wiśniowiec, Wysock, Zdołbunów, Zofjówka; *(Warsaw Region)*—Warsaw Region, Błędów, Błonie, Góra Kalwaria, Grójec, Jadów, Jeziorna, Jeżów, Karczew, Kiernozia, Łomianki, Łowicz, Łyszkowice, Miłosna, Mińsk Mazowiecki, Okuniew, Pruszków, Radzymin, Sarnaki, Skierniewice, Sochaczew, Stoczek Węgrowski, Tarczyn, Tłuszcz, Warka, Warsaw, Wawer, Włochy, Wołomin, Żyrardów; *(Warthegau Region)*—Warthegau Region, Bełchatów, Bugaj, Grabów, Izbica Kujawska, Kalisz, Koźminek, Łask, Pabianice, Piotrków Kujawski, Przedecz, Radziejów, Sieradz, Służewo, Wieluń, Wieruszów, Zagórów, Zelów, Zgierz; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Weissruthenien Region, Baranowicze, Begoml', Brasław, Budsław, Chocieńczyce, Dereczyn, Dokszyce, Dolhinów, Dukora, Dworzec, Dzerzhinsk, Dzisna, Głębokie, Gródek Wileński, Grozovo, Hermanowicze, Horodyszcze, Horodziej, Ilja, Iwieniec, Jeremicze, Kleck, Kobylnik, Kopyl, Kosów Poleski, Koziany, Krasne, Lachowicze, Lebiedziew, Lenin, Lenino, Leśna, Lida, Lubcz, Miadzioł Nowy, Miory, Mir, Mołczadź, Nowa Mysz, Nowy Świerzeń, Opsa, Plissa, Pogost, Połonka, Radoszkowice, Raduń, Raków, Rudensk, Siniawka, Słonim, Slutsk, Snów, Starobin, Stołowicze, Stołpce, Szarkowszczyzna, Timkovichi, Urech'e, Uzliany, Wasiliszki, Wiazyń, Wilejka, Wiszniew, Wołożyn, Zaśkiewicze; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Zhytomyr Region, Andrushevka, Brailov, Dzhulinka, Gaisin, Iarun', Il'intsy, Ianov, Kalinovka, Kazatin, Khmel'nik, Korosten', Lipovets, Monastyrishche, Pavlovichi, Pikov, Pliskov, Pogrebishche, Ruzhin, Samgorodok, Teplik, Ternovka, Ulanov, Vcheraishe, Voronovitsa, Zhornishche; *(Zichenau Region)*—Zichenau Region, Maków Mazowiecki, Mława, Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, Płock, Sierpc

Dieckmann, Christoph: (*Lithuania Region)*—Semeliškės, Utena

Doubson, Vadim: *(Occupied Russian Territory)*—Il'ino, Khislavichi, Liubavichi, Monastyrshchina, Petrovichi, Rudnia, Smolensk, Velizh

Dunagan, Curt: *(Kraków Region)*—Przemyśl

Farfel, Zvi: *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Nieśwież

Fishman, Samuel: (*Białystok Region)*—Ciechanowiec, Czyżewo, Siemiatycze, Suchowola; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Kałusz, Tłumacz, Zbaraż; *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)*—Andrychów, Sucha, Wadowice; *(Kraków Region)*—Działoszyce, Gorlice, Miechów, Rzeszów, Wolbrom; *(Lithuania Region)*—Dusetos, Ostrowiec, Telšiai; *(Radom Region)*—Biała Rawska, Częstochowa, Koprzywnica, Łagów, Wiślica, Żarki; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Dąbrowica, Łokacze, Rafałówka, Rokitno, Sarny, Włodzimierzec, Zofjówka; *(Warsaw Region)*—

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Karczew, Mińsk Mazowiecki, Pruszków, Radzymin, Sochaczew, Wołomin; *(Warthegau Region)*—Brześć Kujawski, Ciechocinek, Łęczyca, Sompolno, Uniejów, Wieluń, Wieruszów, Włocławek; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Dzisna, Krzywicze, Mołczadź, Wiszniew; *(Zichenau Region)*—Sierpc

Freilich, Miri: *(Warsaw Region)*—Warsaw

Giladi, Ben: *(Radom Region)* —Piotrków Trybunalski

Grabowski, Jan: *(Zichenau Region)*—Strzegowo

Hansen, Imke: *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)* —Trzebinia

Hurwitz, Edward: (*Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region)*—Bogodukhov

Isard, Sonia: (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Elizovo, Kostiukovichi; *(Occupied Russian Territory)*—Klintsy, Mikulino, Novozybkov, Unecha, Zlynka

Iskov, Rachel: *(Warthegau Region)*—Brzeziny

Kaganovich, Albert: (*Kiev Region*)—Tal'noe; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Gritsev; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Brailov, Kalinovka, Litin, Ruzhin

Kołacz, Grzegorz: *(Warsaw Region)*—Kołbiel, Mogielnica, Siennica

Kopciowski, Adam: *(Lublin Region)*—Grabowiec, Zamość

Kopówka, Edward: *(Warsaw Region)*—Kosów Lacki, Siedlce, Sobienie Jeziory, Sokołów Podlaski

Koss, Andrew: *(Lithuania Region)*—Smorgonie; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Antopol, Dawidgródek, Horodec, Korzec, Łuniniec, Ołyka, Ostróg, Stepań, Uściług, Wiśniowiec; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Byteń, Korelicze, Żołudek

Kraemer, Jolanta: *(Kraków Region)*—Bircza, Błażowa, Bobowa, Brzostek, Brzozów, Czudec, Dobromil, Głogów Małopolski, Gorlice, Jasienica Rosielna, Jawornik Polski, Jedlicze, Jodłowa, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Kańczuga, Kołaczyce, Korczyna, Łańcut, Lesko, Niebylec, Ołpiny, Pilica, Proszowice, Pruchnik, Przeworsk, Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, Sieniawa, Skawina, Sokołów Małopolski, Tyczyn, Ustrzyki Dolne, Wieliczka, Wielopole Skrzyńskie; *(Radom Region)*—Radom Region, Bodzentyn, Bogoria, Busko-Zdrój, Chęciny, Ciepielów, Drzewica, Firlej, Głowaczów, Inowłódz, Iwaniska, Jedlińsk, Jedlnia Kościelna, Jędrzejów, Kamieńsk, Klwów, Koluszki, Koniecpol, Końskie, Kunów, Mariampol, Mniszew, Mstów, Odrzywół, Opoczno, Osiek, Ożarów, Pacanów, Paradyż, Pińczów, Pionki, Połaniec, Przedbórz, Przygłów and Włodzimierzów, Przysucha, Radomsko, Radoszyce, Raków, Rawa Mazowiecka, Ryczywół, Sędziszów, Sieciechów, Sienno, Skórkowice, Skrzynno, Słupia Nowa, Sobków, Solec nad Wisłą, Starachowice-Wierzbnik, Staszów, Stopnica, Stromiec, Suchedniów, Sulejów, Szczekociny, Szydłów, Tarłów, Ujazd, Wierzbica, Włoszczowa, Wodzisław, Wolbórz, Żarnów, Zawichost, Zwoleń; *(Warsaw Region)*—Głowno, Kałuszyn, Łaskarzew, Latowicz, Legionowo, Mrozy, Parysów, Pustelnik, Rembertów, Stanisławów, Żelechów; *(Warthegau Region)*—Chocz, Dobra, Grodziec, Konin, Lutomiersk, Poddębice, Rzgów, Szadek, Strzyżów; *(Zichenau Region)*—Ciechanów, Czerwińsk nad Wisłą, Drobin, Nowe Miasto, Płońsk, Wyszogród

Krimer, Ksenia: *(Białystok Region)*—Wasilków; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Rohatyn; *(Lublin Region)*—Grabowiec; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Kamenets-Podolskii

Krug, Nancy: *(Weissruthenien Region)* —Rubieżewicze

Kruglov, Alexander: (*Białystok Region)*—Bielsk Podlaski, Druskieniki, Gródek Białostocki, Jasionówka, Jeziory, Kamieniec Litewski, Piaski, Porozów, Porzecze, Różana, Skidel, Świsłocz, Wysokie Litewskie, Wysokie Mazowieckie; (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Baran', Belynichi, Berezino, Bogushevichi, Bykhov, Chausy, Cherikov, Daraganovo, Dribin, Elizovo, Grodzianka, Khotimsk, Kostiukovichi, Krasnopol'e, Krichev, Krucha, Lapichi, Lipen', Obol', Osipovichi, Ozarichi, Propoisk, Riasno, Sloboda, Ukhvala; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Bóbrka, Bolechów, Borszczów, Borysław, Brody, Bukaczowce, Bursztyn, Busk, Chodorów, Czortków, Dolina, Drohobycz, Gródek Jagielloński, Gwoździec, Horodenka, Janów Lwowski, Jaryczów Nowy, Jaworów, Kałusz, Kamionka Strumiłowa, Komarno, Kopyczyńce, Kosów, Kozowa, Lubaczów, Mikołajów, Mikulińce, Mościska, Mosty Wielkie, Narajów, Podhajce, Przemyślany, Radziechów, Rawa Ruska, Rohatyn, Rudki, Sambor, Skałat, Śniatyń, Sokal, Stryj, Tarnopol, Tłumacz, Tłuste, Trembowla, Tyśmienica, Zbaraż, Zborów, Złoczów, Żołkiew, Żurawno; (*Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region)*—Akhtyrka, Alushta, Artemovsk, Borzna, Dmitrovka, Dzhankoi, Gorodnia, Khar'kov, Korop, Kramatorsk, Priluki, Semenovka, Shchors, Voikovshtadt, Yalta, Yenakievo; *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)*—Aglona, Aizpute, Balvi, Bauska, Gostini, Gulbene, Jaunjelgava, Jēkabpils, Jelgava, Krustpils, Kuldiga, Madona, Preiļi, Saldus, Silene, Tartu, Valdemarpils, Varakļāni , Ventspils, Viļaka, Viļāni, Višķi, Zilupe; (*Kiev Region)*—Boguslav, Buki, Chernobyl, Fastov, Gorodishche, Korsun' Shevchenkovskii,

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Lokhvitsa, Man'kovka, Piriatin, Shpola, Skvira, Smela, Sokolovka, Tarashcha, Uman', Zen'kov, Zhashkov, Zvenigorodka; *(Kraków Region)*—Dobromil, Jasło, Pilzno, Sędziszów Małopolski; *(Lithuania Region)*—Akmenė, Alsėdžiai, Alytus, Ariogala, Babtai, Batakiai, Biržai, Butrimonys, Bystrzyca, Darbėnai, Darsūniškis, Dusetos, Eržvilkas, Gargždai, Garliava, Hoduciszki, Holszany, Ignalino, Jonava, Joniškėlis, Joniškis, Kaišiadorys, Kėdainiai, Kelmė, Kiemieliszki, Krakės, Kražiai, Krekenava, Kretinga, Krewo, Kudirkos Naumiestis, Kupiškis, Kvėdarna, Kybartai, Lazdijai, Linkuva, Lygumai, Łyntupy, Mažeikiai, Merkinė, Naumiestis, Oszmiana, Pakruojis, Palanga, Panevėžys, Pasvalys, Pašvitinys, Plungė, Podbrodzie, Prienai, Pumpėnai, Radviliškis, Raseiniai, Rietavas, Rokiškis, Rumšiškės, Šakiai, Salakas, Seda, Šeduva, Seirijai, Seredžius, Šiluva, Širvintos, Soly, Švėkšna, Tauragė, Troki, Ukmergė, Užpaliai, Vabalninkas, Vendžiogala, Viduklė, Viekšniai, Vievis, Vilkaviškis, Vilkija, Virbalis, Vyžuonos, Worniany, Ylakiai, Žiežmariai, Župrany; *(Lublin Region)*—Hrubieszów; *(Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions)*—Aleksandrovka, Bobrinets, Dobrovelichkovka, Ingulets, Kamenka, Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia, Kherson, Malaia Viska, Nikolaev, Novaia Odessa, Novaia Praga, Novomoskovsk, Novovitebskoe, Novozlatopol', Pavlograd, Pervomaisk, Zlatopol'; *(Occupied Russian Territory)*—Bezhanitsy, Demidov, Dmitriev-L'govskii, Dukhovshchina, Elitsa, Kagal'nitskaia, Karachev, Kletnia, Klimovo, Klintsy, Loknia, Mglin, Mikulino, Nal'chik, Nevel', Novozybkov, Opochka, Pochep, Pochinok, Pskov, Pustoshka, Rzhev, Sebezh, Shumiachi, Sol'tsy, Staraia Russa, Starodub, Stodolishche, Surazh, Sviatsk, Sychevka, Tatarsk, Toropets, Unecha, Usviaty, Vyritsa, Yessentuki, Zakharino, Zlynka; *(Radom Region)*—Denków, Klimontów, Wiślica; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Aleksandria, Annopol', Balin, Bar, Bazaliia, Beresteczko, Bereza-Kartuska, Berezne, Berežnica, Brześć, Chernyi Ostrov, Dąbrowica, Demidówka, Deraźne, Dunaevtsy, Dywin, Horodno, Hoszcza, Ialtushkov, Iarmolintsy, Iaryshev, Iziaslav, Jezierzany, Kalius, Kamenets-Podolskii, Kamień Koszyrski, Katrynburg, Kisielin, Kiwerce, Klesów, Klewań, Kobryń, Kołki, Korzec, Kostopol, Kowel, Kozin, Krasilov, Krymno, Kul'chiny, Kupel', Łanowce, Liakhovtsi, Lubieszów, Luboml, Ludwipol, Maciejów, Międzyrzecz, Mielnica, Mikaszewice, Mikhalpol', Min'kovtsy, Młynów, Moroczna, Murovannye Kurilovtsy, Novaia Ushitsa, Ołyka, Opalin, Orinin, Ostróg, Ostropol', Ostrożec, Poczajów, Poryck, Radziwiłłów, Rafałówka, Ratno, Rokitno, Równe, Rożyszcze, Sarny, Shepetovka, Sienkiewiczówka, Slavuta, Snitkov, Staraia Siniava, Starokonstantinov, Stepań, Stolin, Szumsk, Teofipol', Torczyn, Tuczyn, Turzysk, Uściług, Volochisk, Warkowicze, Werba, Włodzimierzec, Żabinka, Zdołbunów; *(Warsaw Region)*—Tarczyn; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Begoml', Budsław, Chocieńczyce, Dukora, Dworzec, Dzerzhinsk, Dziewieniszki, Grozovo, Horodyszcze, Iwieniec, Kobylnik, Kopyl, Krasne, Miadzioł Nowy, Mołodeczno, Ostroshitskii Gorodok, Pogost, Rubieżewicze, Rudensk, Shatsk, Siniawka, Smolevichi, Starobin, Timkovichi, Urech'e, Uzliany, Wiazyń, Wilejka, Wołożyn, Woronów, Zaostrowicze, Zaśkiewicze, Zaslavl'; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Andrushevka, Baranovka, Barashi, Berdichev, Cherniakhov, Chervonoarmeisk, Chudnov, Dashev, Dzerzhinsk, Dzhulinka, Gaisin, Ianushpol', Iarun', Il'intsy, Ianov, Kazatin, Khmel'nik, Khodorkov, Korosten', Korostyshev, Lipovets, Liubar, Miropol', Monastyrishche, Mozyr', Nemirov, Novaia Priluka, Novograd-Volynskii, Olevsk, Oratov, Piatka, Pliskov, Radomyshl, Rechitsa, Rogachov, Sobolevka, Strizhavka, Teplik, Ternovka, Tsibulev, Ulanov, Vcheraishe, Vinnitsa, Voronovitsa, Zhitomir, Zhornishche

Kulke, Christine: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Lwów

Kuwałek, Robert: *(Lublin Region)*—Izbica (nad Wieprzem), Lubartów

Lehnstaedt, Stephan: *(Lublin Region)*—Włodawa; *(Radom Region)*—Iłża, Lipsko, Magnuszew, Małogoszcz, Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, Nowy Korczyn; *(Warsaw Region)*—Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Stoczek Łukowski

Levin, Sala: (*Białystok Region)*—Augustów

Löw, Andrea: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Stanisławów; *(Lublin Region)*—Puławy, Radzyń Podlaski

Lower, Wendy: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Przemyślany; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Narodichi

Matthäus, Jürgen: *(Lithuania Region)*—Kaunas

McBride, Jared: *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Olevsk

McConnell, Michael: (*Białystok Region)*—Bielsk Podlaski; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Borysław, Stryj, Żołkiew; *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)*—Krustpils; *(Lithuania Region)*—Gargždai, Kudirkos Naumiestis; *(Lublin Region)*—Ryki; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Chernyi Ostrov

Mędykowski, Witold: *(Warsaw Region)*—Błonie, Grójec, Jadów

Megargee, Geoffrey P.: *(Lithuania Region)*—Plungė, Prienai, Radviliškis

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Merin, Yehudah: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Maniewicze
Molho, Rena: *(German-Occupied Greece)* —Thessalonikē
Mróz, Margerethe: *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)*—Trzebinia
Namysło, Aleksandra: *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)*—Eastern Upper Silesia Region, Będzin, Bielsko-Biała, Chrzanów, Czeladź, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Modrzejów, Olkusz, Sławków, Sosnowiec, Strzemieszyce, Szczakowa, Zawiercie
Pallavicini, Stephen: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Janów Poleski, Łachwa, Serniki, Wysock
Patt, Avinoam: (*Białystok Region)*—Grodno; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Sambor; *(Lithuania Region)*—Šiauliai; *(Lublin Region)*—Bilgoraj; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Łachwa
Penter, Tanja: (*Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region)*—Stalino
Phillips, Shannon: *(Kraków Region)*—Bochnia, Kolbuszowa, Kraków; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Dziewieniszki; *(Zichenau Region)*—Mława, Płock
Piątkowski, Sebastian: *(Radom Region)*—Białobrzegi, Garbatka-Letnisko, Gniewoszów, Janowiec nad Wisłą, Opoczno, Radom, Skaryszew, Wolanów, Wyśmierzyce
Pivovarchik, Siarhej: *(Białystok Region)*—Ostryna; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Szczuczyn, Wasiliszki, Żołudek
Pollin, Teresa: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Kołomyja, Nadwórna; *(Warsaw Region)*—Sarnaki
Porter, Jack Nusan: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Maniewicze
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Redlich, Shimon: *(Eastern Galicia Region)* —Brzeżany
Reichelt, Katrin: *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)*—Daugavpils, Dobele, Kārsava, Lūdza, Rēzekne, Riga; *(Kraków Region)*—Dębica, Nowy Sącz; *(Lithuania Region)*—Kaišiadorys, Krakės, Kretinga, Troki, Ukmergė, Vilkaviškis; *(Lublin Region)*—Biała Podlaska; *(Radom Region)*—Tomaszów Mazowiecki; *(Zichenau Region)*—Maków Mazowiecki
Ricks, Stephen: *(Lublin Region)*—Bychawa
Rojowska, Elżbieta: (*Białystok Region)*—Augustów, Michałowo, Stawiski; (*Lithuania Region)*—Michaliszki, Święciany, Świr, Wilno; *(Warsaw Region)*—Łosice; *(Weissruthenien Region)* —Dzisna
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Scala, Stephen: *(Warsaw Region)*—Dobre, Łosice, Sobolew
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Simon, Andrea: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Wołczyn
Sinnreich, Helene: *(Kraków Region)*—Kraków
Skibińska, Alina: *(Radom Region)*—Kozienice
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Śliwa, Joanna: *(Kraków Region)*—Brzesko, Frysztak, Krosno, Leżajsk, Nowy Targ, Rabka, Sanok, Stary Sącz, Strzyżów, Tarnów, Tuchów, Żabno, Zakliczyn, Żmigród Nowy
Smilovitsky, Leonid: (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Borisov, Buda-Koshelevo, Chechersk, Cherven', Dobrush, Glusk, Gomel,' Korma, Krupki, Mstislavl', Parichi, Rogachev, Shchedrin, Starye Dorogi, Streshin, Uvarovichi, Zembin, Zhlobin, Zhuravichi; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Iwacewicze, Kosów Poleski, Lenin, Pleshchenitsy, Pohost Zahorodski, Slutsk, Smilovichi, Uzda; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Iurovichi, Lel'chitsy, Mozyr', Petrikov, Rechitsa
Snyder, Timothy: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Łuck
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Szymanska-Smolkin, Sylwia: *(Warsaw Region)*—Falenica, Otwock
Tomkiewicz, Monika: (*Białystok Region)*—Grajewo, Grodzisk, Kuźnica Białostocka, Łomża, Rajgród, Suchowola, Wołkowysk, Zabłudów; *(Warsaw Region)*—Błędów, Wawer, Włochy; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Brasław, Dokszyce, Druja, Duniłowicze, Ilja, Krzywicze, Lebiedziew, Lida, Miory, Parafjanów, Plissa, Radoszkowice, Raków
Vaisman, Ester-Basya: (*Białystok Region)*—Brańsk; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Bóbrka; *(Volhynia and*

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Podolia Region)—Krzemieniec; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Dworzec, Hermanowicze

Vershitskaya, Tamara: *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Baranowicze, Iwje, Korelicze, Lida, Lubcz, Nowogródek, Zdzięcioł

Vinnitsa, Gennadii: (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Bobruisk, Mogilev, Shklov; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Hermanowicze, Łużki, Szarkowszczyzna

von Kellenbach, Katharina: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Pińsk

Voskoboynik, Diana: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Proskurov

Waysdorf, Susan: *(Radom Region)*—Łagów

Weinstock, Ben: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Derazhnia, Letichev, Medzhibozh, Zen'kov

White, Joseph Robert: *(German-Occupied Greece)*—Thessalonikē; *(Lublin Region)*—Bełżyce, Opole, Piaski Luterskie; *(Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia)*—Terezín; *(Warthegau Region)*—Warthegau Region

Zegenhagen, Evelyn: *(Radom Region)*—Będków, Białaczów, Bliżyn, Ćmielów, Gielniów, Skarżysko-Kamienna, Skrzynno, Szydłowiec, Żarki; *(Warthegau Region)*—Brześć Kujawski, Bugaj, Ciechocinek, Dąbie nad Nerem, Grabów, Izbica Kujawska, Kowale Pańskie, Lututów, Osjaków, Ozorków, Pajęczno, Piątek, Praszka, Sieradz, Stryków, Tuliszków, Turek, Uniejów, Warta, Widawa, Władysławów, Włocławek, Zagórów, Zduńska Wola, Zgierz, Złoczew

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ABOUT THE EDITOR

Martin Dean, Applied Research Scholar with the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, received his B.A. and Ph.D. in history from Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1984 and 1989, respectively. From 1992 to 1997, he was the Senior Historian for the Metropolitan Police War Crimes Unit in London. He has worked on the preparation of Nazi-related war crimes cases for trials in Australia, Great Britain, and Germany. In 1997–1998, he received the Pearl Resnick Fellowship at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. He is the author of *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–44* (2000) and *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (2008), which won a National Jewish Book Award for Writing Based on Archival Material in 2009. He has authored numerous articles and book chapters on collaboration, war crimes, ghettos, and the confiscation of Jewish property during the Holocaust.

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